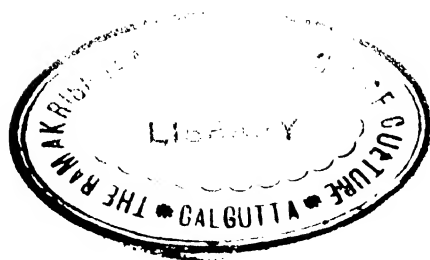
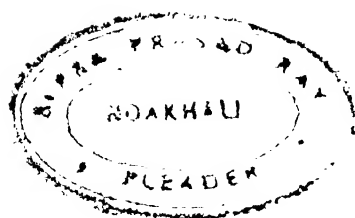
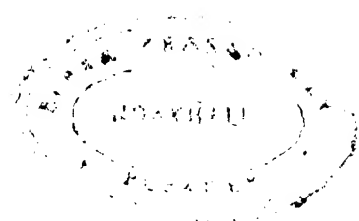


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ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES
OF
RAJASTHAN

OR
THE CENTRAL & WESTERN RAJPOOT STATES
OF
INDIA.

BY
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JAMES TOD,
Late Political Agent of the Western Rajpoot States.

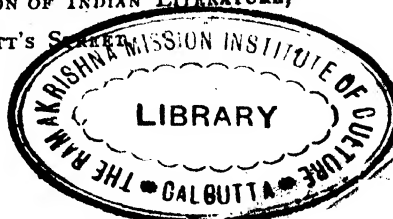
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The 9th of August, 1902, marks an epoch in the history of the world. With the dawning of this day, our Gracious Sovereign EDWARD the Seventh of England, Ireland and Wales, and the First of Scotland, and Alexandra, became the Crowned King and Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Emperor and Empress of India. A Coronation is the event of a life, and we hail this precious opportunity with a gladsome heart and joyful spirit and in the name of the Empire we invite our friends and brothers, one and all, to come, and join us in the festivities of the occasion, and avail themselves of the precious opportunity presented to them, the like of which these wistful longing eyes of ours shall never see again.

In the name of THE SOCIETY FOR THE RESUSCITATION OF INDIAN LITERATURE,—a Society having for its objects amongst others the propagation of the intellectual and moral greatness of the Ancient Hindus, both in the East and West, and the publication and gratuitous distribution of such important works and pamphlets as are calculated to create a feeling of sympathy and admiration of other nations for India and her Literature, and last, though not least, the organization of an intellectual brotherhood, amongst the various races and different communities of the world ;—and on the blessed occasion of the Coronation of our Gracious Sovereign Emperor EDWARD and that of her beloved Consort Her Imperial Majesty Empress ALEXANDRA, we offer our heart's homage and our devout allegiance to the Imperial Throne of England, and our loyal adherence to His Vicegerent, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and to commemorate the event we have taken upon ourselves to issue a Coronation Edition of *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, by Lt. Col. JAMES TOD, and make a free and absolute gift of it to the *bona fide* subscribers of our Society's Journal entitled THE ORIENTAL. About the merits of this great work we need say nothing, for that would be treading on sacred grounds. Suffice it to say that over three scores and ten years have passed when the book first saw the light of day and was laid at the foot of the Throne, and ever since that period the work has continued to draw the admiration of the civilized world. For "historic pride elings to masses as well as to individuals, conducing to honorable pride when rightly felt."

TO
HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY
GEORGE THE FOURTH.

SIRE,

THE gracious permission accorded me, to lay at the foot of the Throne the fruit of my labors, allows me to propitiate Your Majesty's consideration towards the object of this work, the prosecution of which I have made a paramount duty.

The Rajpoot princes, has happily rescued, by the triumph of the British arms, from the yoke of lawless oppression, are now the most remote tributaries to Your Majesty's extensive empire; and their admirer and annalist may, perhaps, be permitted to hope, that the sighs of this ancient and interesting race for the restoration of their former independence, which it would suit our wisest policy to grant, may be deemed not undeserving Your Majesty's regard.

With entire loyalty and devotion,

I subscribe myself,

YOUR MAJESTY'S

BIRD HURST, CROYDON,
20th June, 1829.

} Most faithful Subject and Servant,
JAMES TOD.



INTRODUCTION.

MUCH disappointment has been felt in Europe at the sterility of the historic muse of Hindusthan. When Sir William Jones first began to explore the vast mines of Sanskrit literature, great hopes were entertained that the history of the world would acquire considerable accessions from this source. The sanguine expectations that were then formed have not been realized; and, as it usually happens, excitement has been succeeded by apathy and indifference. It is now generally regarded as an axiom, that India possesses no national history; to which we may oppose the remark of a French Orientalist, who ingeniously asks, whence Abulfuzil obtained the materials for his outlines of ancient Hindu history?* Mr. Wilson has, indeed, done much to obviate this prejudice, by his translation of the *Raj Tarrangini*, or the History of Cashmere,† which clearly demonstrates that regular historical composition was an art not unknown in Hindusthan, and affords satisfactory ground for concluding that these productions were once less rare than at present, and that further exertion may bring more relics to light. Although the labours of Colebrooke, Wilkins, Wilson, and others of our countrymen, emulated by many learned men in France and Germany,‡ have revealed to Europe some of the hidden lore of India; still it is not pretended that we have done much more than pass the threshold of Indian science, and we are consequently not competent to speak decisively of its extent or its character. Immense libraries, in various parts of India, are still in tact, which have survived the devastations of the Islamite. The collections of Jessulmeer and Puttun, for example, escaped the scrutiny of even the lynx-eyed Alla, who conquered both these kingdoms, and who would have shewn as little mercy to those literary treasures, as Omar displayed towards the Alexandrine library. Many other minor collections, consisting of thousands of volumes each, exist in Central and Western India, some of which are the private property of princes, and others belong to the Jain communities.§

* M. Abel Remusat, in his *Melanges Asiatiques*, makes many apposite and forcible remarks on this subject, which, without intention, convey a just reproof to the lukewarmness of our countrymen. The institution of the Royal Asiatic Society, especially that branch of it devoted to Oriental translations, may yet redeem this reproach.

† *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV.

‡ When the genius and erudition of such men as Schlegel are added to the zeal which characterizes that celebrated writer, what revelation may we not yet expect from the cultivation of oriental literature?

§ Some copies of these Jain MSS. from Jessulmeer, which were written from five to eight centuries back, I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society. Of the vast numbers of these MS. books in the libraries of Puttun and Jessulmeer, many are of the most remote antiquity, and in a character no longer understood by their possessors, or only by the supreme pontiff and his initiated librarians. There is one volume held so sacred for its magical contents, that it is suspended by a chain in the temple of Chintamun, at the last-named capital in the desert, and is only taken

If we consider the political changes and convulsions which have happened in Hindusthan since Mahmood's invasion, and the intolerant bigotry of many of his successors, we shall be able to account for the paucity of its national works on history, without being driven to the improbable conclusion, that the Hindus were ignorant of an art which has been cultivated in other countries from almost the earliest ages. Is it to be imagined that a nation so highly civilized as the Hindus, amongst whom the exact sciences flourished in perfection, by whom the fine arts, architecture, sculpture, poetry, music, were not only cultivated, but taught and defined by the nicest and most elaborate rules, were totally unacquainted with the simple art of recording the characters of their princes, and the acts of their regins? Where such traces of *mind* exist, we can hardly believe that there was a want of competent recorders of events, which synchronical authorities tell us were worthy of commemoration. The cities of Hastinapur and Indraprastha, of Anhalwara and Somnath, the triumphal columns of Delhi and Cheetore, the shrines of Aboo and Girnar, the cave-temples of Elephanta and Ellora, are so many attestations of the same fact; nor can we imagine that the age in which these works were erected was without an historian. Yet from the Mahabharata, or Great War, to Alexander's invasion, and from that grand event to the era of Mahmood of Ghizni, scarcely a paragraph of pure native Hindu history (except as before stated) has hitherto been revealed to the curiosity of western scholars. In the heroic history of Prithwi-Raj, the last of the Hindu sovereigns of Delhi, written by his bard Chund, we find notices which authorize the inference that works similar to his own were then extant relating to the period between Mahmood and Shabudin (A. D. 1000-1193); but these have disappeared.

After eight centuries of galling subjection to conquerors totally ignorant of the classical language of the Hindus; after almost every capital city had been repeatedly stormed and sacked by barbarous, bigotted, and exasperated foes; it is too much to expect that the literature of the country should not have sustained, in common with their important interests, irretrievable losses. My own animadversions upon the defective condition of the annals of Rajwarra have more than once been checked by a very just remark: "when our princes were in exile, driven from hold to hold, and compelled to dwell in the clefts of the mountains, often doubtful whether they would not be forced to abandon the very meal preparing for them, was that a time to think of historical records?"

Those who expect from a people like the Hindus a species of composition of precisely the same character as the historical works of Greece and Rome, commit the very egregious error of overlooking the peculiarities which distinguish the natives of India from all other races, and which

down to have it coverings renewed, or at the inauguration of a pontiff. Tradition assigns its authorship to Somaditya Sooru Acharya, a pontiff of past days, before the Islamite had crossed the waters of the Indus, and whose diocese extended far beyond that stream. His magic mantle is also here preserved, and used on every new installation. The character is, doubtless, the nail-headed Pali; and could we introduce the ingenious, indefatigable, and modest Mons. E. Burnouf, with his able coadjutor Dr. Lassen, into the temple, we might learn something of this Sybilline volume, without their incurring the risk of loss of sight, which befel the last individual, a female Yati of the Jains who sacrilegiously endeavoured to acquire its contents.

strongly discriminate their intellectual productions of every kind from those of the West. Their philosophy, their poetry, their architecture, are marked with traits of originality ; and the same may be expected to pre-vade their history, which, like the arts enumerated, took a character from its intimate association with the religion of the people. It must be recollected, moreover, that until a more correct taste was imparted to the literature of England and of France, by the study of classical models, the chronicles of both these countries, and indeed of all the polished nations of Europe, were at a much recent date, as crude, as wild, and as barren, as those of the early Rajpoots.

In the absence of regular and legitimate historical records, there are, however, other native works (they may, indeed, be said to abound), which, in the hands of a skilful and a patient investigator, would afford no despicable materials for the history of India. The first of these are the *Puranas* and genealogical legends of the princes, which, obscured as they are by mythological details, allegory, and improbable circumstances, contain many facts that serve as beacons to direct the research of the historian. What Hume remarks of the annals and annalists of the Saxon Heptarchy, may be applied with equal truth to those of the Rajpoot *Seven States* ;* "they abound in names, but are extremely barren of events ; or they are related so much without circumstances and causes, that the most profound and eloquent writer must despair of rendering them either instructive or entertaining to the reader. The monks" (for which we may read "Brahmans"), "who lived remote from public affairs, considered the civil transactions as subservient to the ecclesiastical, and were strongly affected with credulity, with the love of wonder, and with a propensity to imposture."

The heroic poems of India constitute another resource for history. Bards may be regarded as the primitive historians of mankind. Before fiction began to engross the attention of poets, or rather, before the province of history was dignified by a class of writers who made it a distinct department of literature, the functions of the bard were doubtless employed in recording real events and in commemorating real personages. In India, Calliope has been worshipped by the bards from the days of Vyasa, the contemporary of Job, to the time of Beni-dasa, the present chronicler of Mewar. The poets are the chief, though not the sole, historians of Western India ; neither is there any deficiency of them, though they speak in a peculiar tongue, which requires to be translated into the sober language of probability. To compensate for their magniloquence and obscurity, their pen is free : the despotism of the Rajpoot princes does not extend to the poet's lay, which flows unconfined except by the shackles of the *chhund bhojunga*, or 'serpentine stanza ;' no slight restraint, it must be confessed, upon the freedom of the historic muse. On the other hand, there is a sort of compact or understanding between the bard and the prince, a barter of "solid pudding against empty praise," whereby the fidelity of the poetic chronicle is somewhat impaired. This sale of "fame" as the bard's term it, by the court-laureates and historiographers of Rajasthan, will continue until there shall arise in the community a class sufficiently enlightened and independent, to look for no other recompense for literary labor than public distinction.

* Mewar, Marwar, Amber, Bikaner, Jessulmeer, Kotah, and Boondi.

Still, however, their chroniclers dare utter truths, sometimes most unpalatable to their masters. When offended, or actuated by a virtuous indignation against immorality, they are fearless of consequences; and woe to the individual who provokes them! Many a resolution has sunk under the lash of their satire which has condemned to eternal ridicule names that might otherwise have escaped notoriety. The *vis*, or poison of the bard, is more dreaded by the Rajpoot than the steel of the foe.

The absence of all mystery or reserve with regard to public affairs in the Rajpoot principalities, in which every individual takes an interest, from the nobles to the porter at the city-gates, is of great advantage to the chronicler of events. When matters of moment in the disorganized state of the country rendered it imperative to observe secrecy, the Rana of Mewar, being applied to on the necessity of concealing them, rejoined as follows: "this is *Chaomukhy-raj*;* Eklinga the sovereign, I his vicegerent; in him I trust, and I have no secrets from my children." To this publicity may be partly ascribed the inefficiency of every general alliance against common foes; but it gives a kind of patriarchal character to the government, and inspires, if not loyalty and patriotism in their most exalted sense, feelings at least much akin to them.

A material drawback upon the value of these bardic histories is, that they are confined almost exclusively to the martial exploits of their heroes and to the *Rung-rin-blom*, or 'field of slaughter.' Writing for the amusement of a warlike race, the authors disregard civil matters and the arts and pursuits of peaceful life; love and war are their favorite themes. Chund, the last of the great bards of India, tells us, indeed, in his preface, "that he will give rules for governing empires; the laws of grammar and composition, lessons in diplomacy, home and foreign, etc.;" and he fulfils his promise, by interspersing precepts on these points in various episodes throughout his work.

Again: the bard, although he is admitted to the knowledge of all the secret springs which direct each measure of the government, enters too deeply into the intrigues, as well as the levities, of the court to be qualified to pronounce a sober judgment upon its acts.

Nevertheless, although open to all these objections, the works of the native bards afford many valuable data, in facts, incidents, religious opinions, and traits of manners; many of which, being carelessly introduced, are thence to be regarded as the least suspicious kind of historical evidence. In the heroic history of *Prithwi raj*, by Chund, there occur many geographical as well as historical details, in the description of his sovereign's wars, of which the bard was an eye-witness, having been his friend, his herald, his ambassador, and finally discharging the melancholy office accessory to his death, that he might save him from dishonor. The poetical histories of Chund were collected by the great Umra Sing of Mewar, a patron of literature, as well as a warrior and a legislator.

Another species of historical records is found in the accounts given by the Brahmans of the endowments of the temples, their delapidation and repairs, which furnish occasions, for the introduction of historical and chronological details. In the legends respecting places of pilgrimage and religious resort, profane events are blended with superstitious rites and

* 'Government of four months,' alluding to the quadriform image of the tutelary divinity,

ordinances, local ceremonies and customs. The controversies of the Jains furnish, also, much historical information, especially with reference to Guzerat and Nehrwalá, during the Chauluk dynasty. From a close and attentive examination of the Jain records, which embody all that those ancient sectarians knew of science, many chasms in Hindu history might be filled up. The party-spirit of the rival sects of India was, doubtless, adverse to the purity of history; and the very ground upon which the Brahmans built their ascendancy was the ignorance of the people. There appears to have been in India, as well as in Egypt in early times, a coalition between the hierarchy and the state, with the view of keeping the mass of the nation in darkness and subjugation.

These different records, works of a mixed historical and geographical characters which I know to exist; *rasahs* or poetical legends of princes, which are common; local *Puranas*, religious comments, and traditionary couplets;* with authorities of a less dubious character, namely, inscriptions "cut on the rock" coins copper-plate grants, containing charters of immunities, and expressing many singular features of civil government, constitute, as I have already observed, no despicable materials for the historian, who would, moreover, be assisted by the synchronisms which are capable of being established with ancient Pagan and later Mahomedan writers,

From the earliest period of my official connexion with this interesting country, I applied myself to collect and explore its early historical records, with a view of throwing some light upon a people scarcely yet known in Europe, and whose political connection with England appeared to me to be capable of undergoing a material change, with benefit to both parties. It would be wearisome to the reader to be minutely informed of the process I adopted, to collect the scattered relics of Rajpoot history into the form and substance in which he now sees them. I began with the sacred genealogy from the *Puranas*; examined the *Mahabharat*, and the poems of Chund (a complete chronicle of his times); the voluminous historical poems of Jessulmeer, Marwar, and Mewar;† the histories of the Kheetchies, and those of the Hara princes of Kotah and Boondi, etc. by their respective bards. A portion of the materials compiled by Jey Sing of Amber or Jeipoor (one of the greatest patrons of science amongst the modern Hindu princes), to illustrate the history of his race, fell into my hands. I have reason to believe that there existed more copious materials, which his profligate descendant, the late prince, in his division of the empire

* Some of these preserve the names of princes who invaded India between the time of Mahmood of Ghizni and Shabudin, who are not mentioned by Ferishta, the Mahomedan historian. The invasion of Ajmeer and the capture of Biana, the seat of the Yadu princes, were made known to us by this means.

† Of Marwar, there were the *Vijya Vilas*, the *Surya Prakas*, and *Kheat*, or legends, besides detached fragments of reigns. Of Mewar, there was the *Khoman Rassah*, a modern work formed from old materials which are lost, and commencing with the attack of Cheetore by Mahmood, supposed to be the son of Kasim of Sinde, in the very earliest ages of Mahomedanism: also the *Juggut Vilas*, the *Raj-prakas*, and the *Jeya Vilas*, all poems composed in the reigns of the princes whose names they bear, but generally introducing succinctly the early parts of history. Besides these, there were fragments of the Jeipur family, from their archives; and the *Man Charitra*, or history of Raja Maun.

with a prostitute, may have disposed of on the partition of the library of the state, which was the finest collection in Rajasthan. Like some of the renowned princes of Timur's dynasty, Jey Sing kept a diary, termed *Calpadruma*, in which he noted every event; a work written by such a man and at such an interesting juncture, would be a valuable acquisition to history. From the Duttea prince I obtained a transcript of the journal of his ancestor, who served with such *ealat* amongst the great feudatories of Aurungzebe's army, and from which Scott made many extracts is his history of the Dekhan.

For a period of ten years, I was employed, with the aid of a learned Jain, in ransacking every work which could contribute any facts or incidents to the history of the Rajpoots, or diffuse any light upon their manners and character. Extracts and version of all such passages were made by my Jain assistant into the more familiar dialects (which are formed from the Sanscrit) of these tribes, in whose language my long residence amongst them enabled me to converse with facility. At much expense, and during many wearisome hours, to support which required no ordinary degree of enthusiasm, I endeavoured to possess myself not merely of their history, but of their religious notions, their familiar opinions, and their characteristic manners, by associating with their chiefs and bardic chroniclers, and by listening to their traditional tales and allegorical poems. I might ultimately, as the circle of my inquiries enlarged, have materially augmented my knowledge of these subjects; but ill health compelled me to relinquish this pleasing though toilsome pursuit, and forced me to revisit my native land just as I had obtained permission to look across the threshold of the Hindu Minerva; whence, however, I brought some relics, the examination of which I now consign to other hands. The large collection of ancient Sanskrit and Bakha MSS., which I conveyed to England, have been presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, in whose library they are deposited. The contents of many, still unexamined, may throw additional light on the history of ancient India. I claim only the merit of having brought them to the knowledge of European scholars; but I may hope that this will furnish a stimulus to others to make similar exertions.

The little exact knowledge that Europe has hitherto acquired of the Rajpoot states, has probably originated a false idea of the comparative importance of this portion of Hindusthan. The splendour of the Rajpoot courts, however, at an early period of the history of that country, making every allowance for the exaggeration of the bards, must have been great. Northern India was rich from the earliest times; that portion of it, situated on either side the Indus, formed the richest satrapy of Darius. It abounded in the more striking events which constitute the materials for history; there is not a petty state in Rajasthan that has not had its Thermopylæ, and scarcely a city that has not produced its Leonidas. But the mantle of ages has shrouded from view what the magic pen of the historian might have consecrated to endless admiration: Somnath might have rivalled Delphos; the spoils of Hind might have vied with the wealth of the Lybian King; and compared with the array of the Pandus, the army of Xerxes would have dwindled into insignificance. But the Hindus either never had, or have unfortunately lost, their Herodotus and Xenophon.

If "the moral effect of history depend on the sympathy it excites," the annals of these states possess commanding interest. The struggles of a brave people for independence during a series of ages, sacrificing

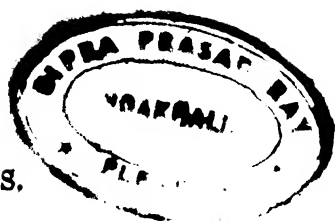
whatever was dear to them for the maintenance of the religion of their forefathers, and sturdily defending to death, and in spite of every temptation, their rights and national liberty, form a picture which it is difficult to contemplate without emotion. Could I impart to the reader but a small portion of the enthusiastic delight with which I have listened to the tales of times that are past, amid scenes where their events occurred, I should not despair of triumphing over the apathy which dooms to neglect almost every effort to enlighten my native country on the subject of India; nor should I apprehend any ill effect from the sound of names, which, musical and expressive as they are to a Hindu, are dissonant and unmeaning to an European ear; for it should be remembered that almost every Eastern name is significant of some quality, personal or mental. Seated amidst the ruins of ancient cities, I have listened to the traditions respecting their fall; or have heard the exploits of their illustrious defenders related by their descendants near the altars erected to their memory. I have, whilst in the train of the Southern Goths (the Mahrattas), as they carried desolation over the land, encamped on or traversed many a field of battle, of civil strife or foreign aggression, to read in the rude memorials on the tumuli of the slain their names and history. Such anecdotes and records afford data of history as well as of manners. Even the couplet recording the erection of a "column of victory," or of a temple or its repairs, contributes something to our stock of knowledge of the past.

As far as regards the antiquity of the dynasties now ruling in Central and Western India, there are but two, the origin of which is not perfectly within the limits of historical probability: the rest having owed their present establishments to the progress of the Moslem arms their annals are confirmed by those of their conquerors. All the existing families, indeed, have attained their present settlements subsequently to the Mahomedan invasions, except Mewar, Jessulmeer, and some smaller principalities in the desert; whilst others of the first magnitude, such as the Pramara and Solanki, who ruled at Dhar and Anhilwarra, have for centuries ceased to exist.

I have been so hardy as to affirm and endeavour to prove the common origin of the martial tribes of Rajasthan and those of ancient Europe. I have expatiated at some length upon the evidence in favour of the existence of a feudal system in India, similar to that which prevailed in the early ages on the European continent, and of which relics still remain in the laws of our own nation. Hypotheses of this kind are, are, I am aware, viewed with suspicion, and sometimes assailed with ridicule. With regard to the notions which I have developed on these questions, and the frequent allusions to them in the pages of this volume, I entertain no obstinate prepossessions or prejudices in their favour. The world is too enlightened at the present day to be in danger of being misled by any hypothetical writer, let him be ever so skilful; but the probability is, that we have been induced, by the multitude of false theories which time has exposed, to fall into the opposite error, and that we have become too sceptical with regard to the common origin of the people of the east and west. However, I submit my proofs to the candid judgment of the world; the analogies, if not conclusive on the questions, are still sufficiently curious and remarkable to repay the trouble of perusal and to provoke further investigation; and they may, it is hoped, vindicate the author for endeavouring to elucidate the subject, "by steering through the dark channels of antiquity by the feeble lights of forgotten chronicles and imperfect records."

I am conscious that there is much in this work which demands the indulgence of the public; and I trust it will not be necessary for me to assign a more powerful argument in plea than that which I have already adverted to, namely, the state of my health, which has rendered it a matter of considerable difficulty, indeed I may say of risk, to bring my bulky materials even into their present imperfect form. I should observe, that it never was my intention to treat the subject in the severe style of history, which would have excluded many details useful to the politician as well as to the curious student. I offer this work as a copious collection of materials for the future historian; and am far less concerned at the idea of giving too much, than at the apprehension of suppressing what might possibly be useful.

I cannot close these remarks without expressing my obligations to my friend and kinsman, Major Waugh, to the genius of whose pencil the world is indebted for the preservation and transmission of the splendid monuments of art which adorn this work.



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GEOGRAPHY

OF

RAJASTHAN OR RAJPOOTANA.

RAJASTHAN is the collective and classical denomination of that portion of India which is 'the abode* of (Rajpoot) princes.' In the familiar dialect of these countries it is termed *Rajwarra*, but by the more refined *Raethana*, corrupted to *Rajpootana*, the common designation amongst the British to denote the Rajpoot principalities.

What might have been the nominal extent of Rajasthan prior to the Mahomedan conqueror Shabudin (when it probably reached beyond the Jumna and Ganges, even to the base of the Himalaya) cannot now be known. At present we may adhere to its restrictive definition, still comprehending a wide space and a variety of interesting races.

Previous to the erection of the minor Mahomedan monarchies of Mandoo and Ahmedabad (the capitals of Malwa and Guzerat), on the ruins of Dhar and Anhulwarra. Puttun, the term Rajasthan would have been appropriated to the space comprehended in the map prefixed to this work: the valley of the Indus on the west, and Bundelkhund† on the east; to the north, the sandy tracts (south of the Sutledge) termed *Jungul des*; and the Vindhya mountains to the south.

This space comprehends nearly eight degrees of latitude, and nine of longitude, being from 22° to 30° north latitude, and 69° to 78° east longitude, embracing a superficial area of 350,000 square miles.

Although it is proposed to touch upon the annals of all the states in this extensive tract, with their past and present condition, those in the centre will claim the most prominent regard; especially Mewar, which, copiously treated of, will afford a specimen, obviating the necessity of like details of the rest.

The order in which these states will be reviewed is as follows:—

1. Mewar, or Oodipur.
2. Marwar, or Jodhpur.
3. Bikaner and Kishenguth.
4. Kotah,
5. Boondi,
6. Ambar, or Jeypur, with its branches, dependent and independent.
7. Jesselmeer.
8. The Indian desert to the valley of the Indus.

* Or 'regal (*raj*) dwelling (*than*).'

† It is rather singular that the Scind river will mark this eastern boundary, as does the Indus (or great Scind) that to the west. East of this minor Scind the Hindu princes are not of pure blood, and are excluded from Rajasthan or Rajwarra.

The basis of this work is the geography of the country, the historical and statistical portion being consequent and subordinate thereto. It was, indeed, originally designed to be essentially geographical; but circumstances have rendered it impossible to execute the intended details, or even to make the map so perfect as the superabundant material at the command of the author might have enabled him to do; a matter of regret to himself rather than of loss to the general reader, to whom geographic details, however important, are usually dry and uninteresting.

It was also intended to institute a comparison between the map and such remains of ancient geography as can be extracted from the Puranas and other Hindu authorities; which, however, must be deferred to a future period, when the deficiency of the present rapid and general sketch may be supplied, should the author be enabled to resume his labours.

The laborious research, in the course of which these data were accumulated, commenced in 1806, when the author was attached to the embassy sent, at the close of the Mahratta wars, to the court of Sindhia. This chieftain's army was then in Mewar, at that period almost a *terra incognita*, the position of whose two capitals, Oodipur and Cheetore, in the best existing maps, was precisely reversed; that is, Cheetore was inserted S. E. of Oodipur instead of E. N. E.: a proof of the scanty knowledge possessed at that period.

In other respects there was almost a total blank. In the maps prior to 1806 nearly all the western and the central states of Rajasthan will be found wanting. It had been imagined, but a little time before, that the rivers had a southerly course into the Nerbudda; a notion corrected by the father of Indian geography, the distinguished Rennell.

This blank the author filled up; and in 1815, for the first time, the geography of Rajasthan was put into a combined form and presented to the Marquis of Hastings, on the eve of a general war, when the labour of ten years was amply rewarded by its becoming in part the foundation of that illustrious commander's plans of the campaign. It is a duty owing to himself to state, that every map, without exception, printed since this period, has its foundation, as regards Central and Western India in the labours of the author.

The route of the embassy was from Agra, through the southern frontier of Jeypur, to Oodipur. A portion of this had been surveyed, and points laid down from celestial observation, by Dr. W. Hunter, which I adopted as the basis of my enterprize. The Resident Envoy to the court of Sindhia was possessed of the valuable sketch of the route of Colonel Palmer's embassy in 1791, as laid down by Dr. Hunter; the foundation of my subsequent surveys, as it merited from its importance and general accuracy. It embraced all the extreme points of Central India: Agra, Nirwar, Dittah, Jhansi, Bhopal, Sarangpur, Oojein, and on return from this, the first meridian of the Hindus, by Kotah, Boondi, Rampura (Tonk), Biana, to Agra. The position of all these places was more or less accurately fixed, according to the time which could be bestowed, by astronomical observation.

At Rampura Hunter ceased to be my guide: and from this point commenced the new survey to Oodipur, where we arrived in June 1806. The position then assigned to it with most inadequate instruments, has been changed only 1' of longitude, though the latitude amounted to about 5'.

From Oodipur the subsequent march of the army with which we moved, led past the celebrated Cheetore, and through the centre of Malwa, crossing in detail all the grand streams flowing from the Vindhya, till we halted for a season on the Bundelkhund frontier at Kemlassa. In this journey of seven hundred miles I twice crossed the lines of route of the former embassy, and was gratified to find my first attempts generally coincide with their established points.

In 1807 the army having undertaken the siege of Rahtgurrh, I determined to avail myself of the time which Mahrattas waste in such a process, and to pursue my favourite project. With a small guard I determined to push through untrodden fields, by the banks of the Betwa to Chanderi, and in its latitude proceed in a westerly direction towards Kotah, trace the course once more of all those streams from the south, and the points of junction of the most important (the Cali Scind, Parbatti, and Bunas) with the Chumbul; and having effected this, continue my journey to Agra. This I accomplished in times very different from the present, being often obliged to strike my tents and march at midnight, and more than once the object of plunder. The chief points in this route were Kemlassa, Rajwarra, Kotra on the Betwa, Kunniadana,* Booradongur,† Shahabad, Barah,‡ Polaitah,§ Baroda, Seopur, Palli,|| Rintimbore, Kerowly, Sri Muttra, and Agra.

On my return to the Mahratta camp I resolved further to increase the sphere, and proceeded westward by Bhurtpur, Kuthoomur, Saintri, to Jeypur, Tonk, Indurgurrh, Googul, Chupra, Raghoogurrh, Arone, Koorwe, Bhorasso, to Saugur: a journey of more than one thousand miles. I found the camp nearly where I left it.

With this ambulatory court I moved everywhere within this region, constantly employed in surveying till 1812, when Sindhia's court became stationary. It was then I formed my plans for obtaining a knowledge of those countries into which I could not personally penetrate.

In 1810-11 I had despatched two parties, one to the Indus, the other to the desert south of the Sutledge. The first party, under Shekh Abul Birkat, journeyed westward, by Oodipur through Guzerat, Saurashtra, and Cutch, Lukput and Hyderabad (the capital of the Scind Government); crossed the Indus to Tatta, proceeded up the right bank to Seewan; recrossed, and continued on the left bank as far as Khyr-pur, the residence of one of the triumvirate governors of Scind, and having reached the insulated Bekher¶ (the capital of the Sogdi of Alexander), returned by the desert of Oomrasoomra to Jesselmeer, Marwar, and Jeypur, and joined me in camp at Nirwar. It was a perilous undertaking; but the Shekh was a fearless and enterprising

* Eastern table-land. † Scind River. ‡ Parbatti River.

§ Cali Scind River.

|| Passage of the Chumbul and junction of the Par.

¶ The Shekh brought me specimens of the rock, which is siliceous; and also a piece of brick of the very ancient fortress of Seewan, and some of the grain from its pits, charred and alleged by tradition to have lain there since the period of Raja Bhartrihari, the brother of Vicramaditya. It is not impossible that it might be owing to Alexander's terrific progress, and to their supplies being destroyed by fire. Seewan is conjectured by Captain Pottinger to be the capital of Musicanus.

character, and moreover a man with some tincture of learning. His journals contained many hints and directions for future research in the geography, statistics, and manners of the various races amongst whom he travelled.

The other party was conducted by a most valuable man, Madarr Lall, who became a perfect adept in these expeditions of geographical discovery, and other knowledge resulting therefrom. There is not a district of any consequence in the wide space before the reader which was not traversed by this spirited individual, whose qualifications for such complicated and hazardous journeys were never excelled. Ardent, persevering, prepossessing, and generally well-informed, he made his way when others might have perished.

From these remote regions the best informed native inhabitants were, by persuasion and recompense, conducted to me; and I could at all times, in the Mahratta camp at Gwalior, from 1812 to 1817, have provided a native of the valley of the Indus, the deserts of Dhat, Oomrasoomra, or any of the states of Rajasthan.

The precision with which Kasids and other public conveyers of letters, in countries where posts are little used, can detail the peculiarities, of a long line of route, and the accuracy of their distances, would scarcely be credited in Europe. I have no hesitation in asserting, that if a correct estimate were obtained of the measured *cos*s of a country, a line might be laid down upon a flat surface with great exactitude. I have heard it affirmed, that it was the custom of the old Hindu governments to have measurements made of the roads from town to town, and that the *Abou Mahatmya* contains a notice of an instrument for that purpose. Indeed, the singular coincidence between lines measured by the perambulator and the estimated distances of the natives, is the best proof that the latter, are deduced from some more certain method than mere computation.

I never rested satisfied with the result of one set of my parties, with the single exception of Madarri's, always making the information of one a basis for the instruction of another, who went over the same ground; but with additional views and advantages, and with the aid of the natives brought successively by each, till I exhausted every field.

Thus, in a few years, I had filled several volumes with lines of route throughout this space; and having many frontier and intermediate points, the positions of which were fixed, a general outline of the result was constructed, wherein all this information was laid down. I speak more particularly of the western states, as the central portion, or that watered by the Chumbul and its tributary streams, whether from the elevated Aravali on the west, or from the Vindhya mountains on the south, has been personally surveyed and measured in every direction, with an accuracy, sufficient for every political or military purpose, until the grand trigonometrical survey from the peninsula shall be extended throughout India. These countries form an extended plain to the Sutledge north, and west to the Indus, rendering the amalgamation of geographical materials much less difficult than where mountainous regions intervene.

After having laid down these varied lines in the outline described, I determined to check and confirm its accuracy by recommencing the survey on a new plan, *viz.*, trigonometrically.

My parties were again despatched to resume their labours over fields now familiar to them. They commenced from points whose positions were fixed (and my knowledge enabled me to give a series of such), from each of which, as a centre, they collected every radiating route to every town within the distance of twenty miles. The points selected were generally such as to approach equilateral triangles: and although to digest the information became a severe toil, the method will appear, even to the casual observer, one which must throw out its own errors; for these lines crossed in every direction, and consequently corrected each other. By such means did I work my way in those unknown tracts, and the result is in part before the reader. I say, in part; for my health compels me reluctantly to leave out much which could be combined from *ten folios* of journeys extending throughout these regions.

In 1815, as before stated, an outline map containing all the information thus obtained, and which the subsequent crisis rendered of essential importance, was presented by me to the Governor-General of India. Upon the very eve of the war I constructed and presented another, of the greater portion of the Malwa, to which it appeared expedient to confine the operations against the Pindarries. The material feature in this small map was the general positions of the Vindhya mountains, the sources and course of every river originating thence, and the passes in this chain, an object of primary importance. The boundaries of the various countries in this tract were likewise defined, and it became essentially useful in the subsequent dismemberment of the Peishwa's dominions.

In the construction of this map I had many fixed points, both of Dr. Hunter's and my own, to work from; and it is gratifying to observe, that though several measured lines have since been run through this space, not only the general, but often the identical features of mine, have been preserved in the maps since given to the world. As considerable improvement has been made by several measured lines through this tract, and many positions affixed by a scientific and zealous geographer, I have had no hesitation in incorporating a small portion of this improved geography in the map now presented.*

Many surveyed lines were made by me, from 1817 to 1822; and here I express my obligations to my kinsman,† to whom alone I owe any aid for improving this portion of my geographical labours. This officer made a circuitous survey, which comprehended nearly the extreme points of Mewar, from the capital, by Cheetore, Mandelgurh, Jahajpur, Rajmahal, and in return by Bunai, Bednore, Deogurh, to the point of outset. From these extreme points he was enabled to place many intermediate ones, for which Mewar is so favourable, by reason of its isolated hills.

In 1820 I made an important journey across the Aravali, by Komalmeer, Palli, to Jodhpur, the capital of Marwar, and thence by Mairta, tracing the course of the Looni to its source at Ajmeer; and from this

* It is, however, limited to Malwa, whose geography was greatly improved and enlarged by the labours of Captain Dangerfield; and though my materials could fill up the whole of this province, I merely insert the chief points to connect it with Rajasthan.

† Captain P. T. Waugh, 10th Regiment Light Cavalry, Bengal.

celebrated residence of the Chohan kings and Mogul emperors, returning through the central lands of Mewar, by Bunai and Bunera, to the capital.

I had the peculiar satisfaction to find that my position of Jodhpur, which has been used as a capital point in fixing the geography west and north, was only 3' of space out in latitude, and little more in longitude; which accounted for the coincidence of my position of Bikaner with that assigned by Mr. Elphinstone, in his account of the embassy to Cabul.

Besides Oodipur, Jodhpur, Ajmeer, etc., whose positions I had fixed by observation, and the points laid down by Hunter, I availed myself of a few positions given to me by that enterprising traveller, the author of the journey into Khorasan,* who marched from Delhi, by Nagore and Jodhpur, to Oodipur.

The outline of the countries of Guzerat,† the Saurashtra peninsula, and Cutch, inserted chiefly by way of connection, is entirely taken from the labours of that distinguished geographer, the late General Reynolds. We had both gone over a great portion of the same field; and my testimony is due to the value of his researches in countries into which he never personally penetrated, evincing what may be done by industry, and the use of such materials as I have described.

I shall conclude with a rapid sketch of the physiognomy of these regions; minute and local descriptions will appear more appropriately in the respective historical portions.

Rajasthan presents a great variety of feature. Let me place the reader on the highest peak of the insulated Aboo, 'the saint's pinnacle,'‡ as it is termed, and guide his eye in a survey over this wide expanse, from the 'blue waters' of the Indus west, to the 'withy-covered'§ Betwa on the east. From this, the most elevated spot in Hindusthan, overlooking by fifteen hundred feet the Aravali mountains, his eye descends to the plains of Medpat|| (the classic term for Mewar), whose chief streams flowing from the base of the Aravali, join the Beris and Bunar, and are prevented from uniting with the Chumbul only by the Pat-ar¶ or plateau of Central India.

* Mr. J. B. Fraser.

† My last journey, in 1822-3, was from Oodipur, through these countries towards the Delta of the Indus; but more with a view to historical and antiquarian than geographical research. It proved the most fruitful of all my many journeys.

‡ Guru Sikhar.

§ Its classic name is *Vetravati*, *Vetra* being the common willow in Sanscrit; said by Willford to be the same in Welsh.

|| Literally 'the central (*madhya*) flat.'

¶ Meaning 'table (*pat*) mountain (*ar*).—Although *ar* may not be found in any Sanscrit dictionary with the signification 'mountain,' yet it appears to be a primitive root possessing such meaning—instance, *Ar-booddha*, 'hill of Booddha,' *Aravali*, 'hill of strength,' *Ar* is Hebrew for 'mountain,' (c. f. *Ararat*?) *Oros* in Greek? The common word for a mountain in Sanscrit, *giri*, is equally so in Hebrew.

Ascending the plateau near the celebrated Cheetore, let the eye deviate slightly from the direct eastern line, and pursue the only practicable path by Ruttungurh, and Singoli, to Kotah, and he will observe its three successive steppes, the miniature representation of those of Russian Tartary. Let the observer here glance across the Chumbul and traverse Haravati to its eastern frontier, guarded by the fortress of Shahabad : thence abruptly descend the plateau to the level of the Scind, still proceeding eastward, until the table-mountain, the western limit of Bundelkhund, affords a resting point.

To render this more distinct, I present a profile of the tract described from Aboo to Kotra on the Betwa : * from Aboo to the Chumbul, the result of barometrical measurement, and from the latter to the Betwa from my general observations† of the irregularities of surface. The result is, that the Betwa at Kotra is one thousand feet above the sea level, and one thousand lower than the city and valley of Oodipur, which again is on the same level with the base of Aboo, two thousand feet above the sea. This line, the general direction of which is but a short distance from the tropic, is about six geographic degrees in length : yet is this small space highly diversified, both in its inhabitants and the production of the soil, whether hidden or revealed.

Let us now from our elevated station (still turned to the east) carry the eye both south and north of the line described, which nearly bisects Madhyadesa,‡ 'the central land' of Rajasthan; best defined by the course of the Chumbul and its tributary streams, to its confluence with the Jumna : while the regions west of the transalpine Aravali§ may as justly be defined Western Rajasthan.

Looking to the south, the eye rests on the long extended and strongly defined line of the Vindhya mountains, the proper bounds of Hindusthan, and the Dekhan. Though, from our elevated stand on 'the Saint's Pinnacle' of Aboo, we look down on the Vindhya as a range of diminished importance, it is that our position is the least favourable to viewing its grandeur, which would be most apparent from the south; though throughout this skirt of descent, irregular elevations attain a height of many hundred feet above such points of its abrupt descent.

The Aravali itself may be said to connect with the Vindhya, and the point of junction to be towards Champaneer; though it might be as correct to say the Aravali thence rose upon and stretched from the Vindhya. Whilst it is much less elevated than more to the north, its pre-

* The Betwa river runs under the table-land just alluded to, on the east.

† I am familiar with these regions, and confidently predict, that when a similar measurement shall be made from the Betwa to Kotah, these results will little err, and the error will be in having made Kotah somewhat too elevated, and the bed of the Betwa a little too low.

‡ Central India, a term which I first applied as the title of the map presented to the Marquis of Hastings, 1815, "of central and Western India," and since become familiar.

§ Let it be remembered that the Aravali, though it loses its tabular form, sends its branches north, terminating at Delhi.

sents bold features throughout, * south by Lunawarra, Dongurpur, and Edur, to Amba Bhawani and Oodipur.

Still looking from Aboo over the table-land of Malwa, we observe her plains of black loam furrowed by the numerous streams from the highest points of the Vindhya, pursuing their northerly course; some meandering through valleys or falling over precipices; others bearing down all opposition, and actually forcing an exit through the central plateau to join the Chumbul.

Having thus glanced at the south, let us cast the eye north of this line, and pause on the alpine Aravali.† Let us take a section of it, from the capital, Oodipur, the line of our station on Aboo, passing through Oguna, Panurwa, and Meerpur, to the western descent near Sirohi, a space of nearly sixty miles in a direct line, where "hills o'er hills and alps on alps arise," from the ascent at Oodipur to the descent to Marwar. All this space to the Sirohi frontier is inhabited by communities of the aboriginal races, living in a state of primeval and almost savage independence, owing no paramount power, paying no tribute, but with all the simplicity of republics; their leaders, with the title of Rawut, being hereditary. Thus the Rawut of the Oguna commune can assemble five thousand bows, and several others can on occasion muster considerable numbers. Their habitations are dispersed through the valleys in small rude hamlets near their pastures of defence.‡

Let me now transport the reader to the citadel pinnacle of Komal-meer,§ thence surveying the range running north to Ajmeer, where, shortly after, it loses its tabular form, and breaking into lofty ridges, sends numerous branches through the Shikhavati federation, and Alwar, till in low heights it terminates at Delhi.

* Those who have marched from Baroda towards Malwa and marked the irregularities of surface, will admit this chain of connection of the Vindhya and Aravali.

† 'The refuge of strength,' a title justly merited, from its affording protection to the most ancient sovereign race which holds dominion, whether in the east or west—the ancient stock of the Suryavansa, the Heliadae of India, our 'children of the sun,' the Princes of Mewar.

‡ It was my intention to have penetrated through their singular abodes; and I had negotiated, and obtained of these 'forest lords' a promise of hospitable passport, of which I have never allowed myself to doubt, as the virtues of pledged faith and hospitality are ever to be found in stronger keeping in the inverse ratio of civilization. Many years ago one of my parties was permitted to range through this tract. In one of the passes of their lengthened valleys 'the Lord of the mountain' was dead: the men were all abroad, and his widow alone in the hut. Madarri told his story, and claimed her surety and passport; which the Bheelni delivered from the quiver of her late lord: and the arrow carried in his hand was as well recognized as the cumbrous roll, with all its seals and appendages, of a traveller in Europe.

§ *Meer* (*meru*) signifies 'a hill' in Sanskrit, hence *Komal*, or properly *Kumbhameer*, is 'the hill' or 'mountain of Kumbha,' a prince whose exploits are narrated. Likewise *Ajmeer* is the 'hill of Ajaya,' the 'invincible' hill. *Mer* is with the long *é*, like *Mere* in French, in classical orthography.

From Komalmeer to Ajmeer the whole space is termed Merwarra, and is inhabited by the mountain race of Mer or Mair, the habits and history of which singular class will be hereafter related. The range averages from six to fifteen miles in breadth, having upwards of one hundred and fifty villages and hamlets scattered over its valleys and rocks, abundantly watered, not deficient in pasture, and with cultivation enough for all internal wants, though it is raised with infinite labour on terraces, as the vine is cultivated in Switzerland and on the Rhine.

In vain does the eye search for any trace of wheel-carriage across this compound range from Edur to Ajmeer; and it consequently well merits its appellation *ara*, the '*barrier*,' for the strongest arm of modern warfare, artillery, would have to turn the chain by the north, to avoid the impracticable descent to the west.*

Guiding the eye along the chain, several fortresses are observed on pinnacles guarding the passes on either side, while numerous rills descend, pouring over the declivities, seeking their devious exit between the projecting ribs of the mountain. The Beris, the Bunas, the Kotaser, the Khari, the Dye, all uniting with the Bunas to the east, while to the west the still more numerous streams which fertilize the rich province of Godwar unite to 'the Salt River,' the *Looni*, and mark the true line of the desert. Of these the chief are the Sookri and the Bandi; while others which are not perennial, and depend on atmospheric causes for their supply, receive the general denomination of '*rayl*,' indicative of rapid mountain torrents, carrying in their descent a vast volume of alluvial deposit, to enrich the siliceous soil below.

However grand the view of the chaotic mass of rock from this elevated site of Komulmeer, it is from the plains of Marwar that its majesty is most apparent; where its 'splintered pinnacles' are seen rising over each other in varied form, or frowning over the dark indented recesses of its forest-covered and rugged declivities.

On reflection, I am led to pronounce the Aravali a connection of the 'Appennines of India;' the Ghats on the Malabar coast of the peninsula: nor does the passage of the Nerbudda or the Tapti, through its diminished centre, militate against the hypothesis, which might be better substantiated by the comparison of their intrinsic character and structure.

The general character of the Aravali is its primitive formation: granite, reposing in variety of angle (the general dip is to the east) on massive, compact, dark blue slate, the latter rarely appearing much above the surface or base of the superincumbent granite. The internal valleys abound in variegated quartz and a variety of schistus slate of every hue, which gives a most singular appearance to the roofs of the houses and temples when the sun shines upon them. Rocks of gneis and of syenite appear in the intervals; and in the diverging ridges west of Ajmeer, the

* At the point of my descent this was characteristically illustrated by my Rajpoot friend of Semur, whose domain had been invaded and cow-pens emptied, but a few days before, by the mountain bandit of Sirohi. With their booty they took the shortest and not most practicable road: but though their alpine kine are pretty well accustomed to leaping in such abodes, it would appear they had hesitated here. The difficulty was soon got over by one of the Meenas, who with his dagger transfixed one and rolled him over the height his carcass serving at once as a precedent and a *stepping-stone* for his horned kindred.

summits are quite dazzling with the enormous masses of vitreous rose-coloured quartz.

The Aravali and its subordinate hills are rich both in mineral and metallic products ; and, as stated in the annals of Mewar, to the latter alone can be attributed the resources which enabled this family so long to struggle against superior power, and to raise those magnificent structures which would do honor to the most potent kingdoms of the west.

The mines are royalties ; their produce a monopoly, increasing the personal revenue of their prince. "*An-Dan-Kan*," is a triple figurative expression, which comprehends the sum of sovereign rights in Rajasthan, being *allegiance, commercial duties, mines*. The tin-mines of Mewar were once very productive, and yielded, it is asserted, no inconsiderable portion of silver : but the caste of miners is extinct, and political reasons, during the Mogul domination, led to the concealment of such sources of wealth. Copper of a very fine description is likewise abundant, and supplies the currency ; and the chief of Saloombra even coins by sufferance from the mines on his own estate. *Soorma*, or the oxide of antimony, is found on the western frontier. The garnet, amethystine quartz, rock crystal, the chrysolite, and inferior kinds of the emerald family, are all to be found within Mewar ; and though I have seen no specimens decidedly valuable, the Rana has often told me that, according to tradition, his native hills contained every species of mineral wealth.

Let us now quit our alpine station on the Aravali, and make a tour of the *Patar*, or plateau of Central India, not the least important feature of this interesting region. It possesses a most decided character, and is distinct from the Vindhya to the south and the Aravali to the west, being of the secondary formation, or trap, of the most regular horizontal stratification.

The circumference of the plateau is best explained in the map, though its surface is most unequally detailed, and is continually alternating its character between the tabular form and clustering ridges.

Commencing the tour at Mandelgurh, let us proceed south, skirting Cheetore (both on insulated rocks detached from the plateau), thence by Jawud, Dantoli, Rampura,* Bhanpura, the Mokundurra Pass,† to Gaggrown (where the Cali Scind forces an entrance through its table-barrier to Eklaira)‡ and Mergwas (where the Parbati, taking advantage of the diminished elevation, passes from Malwa to Haravati), and by the Raghugurh, Shahabad, Gazeegurh, Guswanee, to Jaduwati, where the plateau terminates on the Chumbul, east ; while from the same point of outset, Mandelgurh, soon losing much of its table form, it stretches away in bold ranges, occasionally tabular, as in the Boondi fortress, by Dublana, Indurgurh, and Lakheri,§ to Rinthumbor and Kerowli, terminating at Dholpur Bari.

The elevation and inequalities of this plateau are best seen by crossing it from west to east, from the plains to the level of the Chumbul, where with the exception of the short flat between Kotah and Palli ferry, this noble stream is seen rushing through the rocky barrier.

At Rinthumbor the plateau breaks into lofty ranges, their white summits sparkling in the sun ; cragged but not peaked, and preserving the characteristic formation, though disunited from the mass. Here there

* Near this the Chumbul first breaks into the Patar.

† Here is the celebrated pass through the mountains.

‡ Here the Newaz breaks the chain.

§ Both celebrated passes, where the ranges are very complicated.

are no less than seven distinct ranges (*Satparra*), through all of which the Bunas has to force a passage to unite with the Chumbul. Beyond Rinthum-bor, and the whole way from Kerowli to the river, is an irregular table-land, on the edge of whose summit are the fortresses of Ootgeer, Mundrel, and that more celebrated at Thoon. But east of the eastern side there is still another steppe of descent, which may be said to originate near the fountain of the Scind at Latoti, and passing by Chanderi, Kuniadhana, Nirwar, and Gwalior, terminates at Deogurh, in the plains of Gohud. The descent from this second steppe is into Bundelkhund and the valley of the Betwa.

Distinguished as is this elevated region in the surface of Central India, its summit is but little higher than the general elevation of the crest of the Vindhya, and upon a level with the valley of Oodipur and base of the Aravali. The slope or descent, therefore, from both these ranges to the skirts of the plateau, is great and abrupt, of which the most intelligible and simple proof appears in the course of these streams. Few portions of the globe attest more powerfully the force exerted by the action of waters to subdue every obstacle, than a view of the rock-bound channels of these streams in this adamant barrier. Four streams—one of which, the Chumbul, would rank with the Rhine and almost with the Rhone—have here forced their way, laying bare the stratification from the water's level to the summit, from three to six hundred feet in perpendicular height, the rock appearing as if chiselled by the hand of man. Here the geologist may read the book of nature in distinct characters: few tracts (from Rampura to Kotah) will be found more interesting to him, to the antiquarian, or to the lover of nature in her most rugged attire.

The surface of this extensive plateau is greatly diversified. At Kotah, the bare protruding rock in some places presents not a trace of vegetation; but where it bevels off to the banks of the Par, it is one of the richest and most productive soils in India, and better cultivated than any spot even of British India. In its indented sides are glens of the most romantic description (as the fountain of '*the Snake King*,' near Hinglaj), and deep dells, the source of small streams, where many treasures of art, in temples and ancient dwellings, yet remain to reward the traveller.

This central elevation, as before described, is of the secondary formation, called trap. Its prevailing colour, where laid bare by the Chumbul, is milk-white: it is compact and close-grained, and though perhaps the mineral offering the greatest resistance to the chisel, the sculptures at the celebrated Burulli evince its utility to the artist. White is also the prevailing colour to the westward. About Kotah it is often mixed white and porphyritic, and about Shahabad of a mixed red and brown tint. When exposed to the action of the atmosphere in its eastern declivity, the decomposed and rough surface would almost cause it to be mistaken for gritstone.

This formation is not favourable to mineral wealth. The only metals are lead and iron; but their ores, especially the latter, are abundant. There are mines, said to be of value, of sulphuret of lead (*galena*) in the Gwalior province, from which I have had specimens, but these also are closed. The natives fear to extract their mineral wealth; and though abounding in lead, tin, and copper, they are indebted almost entirely to Europe even for the materials of their culinary utensils.

Without attempting a delineation of inferior ranges, I will only further direct the reader's attention to an important deduction from this superficial review of the physiognomy of Rajwarra.

There are two distinctly marked declivities or slopes in Central India : the chief is that from west to east, from the great rampart, the Aravali, interposed to prevent the drifting of the sands into the central plains, bisected by the Chumbul and his hundred arms) to the Betwa ; the other slope is from south to north, from the Vindhya, the southern buttress of Central India, to the Jumna.

Extending our definition, we may pronounce the course of the Jumna to indicate the central fall of that immense vale which has its northern slope from the base of the Himalaya, and the southern from that of the Vindhya mountains.

It is not in contemplation to delineate the varied course of the magnificent Nerbudda, though I have abundant means ; for the moment we ascend the summit of the tropical Vindhya, to descend into the valley of the Nerbudda, we abandon Rajasthan and the Rajpoots for the aboriginal races, the first proprietors of the land. These I shall leave to others, and commence and end with the Chumbul, the paramount lord of the floods of Central India.

The Chumbul has *his* fountains in a very elevated point of the Vindhya, amidst a cluster of hills, on which is bestowed the local appellation of 'Janapava.' It has three co-equal sources from the same cluster, the Chumbul, Chambela, and Gumbheer ; while no less than nine other streams have their origin on the south side, and pour their waters into the Nerbudda.

The Sipra from Peepuldo, the little Scind* from Dewas, and other minor streams passing Oojein, all unite with the Chumbul in different stages before he breaks through the plateau.

The Cali Scind, from Baugri and its petty branch, the Sodwia, from Raghugurh ; the Newaz (or Jamneeri), from Morsookri and Magurda ; the Parbati, from the pass of Amalakhara, with its more eastern arm, from Doulutpur, uniting at Furher, are all points in the crest of the Vindhya range, whence they pursue their course through the plateau, rolling over precipices,† till engulphed in the Chumbul at the ferries of Noonerah and Palli. All these unite on the right bank.

On the left bank his flood is increased by the Bunas, fed by the perennial streams from the Aravali, and the Beris from the lakes of Oodipur ; and after watering Mewar, the southern frontier of Jeypur, and the high-lands of Kerowli, the river turns south to unite at the holy 'Sungum,'‡ Rameswar. Minor streams contribute (unworthy however of

* This is the *fourth* Scind of India. We have, first, the Scind or Indus ; this little Scind ; then the Cali Scind, or 'black river,' and again the Scind rising at Latoti, on the plateau west and above Seronge. *Sin* is a Scythic word for river (now unused), so applied by the Hindus.

† The falls of the Cali Scind through the rocks at Gagrown and the Parbati at Chupra (Googul) are well worthy of a visit. The latter, though I encamped twice at Chupra, from which it was reputed five miles, I did not see.

‡ *Sungum* is the point of confluence of two or more rivers, always sacred to Mahadeva.

separate notice), and after a thousand involutions he reaches the Jumna, at the holy *Triveni*,* or 'triple-allied' stream, between Etawa and Kalpi.

The course of the Chumbul, not reckoning the minor sinuosities, is upwards of five hundred miles; and along its banks specimens of nearly every race now existing in India may be found: Sondies, Chunderawuts, Seesodias, Haras, Gore, Jadoon, Sikerwal, Goojur, Jat, Tuar, Chohan, Bhadoria, Kutchwaha, Sengar, Bundela; each in associations of various magnitudes, from the substantive state to the little republic communes between the Chumbul and Cohari.

Having thus sketched the central portion of Rajasthan, or that eastward of the Aravali, I shall give a rapid general view of that to the west, conducting the reader over the '*Thul ca Teeba*,' or 'sand hills' of the desert, to the valley of the Indus.

Let the reader again take post on Aboo, by which he may be saved a painful journey over the *Thul*. The most interesting object in this arid 'region of death' is the 'salt river,' the Looni, with its many arms falling from the Aravali to enrich the best portion of the principality of Jodhpur, and distinctly marking the line of that extensive plain of over-shifting sand, termed in Hindu geography *Marusthulli*, corrupted to *Marwar*.

The Looni, from its sources, the sacred lakes of Pushkar and Ajmeer, and the more remote arm from Purbutsir to its embouchure in the great western salt marsh, the Rin has a course of more than three hundred miles.

In the term '*Erinos*' of the historians of Alexander, we have the corruption of the word 'Run' or 'Rin' still used to describe that extensive fen formed by the deposits of the Looni, and the equally saturated saline streams from the southern desert of Dhat. It is one hundred and fifty miles in length; and where broadest, from Bhooj to Buliari, about seventy: in which direction the caravans cross, having as a place of halt an insulated oasis in this mediterranean salt marsh. In the dry season, nothing meets the eye but an extensive and glaring sheet of salt, spread over its insidious surface, full of dangerous quicksands: and in the rains it is a dirty saline solution, up to the camels' girths in many places. The little oasis, the *Khari Caba*, furnishes pasture for this useful animal and rest for the traveller pursuing his journey to either bank.

It is on the desiccated borders of this vast salt marsh that the illusory phenomenon, the *merage* presents its fantastic appearance, pleasing to all but the wearied traveller, who sees a heaven of rest in the embattled towers, the peaceful hamlet, or shady grove, to which he hastens in vain; receding as he advances, till "the Sun in his might," dissipating these "cloud cap'd towers," reveals the vanity of his pursuit.

Such phenomena are common to the desert, more particularly where these extensive saline depositions exist, but varying from certain causes. In most cases, this powerfully magnifying and reflecting medium is a vertical stratum; at first dense and opaque, it gradually attenuates with increased temperature, till the maximum of heat, which it can no longer resist, drives it off in an etherial vapour. This optical deception, well known to the Rajpoots, is called *see-kote*, or 'winter castles,' because chiefly visible in the cold season: hence, possibly, originated the equally illusory and delightful '*Chateau en Espagne*,' so well known in the west.

* The Jumna, Chumbul, and Scind.

From the north bank of the Looni to the south, and the Shikhavat frontier to the east, the sandy region commences. Bikaner, Jodhpur, Jessulmeer, are all sandy plains, increasing in volume as you proceed westwards. All this portion of territory is incumbent on a sandstone formation : soundings of all the new wells made from Jodhpur to Ajmeer, yielded the same result ; sand, concrete siliceous deposits, and chalk.

Jessulmeer is everywhere encircled by desert ; and that portion round the capital might not be improperly termed an oasis, in which wheat, barley, and even rice are produced. The fortress is erected on the extremity of a range of some hundred feet in elevation, which can be traced beyond its southern confines to the ruins of the ancient Chotun erected upon them, and which tradition has preserved as the capital of a tribe, or prince termed Happa, of whom no other trace exists. It is not unlikely that this ridge may be connected with that which runs through the rich province of Jalore ; consequently an offset from the base of Aboo.

Though all these regions collectively bear the term *Marusthulli*, or 'region of death,' (the emphatic and figurative phrase for the desert), the restrictive definition applies to a part only, that under the dominion of the Rahtore race.

From Bhalotra on the Looni, throughout the whole of Dha and Oomrasoomra, the western portion of Jessulmeer, and a broad stripe between the southern limits of Daodputra and Bikaner, there is real solitude and desolation. But from the Sutledge to the Rin, a space of five hundred miles of longitudinal distance, and varying in breadth from fifty to one hundred miles, numerous oases are found, where the shepherds from the valley of the Indus and the Thul pasture their flocks. The springs of water in these places have various appellations, *tir, par, rar, dur*, all expressive of the element, round which assemble the Rajurs, Sodas, Mangulias, and Sehraies, inhabiting the desert.

I will not touch on the salt lakes or natron beds, or the other products of the desert, vegetable or mineral ; though the latter might soon be described, being confined to the jasper rock near Jessulmeer, which has been much used in the beautiful arabesques of that fairy fabric, at Agra, the mausoleum of Sha Jehan's queen.

Neither shall I describe the valley of the Indus, or that portion eastward of the stream, the termination of the sand ridges of the desert, I will merely remark, that the small stream which breaks from the Indus at Dura, seven miles north of the insulated Bekher, and falls into the ocean at Lukput, shows the breadth of this eastern portion of the valley, which forms the western boundary of the desert. A traveller proceeding from the Kheechee or flats of Scind to the east, sees the line of the desert distinctly marked, with its elevated *teebas*, or sand ridges, under which flows the Sankra which is generally dry except at periodical inundations. These sand-hills are of considerable elevation, and may be considered the limit of the inundation of the 'sweet river,' the *Meeta Muran*, a Scythic or Tartar name for river, and by which alone the Indus is known, from the Punchnud* to the ocean.

* The confluent arms or sources of the Indus.

ANNALS OF MEWAR.

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CHAPTER I.

WE now proceed to the history of the States of Rajpootana, and shall commence with the Annals of Mewar, and its Princes.

These are styled *Ranas*, and are the elder branch of the *Suryavansi*, or 'children of the Sun.' Another patronymic is *Raghuvansi*, derived from a predecessor of Rama, the focal point of each scion of the solar race. To him, the conqueror of Lanka, the genealogists endeavour to trace the solar lines. The titles of many of these claimants are disputed; but the Hindu tribes yield unanimous suffrage to the Prince of Mewar as the legitimate heir to the throne of Rama, and style him *Hindua Sooraj*, or 'Sun of the Hindus.*' He is universally allowed to be the first of the 'thirty-six royal tribes;' nor has a doubt ever been raised respecting his purity of descent. Many of these tribes have been swept away by time; and the genealogist, who abhors a vacuum in his mystic page, fills up their place with others, mere scions of some ancient but forgotten stem.

With the exception of Jessulmeer, Mewar is the only dynasty of these races which has outlived eight centuries of foreign domination, in the same lands where conquest placed them. The Rana still possesses nearly the same extent of territory which his ancestors held when the conqueror from Guznî first crossed the "blue waters"† of the Indus to invade India; while the other families now ruling in the north-west of Rajasthan are the relics of ancient dynasties driven from their pristine seats of power, or their junior branches, who have erected their own fortunes. This circumstance adds to the dignity of the *Ranas*, and is the cause of the general homage which they receive, notwithstanding the diminution of their power. Though we cannot give the Princes of Mewar an ancestor in the Persian *Noshirwan*, nor assert so confidently as Sir Thomas Roe his claims to descent from the celebrated Porus, the opponent of Alexander, we can carry him into regions of antiquity more remote than the Persian, and which would satisfy the most fastidious in respect to ancestry.

In every age and clime we observe the same eager desire after distinguished pedigree, proceeding from a feeling which, though often derided, is extremely natural. The Rajpootras are, however, scarcely satisfied with discriminating their ancestors from the herd of mankind.

* This descendant of one hundred kings shows himself in cloudy weather from the *surya-gokra*, or 'balcony of the Sun.

† *Nilab*, from *nil*, 'blue,' and *ab* 'water;' hence the name of the Nile in Egypt and in India. *Scind* or *Sindhu* appears to be a Scythian word: *Sin* in the Tatar, *t'sin* in Chinese, 'river.' Hence the inhabitants of its higher course termed it *aba sin*, 'parent stream;' and thus, very probably, *Abyssinia* was formed by the Arabians; 'the country on the Nile,' or *aba sin*.

Some plume themselves on a celestial origin, whilst others are content to be demi-celestial; and those who cannot advance such lofty claims, rather than acknowledge the race to have originated in the ordinary course of nature, make their primeval parent of demoniac extraction; accordingly, several of the dynasties who cannot obtain a niche amongst the children of the sun or moon, or trace their descent from some royal saint, are satisfied to be considered the offspring of some Titan (*Daitya*). These puerilities are of modern fabrication, in cases where family documents have been lost, or emigration has severed branches from the parent stock; who, increasing in power, but ignorant of their birth, have had recourse to fable to supply the void. Various authors, borrowing from the same source, have assigned the seat of Porus to the Rana's family; and coincidence of name has been the cause of the family being alternately elevated and depressed. Thus the incidental circumstance of the word *Rhanæ* being found in Ptolemy's geography, in countries bordering on Mewar, furnishes our ablest geographers* with a reason for planting the family there in the second century; while the commentators† of the geography of the Arabian travellers of the ninth and tenth centuries‡ discover sufficient evidence in "the kingdom of Rahmi, always at war with the Balhara sovereign," to consider him (notwithstanding Rahmi is expressly stated "not to be much considered for his birth or the antiquity of his kingdom") as the prince of Cheetore, celebrated in both these points.

The translator of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, following D'Anville,§ makes Ozene (Oojain) the capital of a Porus,|| who sent an embassy to Augustus to regulate their commercial intercourse, and whom he asserts to be the ancestor of the Rana. But to shew how guarded we should be in admitting verbal resemblance to decide such points, the title of Rana is of modern adoption, even so late as the twelfth century; and was assumed in consequence of the victorious issue of a contest with the Purihara Prince of Mundore, who bore the title of Rana, and who surrendered it with his life and capital to the Prince of Mewar. The latter substituted it for the more ancient appellation of *Rawul*;¶ but it was not till the thirteenth century that the novel distinction was generally recognized by neighbouring powers. Although we cannot for a moment admit the *Rahmi*, or even the *Rhanæ* of Ozene, to be connected with this family, yet Ptolemy appears to have given the real ancestor in his

* D'Anville and Rennell.

† Maurice and others.

‡ Relations Anciennes des Voyageurs, par Renaudot.

§ D'Anville (*Antiquities de l'Inde*) quotes Nicolas of Damascus as his authority, who says the letter written by Porus, Prince of Ozene, was in the Greek character.

|| This *Porus* is a corruption of *Puar*, once the most powerful and conspicuous tribe in India; classically written Pramara, the dynasty which ruled at Oojain for ages.

¶ *Rawul*, or *Raoul*, is yet borne as a princely title by the Aharya Prince of Dongurpur, and the Yadu Prince of Jessulmeer, whose ancestors long ruled in the heart of Scythia. *Raoul* seems to have been titular to the Scandinavian chiefs of Scythic origin. The invader of Normandy was *Raoul*, corrupted to *Rollon* or *Rollo*.

Baleocuri, the Balhara monarchs of the Arabian travellers, the ~~Ballabhi~~ *Ballabhi* races of Saurashtra, who were the ancestors of the princes of Mewar.*

Before we proceed, it is necessary to specify the sources whence materials were obtained for the Annals of Mewar, and to give some idea of the character they merit as historical data.

For many years previous to sojourning at the court of Oodipur, sketches were obtained of the genealogy of the family from the rolls of the bards. To these was added a chronological sketch, drawn up under the eye of Raja Jey Sing of Ambar, with comments of some value by him, and which served as a ground-work. Free access was also granted to the Rana's library, and permission obtained to make copies of such MSS. as related to his history. The most important of these was the *Khoman Rasa*,† which is evidently a modern work founded upon ancient materials, tracing the genealogy to Rama, and halting at conspicuous beacons in this long line of crowned heads, particularly about the period of the Mahomedan irruption in the tenth century, the sack of Cheetore by Alla-oo-din in the thirteenth century, and the wars of Rana Pratap with Akbar, during whose reign the work appears to have been recast.

The next in importance were the *Raj Vulas*, in the *Vrij Bhakha* by Man Kubeswara;‡ and the *Raj Ratnakur*,§ by Sudasheo Bhut; both written in the reign of Rana Raj Sing, the opponent of Aurungzebe: also the *Jey Vulas*, written in the reign of Jey Sing, son of Raj Sing. They all commence with the genealogies of the family, introductory to the military exploits of the princes whose names they bear.

The *Mamadewa Prasistha* is a copy of the inscriptions in the temple of 'the Mother of the Gods' at Komulmeer. Genealogical rolls of some antiquity were obtained from the widow of an ancient family bard, who had left neither children nor kindred to follow his profession. Another roll was procured from a priest of the Jains residing in Sanderai, in Marwar, whose ancestry had enjoyed from time immemorial the title of *Gorur*, which they held at the period of the sack of Ballabhipura in the fifth century, whence they emigrated simultaneously with the Rana's ancestors. Others were obtained from Jain priests at Jawud in Malwa. Historical documents possessed by several chiefs were readily furnished and extracts were made from works, both Sanskrit and Persian, which incidentally mention the family. To these were added traditions or biographical anecdotes furnished in conversation by the Rana; or men of intellect amongst his chiefs, ministers, or bards, and inscriptions calculated to reconcile dates; in short, every corroborating circumstance was treasured up which could be obtained by incessant research during sixteen years. The Commentaries of Baber and Jehangir, the Institutes of Akbar, original grants, public and

* The Balhara kings, and their capital Nehrwalla, or Anhulwarra Putun, have given rise to much conjecture amongst the learned. We shall, before this work is closed, endeavour to condense what has been said by ancient and modern authorities on the subject; and from manuscripts, ancient inscriptions, and the result of a personal visit to this ancient domain; to set the matter completely at rest.

† *Khoman* is an ancient title of the earlier princes, and still used. It was borne by the son of *Bappa*, the founder, who retired to Tranboxiana, and there ruled and died, the very country of the ancient Scythic *Khomanis*.

‡ Lord of rhyme.

§ Sea of gems.

autograph letters of the emperors of Delhi and their ministers, were made to contribute more or less; yet numerous as are the authorities cited, the result may afford but little gratification to the general reader, partly owing to the unpopularity of the subject, partly to the inartificial mode of treating it.

At least ten genealogical lists, derived from the most opposite sources, agree in making Kanaksen the founder of this dynasty; and assign his emigration from the most northern of the provinces of India to the peninsula of Saurashtra in S. 201, or A. D. 145. We shall, therefore, make this the point of outset; though it may be premised that Jey Sing, the royal historian and astronomer of Ambar, connects the line with Sumitra (the fifty-sixth descendant from the deified Rama), who appears to have been the contemporary of Vicramaditta, A. C. 56.

The country of which Ayodhya (now Oudh was the capital, and Rama monarch, is termed, in the geographical writings of the Hindus, *Koshala*; doubtless from the mother of Rama, whose name was *Kaushalya*. The first royal emigrant from the north is styled, in the Rana's archives, *Koshalapootra*, 'son of Koshala.'

Rama had two sons, Lob and Cush: from the former the Rana's family claim descent. He is stated to have built Lahore, the ancient Lobkote; and the branch from which the princes of Mewar are descended, resided there until Kanaksen emigrated to Dwarica. The difficulty of tracing these races through a long period of years is greatly increased by the custom of changing the appellation of the tribe, from conquest, locality, or personal celebrity. Sen* seems to have been the martial termination for many generations: this was followed by *Dit* or *Aditya*, a term for the 'sun.' The first change in the name of the tribe was on their expulsion from Saurashtra, when for the generic term of *Suryavansi* was substituted the particular appellation of *Gehlote*. This name was maintained till another event dispersed the family, and when they settled in Ahar,† *Aharya* became the appellative of the branch. This continued till loss of territory and new acquisitions once more transferred the dynasty to Seesoda,‡ a temporary capital in the western mountains. The title of *Rana-wut*, borne by all descendants of the blood royal since the eventful change which removed the seat of government from Cheetore to Oodipur, might in time have superseded that of *Seesodia*, if continued warfare had not checked the increase of population; but the Gehlote branch of the Suryavansi still retain the name of *Seesodia*.

Having premised thus much, we must retrograde to the darker ages, through which we shall endeavour to conduct this celebrated dynasty, though the clue sometimes nearly escapes from our hands in these labyrinths of antiquity. § When it is recollected to what violence this family

* Sen, 'army: ' *kenh*, 'war.'

† Ahar, or Ar, is in the valley of the present capital, Oodipur.

‡ The origin of this name is from the trivial occurrence of the expelled prince of Cheetore having erected a town to commemorate the spot, where after an extraordinary hard chase he killed a hare (*sasa*.)

§ The wild fable which envelops or adorns the cradle of every illustrious family is not easily disentangled. The bards weave the web with skill, and it clings like ivy round each modern branch, obscuring the aged stem in the time-worn branches of which monsters and demi-gods are perched, whose claims of affinity are held in high estimation by these 'children of

has been subjected during the last eight centuries, often dispossessed of all but their native hills and compelled to live on their spontaneous produce, we could scarcely expect that historical records should be preserved. Cheetore was thrice sacked and destroyed, and the existing records are formed from fragments, registers of births and marriages, or from the oral relations of the bards.

By what route Kanaksen, the first emigrant of the solar race, found his way into Saurashatra from Lob-kote, is uncertain: he, however, wrested dominion from a Prince of the Parmara race and founded Bir-nagara in the second century (A. D. 144). Four generations afterwards Vijya Sen, whom the Prince of Ambar calls *Noshirwan*, founded Vijya-pur, supposed to be where Dholka now stands, at the head of the Saurashtra peninsula. Vidarbha was also founded by him, the name of which was afterwards changed to *Seehore*. But the most celebrated was the the capital, Ballabhipura, which for years baffled all search, till it was revealed in its now humbled condition as Balbhi, ten miles north-west of Bhawnuggur. The existence of this city was confirmed by a celebrated Jain work, the *Satroomjya Mahatmya*. The want of satisfactory proof of the Rana's emigration from thence was obviated by the most unexpected discovery, of an inscription of the twelfth century, in a ruined temple on the table-land forming the eastern boundary of the Rana's present territory which appeals to the 'walls of Ballabhi' for the truth of the action it records. And a work written to commemorate the reign of Rana Raj Sing opens with these words: "In the west is Sooratdes,* a country well known: the *barbarians* invaded it, and conquered *Bhal-ca-nath*;† all fell in the sack of Ballabhipura, except the daughter of the Pramara." And the Sanderai roll thus commences: "When the city of Ballabhi was sacked, the inhabitants fled and founded Balli, Sanderai, and Nadole in Mordurdes."‡ These are towns yet of consequence, and in all the Jain religion is still maintained, which was the chief worship of Ballabhipura when sacked by the '*barbarian*.' The records preserved by the Jains give S.B. 205 (A. D. 524) as the date of this event.

The tract about Ballabhipura and northward is termed *Bhal*, probably from the tribe of *Balla*, which might have been the designation of the Rana's tribe prior to that of *Grahilote*; and most probably *Moolthan*, and all these regions of the Catti, Balli, etc., were dependent on Lobkote, whence emigrated Kanaksen; thus strengthening the surmise of the Scythic descent of the Ranas, though now installed in the seat of Rama. The son was the deity of this northern tribe, as of the Rana's ancestry, and the remains of numerous temples to this grand object of Scythic homage are still to be found scattered over this peninsula: whence its name *Saurashtra* the country of the *Sauras*, or *Sun-worshippers*; the *Surostreme* or *Systratrene* of ancient geographers: its inhabitants, the *Suras* of Strabo.

Besides these cities, the MSS. give Gayni§ as the last refuge of the

the sun,' who would deem it criminal to doubt that the *loin-robe* (*dhoti*) of their great founder, Bappa Rawul, was less than five hundred cubits in circumference, that his two-edged sword (*khanda*), the gift of the Hindu Proserpine, weighed an ounce less than sixty-four pounds, or that he was an inch under twenty feet in height.

* Soorat or Saurashtra.

† The 'lord of Bhal.'

‡ Marwar.

§ Gayni, or Gajni, is one of the ancient names of Cambay (the port of Ballabhipura), the ruins of which are about three miles from the modern

family when expelled Saurashtra. One of the poetic chronicles thus commences: "The *barbarians* had captured Gajni. The house of Silladitya "was left desolate. In its defence his heroes fell: of his seed but the name "remained."

These invaders were Scythic, and in all probability a colony from the Parthian kingdom, which was established in sovereignty on the Indus in the second century, having their capital at *Saminagara*, where the ancient Yadu ruled for ages: the *Minagara** of Arrian, and the *Mankir* of the Arabian geographers. It was by this route, through the eastern portion of the valley of the Indus, that the various hordes of Getes or Jits, Huns, Camari, Catti, Macwahana, Balla and Aswaria, had peopled this peninsula, leaving traces still visible. The period is also remarkable, when these and other Scythic hordes were simultaneously abandoning higher Asia for the cold regions of Europe and the warm plains of Hindusthan. From the first to the sixth century of the Christian era, various records exist of these irruptions from the north. Gibbon, quoting De Guignes, mentions one in the second century, which

city. Other sources indicate that these princes held possessions in the southern continent of India, as well as in the Saurashtra peninsula. Tilatilpur Puttun, on the Godavery, is mentioned, which tradition asserts, to be the city of Deogir; but which, after many years' research, I discovered in Saurashtra, it being one of the ancient names of Kundala. In after times, when succeeding dynasties held the title of Bhal-ca-rae, though the capital was removed inland to Anhulwarra Puttun, they still held possession of the western shore, and Cambay continued the chief port.

* The position of *Minagara* has occupied the attention of geographers from D' Anville to Pottinger. Scinde being conquered by Omar, general of the caliph AlMansoor (Abbasi), the name of *Minagara* was changed to *Mansoor*, "une vile" "celebre sur le rivage droit du Sind ou Mehran." "Ptolemee fait aussi mention de cette ville; mais en la deplacant," etc. D' Anville places it about 26°, but not so high as Ulug Beg, whose tables make it 26°40'. I have said elsewhere that I had little doubt that *Minagara*, handed down to us by the author of the *Periplus* as the *metropolistes Skuthias*, was the *Saminagara* of the Yadu Jharejas, whose chronicles claim Sewisthan as their ancient possession, and in all probability was the stronghold (*nagara*) of Sambus, the opponent of Alexander. On every consideration, I am inclined to place it on the site of Sehwan. The learned Vincent, in his translation of the *Periplus*, enters fully and with great judgment upon this point, citing every authority, Arrian, Ptolemy, Al-Biruni Edrisi, D' Anville, and De la Rochette. He has a note (26, p. 386, vol. i.) which is conclusive, could he have applied it: "Al-Birun [equi-distant] between Debeil and Mansura." D' Anville also says: "de Mansora a la ville nommee Birun, la distance est indiquée de quinze parasanges dans Abulfeda," who fixes it, on the authority of the Abu-Rehan (surnamed Al-Biruni from his birthplace), at 26°40'.

The ancient name of Hyderabad, the present capital of Scinde, was Neroon or Nirun, and is almost equidistant, as Abulfeda says, between Dalwul, (Dewar or Tatta) and Mansoor, Sehwan, or *Minagara*, the latitude of which, according to my construction, is 26°11'. Those who wish to pursue this may examine the *Eclaircissemens sur la Carte de l'Inde*, p. 37 et seq., and Dr. Vincent's estimable translation, p. 386,

fixed permanently in the Saurashtra peninsula; and the latter, from original authorities, describes another of the Getes or Jits, styled by the Chinese *Yu-chi*, in the north of India. But the authority directly in point is that of Cosmas, surnamed Indopleustes, who was in India during the reign of Justinian, and that of the first monarch of the Chinese dynasty of Leam.* Cosmas had visited Callian, included in the Balhara kingdom; and he mentions the *Abtelites*, or white Huns, under their king Golas, as being established on the Indus at the very period of the invasion of Ballabhipura.

Arrian, who resided in the second century at Barugaza (Baroach), describes a Parthian sovereignty as extending from the Indus to the Nerbudda. Their capital has already been mentioned, Minagara. Whether these, the *Abtelites*† of Cosmas, were the Parthian dynasty of Arrian, or whether the Parthians were supplanted by the Huns, we must remain in ignorance, but to one or the other we must attribute the sack of Ballabhipura. The legend of this event affords scope for speculation, both as regards the conquerors and the conquered, and gives at least a colour of truth to the reputed Persian ancestry of the Rana: a subject which will be distinctly considered. The solar orb and its type, fire, were the chief objects of adoration of Silladitya of Ballabhipura. Whether to these was added that of the lingam, the symbol of Balnath (the sun), the primary object of worship with his descendants, may be doubted. It was certainly confined to these, and the adoption of 'strange gods,' by the Suryavansi Gehlote is comparatively of modern invention.‡

There was a fountain (*Suryacoonda*) 'sacred to the sun' at Ballabhipura, from which arose, at the summons of Silladitya (according to the legend) the seven-headed horse Saptaswa, which draws the car of Surya, to bear him to battle. With such an auxiliary no foe could prevail; but a wicked minister revealed to the enemy the secret of annulling this aid, by polluting the sacred fountain with blood. This accomplished, in vain did the prince call on Saptaswa to save him from the strange and barbarous.

* Considerable intercourse was carried on between the princes of India and China from the earliest periods; but particularly during the dynasties of Sum, Leam, and Tam, from the fourth to the seventh centuries, when the princes from Bengal and Malabar to the Punjab sent embassies to the Chinese monarchs. The dominions of these Hindu princes may yet be identified.

† D'Herbelot (vol. i. p. 179) calls them the *Haiathelah* or *Indoscythæ* and says that they were apparently from Thibet, between India and China. De Guignes (tome i. p. 325) is offended with this explanation, and says: "cette conjecture ne peut avoir lieu, les Euthelites" "n'ayant jamais demeuré dans le Thibet." A branch of the Huns, however, did most assuredly dwell in that quarter, though we will not positively assert that they were the *Abtelites*. The *Hya* was a great branch of the lunar race of Yayati, and appears early to have left India for the northern regions, and would afford a more plausible etymology for the *Haiathelah* than the *Te-le*, who dwelt on the waters (*ab*) of the Oxus. This branch of the Hunish race has also been termed *Nephthalite*, and fancied one of the lost tribes of Israel.

‡ Ferishta, in the early part of his history, observes that, some centuries prior to Vicramaditya, the Hindus abandoned the simple religion of their ancestors, made idols, and worshipped the host of heaven, which faith they had from Cashmere, the foundry of magic superstition.

foe : the charm was broken, and with it sunk the dynasty of Ballabhi. Who the 'barbarian' was that defiled with blood of kine the fountain of the sun* whether Gate, Parthian, or Hun, we are left to conjecture. The Persian, though he venerated the bull, yet sacrificed him on the altar of Mithras;† and though the ancient Guebre purifies with the urine‡ of the cow, he will not refuse to eat beef; and the iniquity of Cambyses, who thrust his lance into the flank of the Egyptian Apis, is a proof that the bull was abstractedly no object of worship. It would be indulging a legitimate curiosity, could we by any means discover how these 'strange' tribes obtained a footing amongst the Hindu races; for so late as seven centuries ago we find Gates, Huns, Catti, Arispas, Dahæ, definitively settled, and enumerated amongst the Chhatees rajcula. How much earlier the admission, no authority states; but mention is made of several of them aiding in the defence of Cheetore, on the first appearance of the Faith of Islam, upwards of eleven hundred years ago.

CHAPTER II.

OF the Prince's family, the Queen Pushpavati alone escaped the sack of Ballabhi, as well as the funeral pyre, upon which, on the death of Silladitya, his other wives were sacrificed. She was a daughter of the Pramara Prince of Chandravati, and had visited the shrine of the universal mother, Amba-Bhavani, in her native land, to deposit upon the altar of the goddess a votive offering consequent to her expectation of offspring. She was on her return, when the intelligence arrived which blasted all her future hopes, by depriving her of her lord, and robbing him, whom the goddess had just granted to her prayers, of a crown. Excessive grief closed her pilgrimage. Taking refuge in a cave in the mountains of

*Divested of allegory, it means simply that the supply of water was rendered impure, and consequently useless to the Hindus, which compelled them to abandon their defences and meet death in the open field. Anau-din practised the same *ruse* against the celebrated Achil, the Kheechie Prince of Gagrown, which caused the surrender of this impregnable fortress. "It matters not," observes an historian whose name I do not recollect, "whether such things are true, it is sufficient that they were believed. We may smile at the mention of the ghost, the evil genius of Brutus, appearing to him before the battle of Pharsalia; yet it never would have been stated, had it not assimilated with the opinions and prejudices of the age." And we may deduce a simple moral from 'the parent orb refusing the aid of his steed to his terrestrial offspring,' *vis.*, that he was deserted by the deity. Fountains sacred to the sun and other deities were common to the Persians, Scythians, and Hindus, and both the last offered steeds to him in sacrifice.

† The Bul-dan, or sacrifice of the bull to Bal-nath is on record, though now discontinued amongst the Hindus.

‡ Pinkerten who is most happy to strengthen his aversion for the Celt, seizes on a passage in Strabo, who describes him as having resource to the same mode of purification as the Guebre. Unconscious that it may have had a religious origin, he adduces it as a strong proof of the uncleanness of their habits.

Mallia, she was delivered of a son. Having confined the infant to a Brahminee of Birnuggur named Camalavati, enjoining her to educate the young prince as a Brahmin, but to marry him to a Rajpootnee, she mounted the funeral pile to join her lord. Camalavati, the daughter of the priest of the temple, was herself a mother and she performed the tender offices of one to the orphan prince, whom she designated Goha or 'cave-born.' The child was a source of perpetual uneasiness to its protectors: he associated with Rajpoot children, killing birds, hunting wild animals, and at the age of eleven was totally unmanageable: to use the words of the legend, "how should they hide the ray of the sun?"

At this period Edur was governed by a chief of the savage race of Bhil; his name, Mandalica. The young Goha frequented the forests in company with the Bhils, whose habits better assimilated with his daring nature than those of the Brahmins. He became a favourite with the Vana-pootras, or 'children of the forest,' who resigned to him Edur with its woods and mountains. The fact is mentioned by Abdul Fuzil, and is still repeated by the bards with a characteristic version of the incident, of which doubtless there were many. The Bhils having determined in sport to elect a king, the choice fell on Goha; and one of the young savages, cutting his finger, applied the blood as the teeka of sovereignty to his forehead. What was done in sport was confirmed by the old forest chief. The sequel fixes on Goha the stain of ingratitude, for he slew his benefactor, and no motive is assigned in the legend for the deed. Goha's name became the patronymic of his descendants, who were styled *Gohilote*, classically *Grahilote*, in time softened to *Gehlote*.

We know very little concerning these early princes, but that they dwelt in this mountainous region for eight generations; when the Bhils, tired of a foreign rule, assailed Nagadit, the eighth prince, while hunting, and deprived him of life and Edur. The descendants of Camalavati (the Birnuggur Brahmin), who retained the office of priest in the family, were again the preservers of the line of Ballabhi. The infant Bappa, son of Nagadit, then only three years old, was conveyed to the fortress of Bhandere,* where he was protected by a Bhil of Yadu descent. Thence he has removed for greater security to the wilds of Parassur. Within its imperious recesses rose the three-peaked (*tri-cuta*) mountain, at whose base was the town of Nagindra,† the abode of Brahmins, who performed the rites of the 'great God.' In this retreat passed the early years of Bappa, wandering through these alpine valleys, amidst the groves of Bal and the shrines of the brazen calf.

The most antique temples are to be seen in these spots—within the dark gorge of the mountain, or on its rugged summit,—in the depths of the forest, and at the sources of streams, were sites of seclusion, beauty, and sublimity alternately exalt the mind's devotion. In these regions the creative power appears to have been the earliest, and at one time the sole object of adoration, whose symbols, the serpent-wreathed phallus (lingam), and its companion, the bull, were held sacred even by the 'children of the forest.' In these silent retreats Mahadeva continued to rule triumphant,

* Fifteen miles south-west of Jarrole, in the wildest region of India.

† Or Nagda, still a place of religious resort, about ten miles north of Oodipur. Here I found several very old inscriptions relative to the family, which preserve the ancient denomination *Gohil* instead of *Gehlote*. One of these is about nine centuries old.

and the most brilliant festivities of Oodipur were those where his rites are celebrated in the nine days sacred to him, when the Jains and Vajshnabs mix with the most zealous of his votaries : but the strange gods from the plains of the Yumuna and Ganges have withdrawn a portion of the zeal of the Gehlotes from their patron divinity Eklinga, whose dewan,* or viceregent, is the Rana. The temple of Eklinga, situated in one of the narrow defiles leading to the capital, is an immense structure, though more sumptuous than elegant. It is built entirely of white marble, most elaborately carved and embellished ; but lying in the route of a bigotted foe, it has undergone many dilapidations. The brazen bull, placed under his own dome, facing the sanctuary of the phallus, is nearly of the natural size, in a recumbent posture. It is cast (hollow) of good shape, highly polished and without flaw, except where the hammer of the Tatar had opened a passage in the hallow flank in search of treasure.†

Tradition has preserved numerous details of Bappa's‡ infancy, which resemble the adventures of every hero or founder of a race. The young prince attended the sacred kine, an occupation which was honourable even to 'the children of the sun,' and which they still pursue: possibly a remnant of their primitive Scythic habits. The pranks of the royal shepherd are the theme of many a tale. On the Jul Jhoolni, when swinging is the amusement of the youth of both sexes, the daughter of the Solanki chief of Nagda and the village maidens had gone to the groves to enjoy this festivity, but they were unprovided with ropes. Bappa happened to be at hand, and was called by the Rajpoot damsels to forward their sport. He promised to procure a rope if they would first have a game at marriage. One frolic was as good as another, and the scarf of the Solankini was united to the garment of Bappa, the whole of the village lasses joining hands with his as the connecting link ; and thus they performed the mystical number of revolutions round an aged tree. This frolic caused flight from Nagda, and originated his greatness, but at the same time burthened him with all these damsels ; and hence a heterogeneous issue, whose descendants still ascribe their origin to the prank of Bappa round the old mango-tree of Nagda. A suitable offer being shortly after made for the young Solankini's hand, the family priests of the bridegroom, whose duty it was, by his knowledge of palmistry, to investigate the fortunes of the bride, discovered that she was already married : intelligence which threw the family into the greatest consternation. Though Bappa's power over his brother shepherds was too strong to create any dread of disclosure as to his being the principal in this affair, yet was it too much to expect that a secret, in which no less than six hundred of the daughters of Eve were concerned, could long remain such. Bappa's mode of swearing his companions to secrecy is preserved. Digging a small

* Ekling-ca-Dewan is the common title of the Rana.

† Amongst the many temples where the brazen calf forms part of the establishment of Bal-Cesar, there is one sacred to Nanda alone, at Naen in the valley. This lordly bull has his shrine attended as devoutly as was that of Apis at Memphis; nor will Eklinga yield to his brother Serapis. The changes of position of the Apis at Naen are received as indications of the fruitfulness of the seasons, though it is not apparent how such are contrived.

‡ Bappa is not a proper name, it signifies merely a 'child.' He is frequently styled *Syeel*, and in inscriptions *Syeel Adhes*, 'the mountain lord.'

pit, and taking a pebble in his hand, "Swear," cried he, "secrecy and obedience to me in good and in evil; that you will reveal to me all that you hear, and failing, desire that the good deeds of your forefathers may, like this pebble (dropping it into the pit), fall into the Washer's well."* They took the oath. The Solanki chief, however, heard that Bappa was the offender, who, receiving from his faithful scouts intimation of his danger, sought refuge in one of the retreats which abound in these mountains, and which in after-times proved the preservation of his race. The companions of his flight were two Bhils: one of Oondree, in the valley of the present capital; the other of Solanki descent, from Oguna Panora, in the western wilds. Their names, Baleo and Dewa, have been handed down with Bappa's; and the former had the honour of drawing the teeka of sovereignty with his own blood on the forehead of the prince, on the occasion of his taking the crown from the Mori.

It is pleasing to trace, through a series of ages, the knowledge of a custom still 'honoured in the observance.' The descendants of Baleo of Oguna and the Oondree Bhil still claim the privilege of performing the teeka on the inauguration of the descendants of Bappa.

OGUNA PANORA is the sole spot in India which enjoys a state of natural freedom. Attached to no state, having no foreign communications, living under its own patriarchal head, its chief, with the title of Rana, whom one thousand hamlets scattered over the forest-crowned valleys obey, can, if requisite, appear at 'the head of five thousand bows.' He is a Bhoomia Bhil of mixed blood, from the Solanki Rajpoot, on the old stock of pure (*oojla*) Bhils, autochthones (if such there be of any country) of Mewar. Besides making the teeka of blood from an incision in the thumb, the Oguna chief takes the prince by the arm and seats him on the throne, while the Oondree Bhil holds the salver of spices and sacred grains of rice† used in making the teeka.

But the solemnity of being seated on the throne of Mewar is so expensive, that many of these rites have fallen into disuse. Juggut Sing was the last prince whose coronation was conducted with the ancient magnificence of this princely house. It costs the sum of ninety lacks of rupees (£1,125,000), nearly one entire year's revenue of the state in the days of its prosperity, and which, taking into consideration the comparative value of money, would amount to upwards of *four millions sterling*.‡

* Deemed in the East, the most impure of all receptacles. These wells are dug at the sides of streams, and give a supply of pure water filtering through the sand.

† Hence, perhaps, the name *kushkeh* for teeka. Grains of ground rice in curds is the material to the primitive teeka, which the author has had applied to him by a lady in Goojurgar, one of the most savage spots in India, amidst the *levy en masse*, assembled hostilely against him, but separated amicably.

‡ Such the pride of these small kingdoms in days of yore, and such their resources, till reduced by constant oppression! But their public works speak what they could do, and have done; witness the stupendous work of marble, and its adjacent causeway, which dams the lake of Rajsumund at Kankerowli, and which cost upwards of a million. When the spectator views this expanse of water, this 'royal sea' (*rajsumund*) on the borders of the plain; the pillar of victory towering over the

To resume the narrative: though the flight of Bappa and its cause are perfectly natural, we have another episode; when the bard assuming a higher strain has recourse to celestial machinery for the *denouement* of this simple incident: but "an illustrious race must always be crowned with its proper mythology." Bappa, who was the founder of a line of a 'hundred kings,' feared as a monarch, adored as more than mortal, and according to the legend, 'still living (*chiranjiva*),' deserves to have the source of his pre-eminent fortune disclosed, which, in Mewar, it were sacrilege to doubt. While he pastured the sacred 'king' in the valleys of Nagindra, the princely shepherd was suspected of appropriating the milk of a favourite cow to his own use. He was distrusted and watched, and although indignant, the youth admitted that they had reason to suspect him, from the habitual dryness of the brown cow when she entered the pens at even.* He watched, and traced her to a narrow dell, when he beheld the udder spontaneously pouring its stores admits the shrubs. Under a thicket of cane a hermit was reposing in a state of abstraction, from which the impetuosity of the shepherd soon roused him. The mystery was revealed in the phallic symbol of the 'great God,' which daily received the lacteal shower, and raised such doubts of the veracity of Bappa.

No eye had hitherto penetrated into this natural sanctuary of the rites of the Hindu Creator, except the sages and hermits of ancient days (of whom this was the celebrated Harita†), whom this bounteous cow also fed.

Bappa related to the sage all he knew of himself, received his blessing, and retired; but he went daily to visit him, to wash his feet, carry milk to him, and gather such wild flowers as were acceptable offerings to the deity. In return he received lessons of morality, and was initiated into the mysterious rites of Siva: and at length he was invested with the triple cordon of faith (*teen purwa zinar*) by the hands of the sage, who became his spiritual guide, and bestowed on his pupil the title of 'Regent (Dewan) of Eklinga.' Bappa had proofs that his attentions to the saint and his devotions to Eklinga were acceptable, by a visit from his consort, 'the lion-born goddess.' From her hand he received the panoply of celestial fabrication, the work of Viswacarma (the Vulcan of Eastern mythology), which outvies all the arms ever forged for Greek or Trojan. The lance, bow, quiver, and arrows; a shield and sword (more famed than Balisarda) which the goddess girded on him with her own hand: the oath of fidelity and devotion was the 'relief' of this celestial investiture. Thus initiated into the mysteries of 'the first' (*ad*), admitted under the banners of Bhavani, Harita resolved to leave his pupil to his fortunes, and to quit the worship of the symbol for the presence of the deity in the mansions above. He informed Bappa of his design, and commanded him to be at the sacred spot early on the following

plains of Malwa, erected on the summit of Cheetore by Rana Mokul; their palaces and temples in this ancient abode; the regal residence erected by these princes when ejected, must fill the observer with astonishment at the resources of the state. They are such as to explain the metaphor of my ancient friend Zalim Sing, who knew better than we the value of this country: 'every pinch of the soil of Mewar contains gold.'

* *Gaoda-luk*, the time when the cows come home.

† On this spot the celebrated temple of Eklinga was erected.

morn; but Bappa shewed his materiality by oversleeping himself, and on reaching the spot the sage had already made some progress in his car, borne by the Apsaras, or celestial messengers. He checked his aerial ascent to give a last token of affection to his pupil; and desiring him to reach up to receive his blessing Bappa's stature was extended to twenty cubits; but as he did not reach the car, he was commanded to open his mouth, when the sage did what was recorded as performed, about the same period, by Mahomed, who spat into the mouth of his favourite nephew, Hussein, the son of Ali. Bappa shewed his disgust and aversion by blinking, and the projected blessing fell on his foot, by which squeamishness he obtained only invulnerability by weapons instead of immortality: the saint was soon lost in the cerulean space. Thus marked as the favourite of heaven, and having learned from his mother that he was nephew to the Mori Prince of Cheetore, he 'disdained a shepherd's slothful life,' and with some companions from these wilds quitted his retreat, and for the first time emerged into the plains. But as if the brand of Bhavani was insufficient, he met with another hermit in the forest of the Tiger Mount,* the famed Goruknath, who presented to him the double-edged sword,† which, with the proper incantation, could 'sever rocks.' With this he opened the road to fortune leading to the throne of Cheetore.

Cheetore was at this period held by the Mori Prince of the Pramara race, the ancient lords of Malwa, then paramount sovereigns of Hindusthan: but whether this city was then the chief seat of power is not known. Various public works, reservoirs, and bastions, yet retain the name of this race.

Bappa's connection with the Mori‡ obtained him a good reception; he was enrolled amongst the samunts or leaders, and a suitable estate conferred upon him. The inscription, of the Mori Prince's reign, so often alluded to, affords a good idea of his power, and of the feudal manners of his court. He was surrounded by a numerous nobility, holding estates on the tenure of military service, but whom he had disgusted by his neglect, and whose jealousy he had provoked by the superior regard shown to Bappa. A foreign foe appearing at this time, instead of obeying the summons to attend, they threw up their grants, and tauntingly desired him to call on its favourite.

Bappa undertook the conduct of the war, and the chiefs, though dispossessed of their estates, accompanied him from a feeling of shame. The

* The *Nahra Mugra*, seven miles from the eastern pass leading to the capital, where the prince has a hunting seat surrounded by several others belonging to the nobles, but all going to decay. The tiger and wild boar now prowl unmolested, as none of the 'unlicensed' dare shoot in these royal preserves.

† They surmise that this is the individual blade which is yet annually worshipped by the sovereign and chiefs on its appropriate day, one of the nine sacred to the god of war; a rite completely Scythic. I had this relation from the chief genealogists of the family, who gravely repeated the incantation: "By the preceptor Goruknath, and the great god, Eklinga; by Takshac the serpent, and the sage Harita; by Bhavani (Pallas), strike!"

‡ Bappa's mother was a Pramara, probably from Aboo or Chandra-vati, near to Edur; and consequently Bappa was nephew to every Pramara in existence.

foe was defeated and driven out to the country ; but instead of returning to Cheetore, Bappa continued his course to the ancient seats of his family, Gajni, expelled the 'barbarian' called Selim, placed on the throne a chief of the Chawura tribe, and returned with the discontented nobles. Bappa, on this occasion, is said to have married the daughter of his enemy. The nobles quitted Cheetore, leaving their defiance with their Prince. In vain were the spiritual preceptor (*Gooru*) and foster-brother (*Dabhae*) sent as ambassadors : their only reply was, that as they had 'eaten his salt,' they would forbear their vengeance for twelve months. The noble deportment of Bappa won their esteem, and they transferred to him their service and homage. With the temptation of a crown, the gratitude of the Grahilote was given to the winds. On return they assaulted and carried Cheetore, and, in the words of the chronicle, "Bappa took Cheetore from the Mori and became himself the mor (crown) of the land:" he obtained by universal consent the title of 'sun of the Hindus (*Hindua sooraj*), preceptor of princes (*Raj Gooru*), and universal lord (*Chukwa*).'

He had a numerous progeny, some of whom returned to their ancient seats in Saurashtra, whose descendants were powerful chieftains in that tract so late as Akbar's reign.* Five sons went to Marwar, and the ancient Gohil† 'of the land of Kheir,' expelled and driven to Gohilwal, have lost sight of their ancestry, and by a singular fatality are in possession of the wreck of Ballabhipura, ignorant of its history and their connection with it, mixing with Arabs and following marine and mercantile pursuits ; and the office of the bard having fallen into disrepute, they cannot trace their forefathers beyond Kheirdhur.‡

The close of Bappa's career is the strangest part of the legend, and which it might be expected they would be solicitous to suppress. Advanced in years, he abandoned his children and his country, carried his arms west to Khorasan, and [there established himself, and married new wives from among the 'barbarians,' by whom he had a numerous offspring.]§

Bappa had reached the patriarchal age of one hundred when he died. An old volume of historical anecdotes, belonging to the chief of Dailwara, states that he became an ascetic at the foot of Meru, where he was buried alive after having overcome all the kings of the west, as in Ispahan, Kandahar, Cashmere, Irak, Iran, Tooran, and Cafferisthan ; all of whose daughters he married, and by whom he had one hundred and thirty sons, called the Nosheyra Pathans. Each of these founded a tribe, bearing the name of the mother. His Hindu children were ninety-eight in number, and were called *Agni-upasi Suryavansi*, or 'sunborn fire-worshippers.' The chronicles also record that (in like manner as did the subjects of the Bactrian king Menander, though from a different motive) the subjects of

* See *Ayeen Akberi*, who states that fifty thousand Gehlotes in Soorat.

† Peparra Gohilotes.

‡ The "land of Kheir," on the south-west frontier of Marwar, near the Loony river.

§ The reigning Prince told the author that there was no doubt of Bappa having ended his days among 'the Turks : ' a term now applied to all Mahomedans by the Hindu, but at that time confined to the inhabitants of Turkistan, the Turushka of the Purans, and the Takshac of early inscriptions.

Bappa quarrelled for the disposal of his remains. The Hindu wished the fire to consume them; the 'barbarian' to commit them to earth; but on raising the pall while the dispute was raging, innumerable flowers of the lotus were found in the place of the remains of mortality: these were conveyed and planted in the lake. This is precisely what is related of the end of the Persian Noshirwan.

Having thus briefly sketched the history of the founder of the Gellote dynasty of Mewar, we must now endeavour to establish the epoch of this important event in its annals. Although Bappa Rawul was nine generations after the sack of Ballabhipura, the domestic annals give S. 191 (A. D. 135) for his birth; which the bards implicitly following, have vitiated the whole chronology. An important inscription in a character little known, establishes the fact of the Mori dynasty being in possession of Cheetore in S. 770 (A. D. 714). Now the annals of the Rana's house expressly state Bappa Rawul to be the nephew of the Mori Prince of Cheetore; that at the age of fifteen he was enrolled amongst the chieftains of his uncle, and that the vassals (before alluded to), in revenge for the resumption of their grants by the Mori, dethroned him and elevated as their sovereign the youthful Bappa. Notwithstanding this apparently irreconcilable anachronism, the family traditions accord with the inscription, except in date. Amidst such contradictions the development of the truth seemed impossible. Another valuable inscription of S. 1024 (A. D. 968), though giving the genealogy from Bappa to Sacti Kumar and corroborating that from Cheetore, and which furnished convincing evidence, was not sanctioned by the Prince or his chroniclers, who would admit nothing as valid that militated against their established era 191 for the birth of their founder. After six years' residence and unremitting search amid ruins, archives, inscriptions, traditions, and whatever could throw light upon this point, the author quitted Oodipur with all these doubts in his mind, for Saurashtra, to prosecute his inquiries in the pristine abodes of the race. Then it was that he was rewarded, beyond his most sanguine expectations by the discovery of an inscription which reconciled these conflicting authorities and removed every difficulty. This marble, found in the celebrated temple of Somnath, made mention of a distinct era, *viz.*, the *Ballabhi Samvat*, as being used in Saurashtra; which era was three hundred and seventy-five years subsequent to Vicramaditya.

On the sack of Ballabhi thirty thousand families abandoned this 'city of a hundred temples,' and led by their priests found a retreat for themselves and their faith in Mordur-des (Marwar), where they erected the towns of Sanderai and Balhi, in which latter we recognize the name of the city whence they were expelled. The religion of Ballabhi, and consequently of the colonists, was the Jain; and it was by a priest descended from the survivors of this catastrophe, and still with their descendants inhabiting those towns, that these most important documents were furnished to the author. The Sanderai roll assigns the year 305 (Ballabhi era) for the destruction of Ballabhi: another, also from Jain authority, gives 205; and as there were but nine princes from Vijya Sen, the founder, to its fall, we can readily believe the first a numerical error. Therefore 205+375=580 S. Vicrama (A. D. 524), for the invasion of Saurashtra by 'the barbarians from the north,' and sack of Ballabhipura.

Now if from 770, the date of the Mori tablet, we deduct 580, there remains 190; justifying the pertinacity with which the chroniclers of Mewar adhered to the date given in their annals for the birth of Bappa,

vis., 191 : though they were ignorant that this period was dated from the flight from Ballabhipura.

Bappa, when he succeeded to the Mori Prince, is said to have been fifteen years old; and his birth being one year anterior to the Mori inscription of 770+14=S. V. 784 (A. D. 728),* is the period for the foundation of the Gehlote dynasty in Mewar: since which, during a space of eleven hundred years, fifty-nine princes lineally descended from Bappa have sat on the throne of Cheetore.

Though the bards and chroniclers will never forgive the temerity which thus curtails the antiquity of their founder, he is yet placed in the dawn of chivalry, when the Carlovingian dynasty was established in the west, and when Walid, whose bands planted 'the green standard, on the Ebro, was 'commander of the faithful.' 78393

From the deserted and now forgotten 'city of the sun,' Aitpur, the abode of wild beasts and savage Bhils, another memorial of the Princes of Mewar was obtained. It relates to the Prince Sacti Kumar. Its date is S. 1024 (A.D. 968), and it contains the names of fourteen of his ancestors in regular succession. Amongst these is Bappa, or Syeel. When compared with the chronicles and family archives, it was highly gratifying to find that, with the exception of one superfluous name and the transposition of others, they were in perfect accordance.

Hume says, "Poets, though they disfigure the most certain history by their fictions, and use strange liberties with truth, when they are the sole historians, as among the Britons, have commonly some foundation for their wildest exaggerations." The remark is applicable here; for the names which had been mouldering for nine centuries, far from the abode of man, are the same they had worked into their poetical legends. It was at this exact epoch that the arms of Islam, for the first time, crossed the Indus. In the ninety-fifth year of the Hegira, Mahomed Bin Kasim, the general of the Kaliph Walid, conquered Sind, and penetrated (according to early Arabian authors) to the Ganges; and although Elmacin mentions only Sind, yet other Hindu states were at this period convulsed from the same cause: witness the overthrow of Manik-rae of Ajmeer, in the middle of the eighth century, by a foe 'coming in ships,' Anjar specified as the point where they landed. If any doubt existed that it was Kasim who advanced to Cheetore† and was defeated by Bappa, it was set at rest by finding at this time in Cheetore 'Dahir,‡ the Prince of Debeil.' Abdul Fuzil records from Arabian authorities, that Dahir was lord of Sind, and resided at his

* This will make Bappa's attainment of Cheetore fifteen years posterior to Kasim's invasion. I have observed generally a discrepancy of ten years between the Samvat and Hegira; the Hegira reckoned from the sixteenth year of Mohamed's mission, and would, if employed, reconcile this difficulty.

† I was informed by a friend, who had seen the papers of Captain Macmurdo, that he had a notice of Kasim's having penetrated to Donger-pur. Had this gentleman lived, he would have thrown much light on these western antiquities.

‡ By an orthographical error, the modern Hindu, ignorant of Debeil, has written Delhi. But there was no lord of Delhi at this time: he is styled Dahir, Desput (lord) of Debeil, from *des*, a 'country,' and *put*, 'the head.'

capital, Debeil, the first place captured by Kasim in 93. His miserable end, and the destruction of his house, are mentioned by the historian, and account for the son being found with the Mori Prince of Cheetore.

Nine princes intervened between Bappa and Sacti Kumar in two centuries, (twenty-two years to each reign): just the time which should elapse from the founder, who 'abandoned his country for Iran,' in S. 820, or A. D. 764. Having thus established four epochs in the earlier history of the family, *viz.*, 1st. Kanaksen, A. D. 144; 2nd. Silladitya, and sack of Ballabhi A. D. 524; 3rd. establishment in Cheetore and Mewar, A. D. 720; 4th. Sacti Kumar, A. D. 1068; we may endeavour to relieve this narrative by the notices which regard their Persian descent.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORIC truth has in all countries, been sacrificed to national vanity: to its gratification every obstacle is made to give way; fictions become facts, and even religious prejudices vanish in this *mirage* of the imagination. What but this spurious zeal could for a moment induce any genuine Hindu to believe that, only twelve centuries ago, 'an eater of beef' occupied the chair of Rama, and enjoyed by universal acclaim the title of 'Sun of the Hindus;' or that the most ancient dynasty in the world could owe its existence to the last of the Sassanian kings: * that a slip from such a tree could be surreptitiously grafted on that majestic stem, which has flourished from the golden to the iron age, covering the land with its branches? That there existed a marked affinity in religious rites between the Rana's family and the Guebres, or ancient Persians, is evident. With both, the chief object of adoration was the sun; each bore the image of the orb on their banners. The chief day in the seven† was dedicated to the sun; to it is sacred the chief gate of the city, the principal bastion of every fortress. But though the faith of Islam has driven away the fairy inhabitants from the fountains of Mithras, that of Surya has still its devotees on the summit of Cheetore, as Jac Ballabhi: and could we trace with accuracy their creeds to a distant age, we might discover them to be of one family, worshipping the sun at the fountains of the Oxus and Jaxartes.

The darkest period of Indian history is during the six centuries following Vicramaditya, which are scarcely enlightened by a ray of knowledge; but India was undergoing great changes, and foreign tribes were pouring in from the north. To this period, the sixth century, the genealogies of the *Puranas* are brought down, which expressly declare (adopting the prophetic spirit to conceal the alterations and additions they then underwent) that at this time the genuine line of princes would be extinct, and that a mixed race would rule conjointly with foreign barbarians; as the Turshka, the Mauna, the Yavana‡ the Gor-ind and Gardha-bin.

* Yezdegird died A. D. 651.

† *Sooraj-war*, or *Adit-war*, Sun-day; and the other days of the week, from the other planets which western nations have taken from the East.

‡ The *Yavan*, or Greek Princes, who apparently continued to rule within the Indus after the Christian era, were either the remains of the

There is much of truth in this; nor is to be doubted that many of the Rajput tribes entered India from the north-west regions about this period. *Gor* and *Gardha* have the same signification; the first is Persian, the second its version in Hindi, meaning the 'wild ass,' an appellation of the Persian monarch Bahram, surnamed *Gor* from his partiality to hunting that animal. Various authorities state Byramgor being in India in the fifth century, and his having there left progeny by a princess of Kanouj. A passage extracted by the author from an ancient Jain M.S., indicates that in "S.523, Raja Gardha-bhela, of Cacoostha, or Suryavansa, ruled in Ballabhipura." It has been surmised that Gardha-bhela was the son of Byramgor, a son of whom is stated to have obtained dominion at Puttun; which may be borne in mind when the authorities for the Persian extraction of the Rana's family are given.

The Hindus, when conquered by the Mahomedans, naturally wished to gild the chains they could not break. To trace a common, though distant, origin with the conquerors, was to remove some portion of the taint of dishonour which arose from giving their daughters in marriage to the Tatar emperors of Delhi; and a degree of satisfaction was derived from assuming that the blood thus corrupted once flowed from a common fountain.*

Bactrian dynasty or the independent kingdom of Demetrius or Appollo-dotus who ruled in the Punjab, having as their capital *Sagala*, changed by Demetrius to Euthymedia. Bayer says in his *Hist. Reg. Bact.*, p. 84: "I find from Claudius Ptolemy, that there was a city within the Hydaspes yet nearer the Indus, called Sagala, also Euthymedia; but I scarcely doubt that Demetrius called it Euthy demia, from his father, after his death and that of Menander. Demetrius was deprived of his patrimony A. U. C. 562."

On this ancient city, Sagala, I have already said much; conjecturing it to be the *Salbanpura* of the Yadus when driven from Zabulisthan, and that of the *Yuchi* or *Yuti*, who were fixed there from Central Asia in the fifth century, and if so early as the second century, when Ptolemy wrote, may have originated the change to *Yuti*, media the 'Central Yuti.' The numerous medals which I possess, chiefly found within the probable limits of the Greek kingdom of Sagala, either belong to these princes or the Parthian kings of Minagara on the Indus. The legends are in Greek on one side, and in the Sassanian character on the reverse. Hitherto I have not deciphered the names of any but those of Appollo-dotus and Menandea; but the titles of 'Great King,' 'Saviour,' and other epithets adopted by the Arsacidæ, are perfectly legible. The devices, however, all incline me to pronounce them Parthian. It would be curious to ascertain how these Greeks and Parthians gradually merged into the Hindu population.

* The Hindu genealogist, in ignorance of the existence of Oguz Khan, the Tatar patriarch, could not connect the chain of Chagitai with Chandra. The Brahmin, better read, supplied the defect, and with his doctrine of the metempsychosis animated the material frame of the beneficent Akbar with the 'good genius' of a Hindu; and that of their mortal foe, Aurungzebe, with one of evil destiny, being that of Kal-jumun, the foe of Crishna. They gravely assert that Akbar visited his ancient hermitage at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, and excavated the implements of penance used by him in his former shape, as one of the sages of ancient times; while such is their aversion to Aurungzebe, that

Further to develop these claims of Persian descent, we shall commence with an extract from the *Oppodes Presad*, a collection of historic fragments in the Magadhi dialect. "In Goojur-des (Guzerat) there are eighty-four cities. In one of these, Kaira, resided the Brahmin Devadit, the expounder of the Vedas. He had an only child, Soobhaga ('of good fortune') by name, at once a maiden and a widow. Having learned from her preceptor the solar incantation, incautiously repeating it, the sun appeared and embraced her, "and she thence became pregnant. The affliction of her father was diminished when he discovered the parent; nevertheless, [as others might be less charitable,] he sent her with a female attendant to Ballabhipura, where she was delivered of twins, male and female. When grown up the boy was sent to school; but being eternally plagued about his mysterious birth, whence he received the nickname of *Gybie* ('concealed'), in a fit of irritation he one day threatened to kill his mother if she refused to disclose the author of his existence. At this moment the sun revealed himself: he gave the youth a pebble, with which it was sufficient to touch his companions in order to overcome them. Being carried before the Balhara prince, who menaced Gybie, the latter slew him with the pebble, and became himself sovereign of Saurashtra, taking the name of Silladitya* (from *Silla* 'a stone or pebble,' and *Aditya*, 'the sun'): his sister was married to the Rajah of Baroach."

Such is the literal translation of a fragment totally unconnected with the history of the Rana's family, though evidently bearing upon it. The father of Silladitya, according to the Sanderai roll and other authorities of that period, is Sooraj (the sun) Rao, though two others make a Somaditya intervene.†

Let us see what Abul Fuzil says of the descent of the Rana's from Noshirwan: "The Rana's family consider themselves to be descendants of Noshirwan. They came to Berar (Berat), and became chiefs of Pernalla which city being plundered eight hundred years prior to the

they declare the final avatar, Time (*Kal*), on his white steed, will appear in his person.

The Jessulmeer annals affirm that the whole Turkish (*Turshka*) race of Chagitai are of Yadu stock; while the Jam Jhareja of Kutch traces his descent from the Persian Jamshid: contemporary with Solomon. These are curious claims, but the Rana's family would consider such vanity criminal.

* This is probably the Silladitya of the Satroonjya Mahatmya, who repaired the temple on Satroonjya in S. 477 (A. D. 421).

† In perusing this fragment we are struck by the similarity of production of these Hindu Heliadæ and that of the celebrated Tatar dynasty from which Jungheez Khan was descended. The *Nooranyon*, or 'children of light,' were from an amour of the sun with Elancua, from which Jungheez was the ninth in descent. Authorities quoted by Petis de la Croix, in his life of this conqueror, and likewise by Marigny, in his History of the Saracens, affirm Jungheez Khan to be a descendant of Yezdegird, the last Sassanian prince. Jungheez was an idolator and hated the very name of Mahomedan.

A courtier telling Aurungzebe of his celestial ancestry, gravely quoting the affair of the mother of the race of Timoor with the sun, the bigotted monarch coarsely replied, "Mama caba bood," which we will not translate.

writing of this, book,* his mother fled to Mewar, and was protected by Mandalica Bhill, whom the infant Bappa slew, and seized his territory."†

The work which has furnished all the knowledge which exists on the Persian ancestry of the Mewar Princes is the *Maaser-al-Omra*, or that (in the author's possession) founded on it, entitled *Bisat-al-Ganaem*, or 'Display of the Foe,' written in A. H. 1204.‡ The writer of this work styles himself *Latchmi Narrain Shufcek Arungabadi*, or 'the rhymor of Arungabad.' He professes to give an account of Sevaji, the founder of the Mahratta empire for which purpose he goes deep into the lineage of the Ranas of Mewar, from whom Sevaji was descended,§ quoting at length the *Maaser-al-Omra*; from which the following is a literal translation: "It is well known that the Rajahs of Oodipur are exalted over all the Princes of Hind. Other Hindu Princes, before they can succeed to the throne of their fathers, must receive the khushka, or Tiluk of regality and investiture, from them. This type of sovereignty is received with humility and veneration. The khushka of these Princes is made with

* Akbar commenced his reign A. D. 1555, and had been forty years on the throne when the 'Institutes' were composed by Abul Fuzil.

† Orme was acquainted with this passage, and shews his knowledge of the Hindu character by observing, that it was a strange pedigree to assign a Hindu Prince, for Khusru, of the religion of Zoroaster, though compelled to many abstinences, was not restrained from eating beef: and Anquetil du Perron says of the Parsees, their descendants, that they have retrained since their emigration from slaying the cow merely to please the Hindu.

‡ The cryptographic date is contained in the numerical value of the letters which compose the title.

B. S. A. T. a. I. G. N. A. E. M.
2. 60. 1. 9. 1. 9. 1000. 50. 1. 10. 40.

} As the total is only 1183,
either the date is wrong,
or a deficient value given
to the numerals.

§ Wilford, who by his indefatigable research and knowledge of Sanscrit had accumulated extensive materials, unhappily deteriorated by a too credulous imagination, yet containing much valuable matter available to those sufficiently familiar with the subject to select with safety, has touched on this, and almost on every other point in the circle of Hindu antiquities. Ali Ibrahim, a learned native of Benares, was Wilford's authority for asserting the Rana's Persian descent, who stated to him that he had seen the original history, which was entitled "Origin of the Peishwas from the Ranas of Mewar." (Ibrahim must have meant the Satara Princes, whose ministers were the Peishwas.) From this authority three distinct emigrations of the Guebres, or ancient Persians, are recorded, from Persia into Guzerat. The first in the time of Abu Bexer, A. D. 631; the second on the defeat of Yezdegird, A. D. 651; and the third when the descendants of Abbas began to prevail, A. D. 740. Also that a son of Noshirwan landed near Surat with eighteen thousand of his subjects, from Laristhan, and were well received by the Prince of the country.

Abul Fuzil confirms this account by saying, "the followers of Zerdeshi (Zoroaster), when they fled from Persia, settled in 'Surat,' the contracted term for the peninsula of Saurashtra, as well as the city of this name."

human blood: their title is Rana, and they deduce their origin from Noshirwan-i-Adil (i. e., the Just), who conquered the countries of—,* and many parts of Hindusthan. During his life-time his son Noshizad, whose mother was the daughter of Kesar of Room,† quitted the ancient worship and embraced the 'faith‡ of the Christians,' and with numerous followers entered Hindusthan. Thence he marched a great army towards Iran, against his father Noshirwan; who despatched his general, Rambarzeen,§ with numerous forces to oppose him. An action ensued, in which Noshizad was slain; but his issue remained in Hindusthan, from whom are descended the Ranas of Oodipur. Noshirwan had a wife from the Khakhan|| of China, by whom he had a son called Hormuz, declared heir to the throne shortly before his death. As according to the faith of the fire-worshippers¶ it is not customary either to bury or to burn the dead, but to leave the corpse exposed to the rays of the sun, so it is said he body of Noshirwan has to this day suffered no decay, but is still fresh."

I now come to the account of Yezd, "the son of Shariar, the son of Khusru Purves, the son of Hormuz, the son of Noshirwan.

"Yezd was the last king of Ajim. It is well known he fought many battles with the Mahomedans. In the fifteenth year of the Caliphate, Roostum, son of Ferock, a great chief, was slain in battle by Said-ul kas who commanded for Omar, which was death-blow to the fortunes of the house of Sassan: so that a remnant of it did not remain in A. H. 31, when Iran was seized by the Mahomedans. This battle had lasted four days when Roostum Ferock Zad was slain by the hand of Hillal, the son of Is Kunnah, at Said's command; though Ferdusi asserts by Said himself—"Thirty thousand Moslems were slain, and the same number of the men of Ajim. To count the spoils was a torment. During this year (the thirty-first), the sixteenth of the prophet,§ the era

* The names are obliterated in the original. Ferishta informs us that Ramdeo Rahtore, sovereign of Kanouj, was made tributary by Feroz Sassan; and that Pratap Chand, who usurped the throne of Ramdeo, neglecting to pay this tribute, Noshirwan marched into India to recover it, and in his progress subdued Cabul and the Punjab. From the striking coincidence of these original and decisive authorities, we may rest assured that they had recourse to ancient records, both of the Guebres and the Hindus, for the basis of their histories, which research may yet discover.

† Maurice, emperor of Byzantium.

‡ *Deen-i-Tersar*. See Ebn Haukal, art. *Serir*, or Russia; whose king, a son of Byram Chassin, whom he styles a *Tersar* or Christian, first possessed it about the end of the sixth century.

§ The *Verames* of Western historians.

|| *Khakhan* was the title of the kings of Chinese Tartary. It was held by the leader of the Huns, who at this period held power on the Caspian: it was also held by the Ooroos, Khozr, Bulgar, Serir, all terms for Russia, before its *Kesar* was cut down into *Csar*, for the original of which, the Kings of Rome, as of Russia, were indebted to the Sanskrit *Kesar*, a 'lion.'—*Vide* Ebn Haukal, art. *Khozr*.

¶ *Deen-i-Majoosa*; literally, 'faith of the Magi.'

§ Mahomed, born A.D. 578: the Hegira, or flight, A.D. 622.

of the Hegira was introduced. In A. H. 17, Abu Musa of Ashur seized Hormuz, the son of the uncle of Yezdegird, whom he sent with Yezdegird's daughter to Imam Hosein, and another daughter to Abubeker.

Thus far have I* extracted from the history of the fire-worshippers. He who has a mind to examine these, let him do so. The people of the religion of Zerdusht have a full knowledge of all these events, with their dates; for the pleasure of their lives is the obtaining accounts of antiquity and astronomical knowledge, and their books contain information of two and three thousand years. It is also told, that when the fortunes of Yezdegird were on the wane, his family dispersed to different regions. The second daughter, Shehr Banoo, was married to Imam Hosein, who when he fell a martyr (*shuheed*), an angel carried her to heaven. The third daughter, Banoo, was seized by a plundering Arab and carried into the wilds of Chichik, thirty coss from Yezd. Praying to God for deliverance, she instantly disappeared; and the spot is still held sacred by the Parsees, and named 'the secret abode of perfect purity.' Hither, on the twenty-sixth of the month Bahman, the Parsees yet repair to pass a month in pilgrimage, living in huts under indigenous vines skirting the rock, out of whose fissures water falls into a fountain below: but if the unclean approach the spring, it ceases to flow.

"Of the eldest daughter of Yezdegird, Maha Banoo, the Parsees have no accounts; but the books of Hind give evidence to her arrival in that country, and that from her issue is the tribe Sesodia. *But at all events, this race is either of the seed of Noshizad, the son of Noshirwan, or of that of the daughter of Yezdegird.*"†

Thus have we adduced, perhaps, all the points of evidence for the supposed Persian origin of the Rana's family. The period of the invasion of Saurashtra by Noshizad, who mounted the throne A.D. 531, corresponds well with the sack of Ballabhi, A.D. 524. The army he collected in Laristan to depose his father might have been from the Parthians, Getes, Huns, and other Scythic races then on the Indus, though it is unlikely, with such an object in view as the throne of Persia, that he would waste his strength in Saurashtra. Khusru Purves, grandson of Noshirwan the great, and who assumed this title according to Ferdusi, married Marian, the daughter of Maurice, the Greek emperor of Byzantium. She bore him *Shirooch* (the *Siroes* of the early Christian writers), who slew his father. It is difficult to separate the actions of the two Noshirwans, and still more to say which of them merited the epithet of *adil*, or 'just.'

According to the 'Tables' in Moreri, Noshizad, son of Khusru the great, reigned from A.D. 531 to 591. This is opposed to the *Maaser-al-Omra*, which asserts that he was slain during his rebellion. Siroes, son of Khusru (the second Noshirwan) by his wife Marian, alternately called the friend and foe of the Christians, did raise the standard of revolt, and

* It must be borne in mind that it is the author of the '*Maaser-al-Omra*,' not the rhymist of Aurangabad, who is speaking.

† For the extra from "the annals of Princes (*Maaser-al-Omra*)" let us laud the memory of the rhymist of Aurangabad. An original copy, which I in vain attempted to procure in India, is stated by Sir William Ouseley to be in the British Museum. We owe that country a large debt, for we have robbed her of all her literary treasures, leaving them to sleep on the shelves of our public institutions.

met the fate attributed to Noshizad ; on which Yezdegird, his nephew, was proclaimed. The crown was intended for Shirooeh's younger brother, which caused the revolt, during which the elder sought refuge in India.

These revolutions in the Sassanian house were certainly simultaneous with those which occurred in the Rana's, and no barrier existed to the political intercourse at least between the princely worshippers of Surya and Mithras. It is, therefore, curious to speculate even on the possibility of such a pedigree to a family whose ancestry is lost in the mists of time ; and it becomes interesting when, from so many authentic sources, we can raise testimonies which would furnish, to one even untinctured with the love of hypothesis, grounds for giving ancestors to the Ranas in Maurice of Byzantium, and Cyrus (Khusru) of Persia. We have a singular support to these historic relics in a geographical fact, that places on the site of the ancient Ballabhi, a city called Byzantium, which almost affords conclusive proof that it must have been the son of Noshirwan who captured Ballabhi and Gajni, and destroyed the family of Silladitya ; for it would be a legitimate occasion to name such conquest after the city where his Christian mother had birth. Whichever of the propositions we adopt at the command of the author of "the Annals of Princes," namely, "that the Sesodia race is of the seed of Noshizad, son of Noshirwan, or of that of Maha-Banoo, daughter of Yezdegird," we arrive at a singular and startling conclusion, *vis.*, that the Hindua Sooraj, descendant of a hundred kings, the undisputed possessor of the honours of Rama, the patriarch of the Solar race, is the issue of a Christian princess : that the chief prince amongst the nations of Hind can claim affinity with the emperors of 'the mistress of the world,' though at a time when her glory had waned, and her crown had been transferred from the Tiber to the Bosphorous.

But though I deem it morally impossible that the Ranas should have their lineage from any *male* branch of the Persian house, I would not equally assert that Maha Banoo, the fugitive daughter of Yezdegird, may not have found a husband, as well as sanctuary, with the prince of Saurashtra ; and she may be the Soobhaga (mother of Silladitya), whose mysterious amour with the 'sun'* compelled her to abandon her native city of Kaira. The son of Marian had been in Saurashtra, and it is therefore not unlikely that her grandchild should there seek protection in the reverses of her family.

The Salic law is here in full force, and honours, though never acquired by the female, may be stained by her ; yet a daughter of the noble house of Sassan might be permitted to perpetuate the line of Rama without the reproach of taint.†

* It will be recollected that the various authorities given, state Raja Sooraj (*sun*), of Cacoostha race, to be the father of Silladitya. *Cacoostha* is a term used synonymously with *Suryavansa*, according to the Solar genealogists. Those who may be inclined to the Persian descent may trace it from *Kai-caous*, a well-known epithet in the Persian dynasties. I am unacquainted with the etymology of Cacoostha ; but it may possibly be from *ca*, 'of, or belonging to,' *Coosa* (Cush), the second son of Rama. I have already hinted, that the Assyrian Medes might be descendants of Hyaspa, a branch of the Indu-Mede of the family of Yayati, which bore the name of *Cusika*.

† "The moral consequence of pedigree," says Hume, "is differently marked by the influence of law and custom. The male sex is deemed

We shall now abandon this point to the reader, and take leave of Yezdegird,* the last of the house of Sassan, in the words of the historian of Rome: "avec lui, on voit perir pour jamais la gloire et l'empire des Perses. Les rochers du Mazendaran et les sables du Kerman, furent les seuls† asiles que les vainqueurs laisserent aux sectateurs de Zoroastre."‡

CHAPTER IV.

HAVING established Bappa on the throne of Cheetore S. 784 (A. D. 728), we will proceed to glean from the annals, from the period of his departure for Iran, S. 820 (A. D. 764) to another halting point—the reign of Samarsi, S. 1249 (A. D. 1193); an important epoch, not only in the history of Mewar, but to the whole Hindu race; when the diadem of sovereignty was torn from the brow of the Hindu to adorn that of the Tatar. We shall not, however, overleap the four intervening centuries, though we may not be able to fill up the reigns of the eighteen princes whose "banner at this time was a golden sun on a crimson field,"§ and several of whose names yet live recorded "with an iron pen on the rock" of their native abodes.

An intermediate period, from Bappa to Samarsi, that of *Sacti Kumar*, is fixed by the Aitpur inscription in S. 1024 (A. D. 968); and from the more perishable yet excellent authority of an ancient Jain MS., the era of Ullut, the ancestor of Sacti Kumar, was S. 922 (A. D. 866), four generations anterior. From Bappa's departure for Iran in A. D. 764, to the subversion of Hindu dominion in the reign of Samarsi, in A. D. 1193, we find recorded an intermediate Islamite invasion. This was during the reign of Khoman, between A. D. 812 and 836, which event forms the chief subject of the *Khoman-Rusa*, the most ancient of the poetic chronicles of Mewar.

more noble than the female. The association of our ideas pursues the regular descent of honours and estates from father to son, and their wives, however essential, are considered only in the light of foreign auxiliaries." (Essays, vol. ii. p. 192.) Not unlike the Rajpoot axiom, though more coarsely expressed: "It is, who planted the tree, not where did it grow," that marks his idea of the comparative value of the side whence honours originate; though purity of blood in both lines is essential.

* A new era had commenced, not of Yezdegird's accession, as is supposed, which would have been vain indeed, when the throne was tottering under him, but consequent to the completion of the grand cycle of 1440 years. He was slain at Murve in A. D. 651, the 31st of the Hegira; on the eleventh year of which, or A. D. 632 (according to Moreri), he commenced his reign.

† Gibbon was wrong. India afforded them an asylum, and their issue constitutes the most wealthy, the most respected, and the most enlightened part of the native community of Bombay and the chief towns of that presidency.

‡ Gibbon, "Miscellaneous Works." *Sur la Monarchie des Medes*, Vol. iii.

§ This according to the roll, was the standard of Bappa.

As the history of India at this period is totally dark, we gladly take advantage of the lights thus afforded. By combining these facts with what is received as authentic, though scarcely less obscure or more exact than these native legends, we may furnish materials for the future historian. With this view, let us take a rapid sketch of the irruptions of the Arabians into India, from the rise of Islamism to the foundation of the Gaznavid empire, which sealed the fate of the Hindus. The materials are but scanty. El-Makin, in his history of the Caliphs, passes over such intercourse almost without notice. Abul Fuzil, though not diffuse, is minute in what he does say, and we can confide in his veracity. Ferishta has a chapter devoted to this subject which merits a better translation than yet exists.* We shall, however, in the first place, touch on Bappa's descendants, till we arrive at the point proper for the introduction of the intended sketch.

Of the twenty-four tribes of Gehlote, several issued from the founder, Bappa. Shortly after the conquest of Cheetore, Bappa proceeded to Saurashtra and married the daughter of Esupgole, Prince of the island of Bunderdhiva.† With his bride he conveyed to Cheetore the statue of Vyan-mata, the tutelary goddess of her race, who still divides with Eklinga the devotion of the Gehlote Princess. The temple in which he enshrined this islandic goddess yet stands on the summit of Cheetore, with many other monuments assigned by tradition to Bappa. This Princess bore him Aparajeet, who from being born in Cheetore was nominated successor to the throne, to the exclusion of his less fortunate elder brother, Asil (born of the daughter of the Kaba (Pramara) Prince of Kalibao near Dwarica) who, however, obtained possessions in Saurashtra, and founded a race called the *Asila Gehlotes*,‡ whose descendants were so numerous,

* Amongst the passages which Dow has slurred over in his translation, is the interesting account of the origin of the Afghans; who, when they first came in contact with those of the new faith, in A. H. 62, dwelt around the Koh-i-Sooliman Ferishta, quoting authority, says: "the Afghans were Copts, ruled by Pharaoon, many of whom were converted to the laws and religion of Moses; but others, who were stubborn in their worship to their gods, fled towards Hindusthan, and took possession of the country adjoining the Koh-i-Sooliman. They were visited by Kasim from Sinde, and in the 143d year of the Hegira had possessed themselves of the provinces of Kirman, Peshwur, and all within their bounds, (*sinoran*)," which Dow has converted into a province. The whole geographical description of the Kohistan, the etymology of the term *Rohilla*, and other important matter, is omitted by him.

† Esupgole is stated to have held Chowal on the main land. He was most probably the father of *Venraj* Chawura, the founder of Putun Anhlulwara, whose ancestors, on the authority of the *Komarpal Charitra*, were Princes of Bunderdhiva, held by the Portuguese since the time of Albuquerque, who changed its name to Deo.

‡ The ancient roll from which this is taken, mentions Asil giving his name to a fortress, called Asilgurh. His son, Beejay Pal, was slain in attempting to wrest Khumbayet (Cambay) from Singram Davi. One of his wives, from a violent death, was prematurely delivered of a boy, called Setoo; and as, in such cases, the Hindu supposes the deceased to become a discontented spirit (*choorail*), Chooraila became the name of the tribe. Beejay, the twelfth from Asil, obtained Sonul from his

even in Akbar's reign, as to be supposed able to bring into the field fifty thousand men at arms. We have nothing important to record of the actions of Aprajeet, who had two sons, Khalbhoj*, and Nundkumar. Khalbhoj succeeded Aprajeet, and his warlike qualities are extolled in an inscription discovered by the author in the valley of Nagda. Nundkumar slew Bhimsen Dor (*Doda*), and possessed himself of Deogurh in the Dekhan.

Khoman succeeded Khalbhoj. His name is remarkable in the history of Mewar. He came to the throne at the beginning of the ninth century, when Cheetore was assailed by another formidable invasion of Mahomedans. The chief object of the *Khoman Rasa* is to celebrate the defence made on this occasion, and the value of this *rasa* consists in the catalogue of the Princes who aided in defending this bulwark of the Hindu faith. The bard, in an animated strain, makes his sovereign on this occasion successfully defend the 'crimson standard' of Mewar, treat with contempt the demand for tribute, and after a violent assault, in which the 'barbarian' is driven back, follow and discomfit him in the plain, carrying back the hostile leader, *Mahmood*, captive. With this event, which introduces the name of Mahmood two centuries before the conqueror of Gazni, we will pause, and resume the promised sketch of the intercourse of Arabia and Hindustan at this period.

The first intimation of the Moslems attempting the invasion of India, is during the Caliphate of Omar, who built the port of Bassorah at the mouth of the Tigris, chiefly to secure the trade of Guzerat and Scind; into which latter country a powerful army penetrated under Abul Aas, who was killed in battle at Arore. The Caliph Oosman, who succeeded Omar, sent to explore the State of India, while he prepared an army to invade it in person; a design which he never fulfilled. The generals of the Caliph Ali made conquests in Scind, which they abandoned at Ali's death. While Yezid was Governor of Khorassan several attempts were made on India, as also during the Caliphate of Abdool Melek, but without any lasting results. It was not till the reign of Walid† that any successful invasion took place. He not only finally conquered Scind and the adjoining continent of India, but rendered tributary all that part of India on this side the Ganges. What an exalted idea must we not form of the energy and rapidity of such conquests, when we find the arms of Islam at once on the Ganges and the Ebro, and two regal dynasties simultaneously cut off, that of Roderic, the last of the Goths of Andaloos, and Dahir Despati in the valley of the Indus. It was in A.H. 99 (A.D. 718, S. 777) that Mahomed bin Kasim vanquished and slew Dahir Prince of Scind, after numerous conflicts. Amongst the spoils of victory sent to the Caliph on this occasion were the daughters of the subjugated monarch, who were the cause of Kasim's

maternal uncle, Khengar Dabi, Prince of Girnar, but was slain by Jey Sing Deo, Prince of Surat. From these names compounded, *Dabi* and *Chooraila*, we may have the *Dabisalima* of Mahmood.

* Also called Kurna. He it was who excavated the Boraila lake, and erected the grand temple of Eklinga on the site of the hermitage of Harita, whose descendant, the present officiating priest, reckons sixty-six descents, while the princes of Mewar amount to seventy-two in the same period.

† See next page.

GEHLOTE AND COTEMPORARY PRINCES.

GEHLOTE PRINCES.	ERAS.		CALIPHS OF BAGDAD AND KINGS OF GAZNI.	ERAS.		REMARKS.
	Samvat.	Christian.		A. H.	A. D.	
Bappa, born ...	769	713	<i>Caliphs of Bagdad.</i> Walid (11th Caliph)	86 to 96	705 to 715	Conquered India to the Ganges. Sinde conquered. The Mori Prince of Cheetore attacked by Mahomed (son of Kasim), the General of Omar. Battle of Tours, A. D. 732, and defeat of the Caliph's army, under Abdulrahman, by Charles Martel. Final conquest of Sinde, and the name of its capital, Arore, changed to Mansoor. Bappa, founder of the Gehlote race in Mewar, retires to Iran.
—obtained Cheetore.	784	728	Omar II. (13th do.)	99 to 102	718 to 721	
—governs Mewar ...	...	...	Husham (15th do.)	104 to 125	723 to 742	
—abandons Cheetore.	820	764	Al-Mansoor (21st do.)	136 to 158	754 to 775	
Aprajeet.						
Khalbhøj			Haroon-al Rashid (24th do.)	170 to 193	786 to 809	Partition of the Caliphate amongst Haroon's sons. The second, Al-Mamoon, obtains Zabulisthan, Sinde, and India, and ruled them till A. D. 813, when he became Caliph. Invasion and attack on Cheetore from Zabulisthan.
Khōman	868 to 892	812 to 836	Al-Mamoon (26th do.)	198 to 218	813 to 833	
Bhatribhat, Sing-ji, Ullut, Nurbahan, Saibahan, Sacti Komar	1024	968	<i>Kings of Gurni.</i> Aleptegin	350	957	Inscription of Sacti-komar from ruins of Aitpur.
Umba Pussao, Narvarma Jussoovarma	...	...	Soobektegin Mahmood	367 387 to 418	977 997 to 1027	Invasion of India. Invasions of India, destruction of Aitpur.

destruction,* when he was on the eve of carrying the war against Raja Harchund of Kanouj. Some authorities state that he actually prosecuted it; and as Scind remained a dependency of the Caliphate during several successive reigns, the successor of Kasim may have executed his plans. Little is said of India from this period to the reign of Al-Mansoor, except in regard to the rebellion of Yezid in Khorassan, and the flight of his son to Scind. The eight sovereigns, who rapidly followed, were too much engaged with the Christians of the west and the Huns on the Caspian to think of India. Their armies were then in the heart of France, which was only saved from the Koran by their overthrow at Tours by Charles Martel.

Al-Mansoor, when only the lieutenant of the Caliph Abbas, held the government of Scind and of India, and made the island of Bekhar on the Indus, and the adjacent Arore,† the ancient capital, his residence, naming it Mansoor; and it was during his government that Bappa Rawul abandoned Cheetore for Iran.

The celebrated Haroon-al Rashid, contemporary of Charlemagne, in apportioning his immense empire amongst his sons, gave to the second, Al-Mamoon, Khorassan, Zabulistan, Cabulistan, Scind and Hindustan.‡ Al-Mamoon on the death of Haroon, deposed his brother, and became Caliph in A.H. 198 or A.D. 813 and ruled to 833, the exact period of the reign of Khoman, Prince of Cheetore. The domestic history brings the enemy assailant of Cheetore from Zabulistan; and as the leader's name given '*Mahmood Khorasan Put,*' there can be little doubt that it is an error arising from ignorance of the copyist, and should be *Mahmoon*.

Within twenty years after this event, the sword of conquest and conversion was withdrawn from India, and Scind was the only province left to Motawekel (A.D. 850), the grandson of Haroon, for a century after whom the throne of Bagdad, like that of ancient Rome, was sold by her prætorians to the highest bidder. From this time we find no mention whatever of Hindustan, or even of Scind, until Soobekegin,§ Governor of Khorasan, hoisted the standard of independent sovereignty at Gazni. In A. H. 365 (A.D. 975) he carried his arms across the Indus, forcing the inhabitants to abandon the religion of their ancestors, and to read the Koran from the altars of Bal and Crishna. Towards the close of this century he made his last invasion, accompanied by his son, the celebrated Mahmood, destined to be the scourge of the Hindu race, who early imbibed the paternal lesson inculcating the extirpation of infidels. Twelve

* "The two young princesses, in order to revenge the death of their father, represented falsely to the Khalif that Mahomed Kasim had been connected with them. The Khalif, in a rage, gave order for Mahomed Kasim to be sewed up in a raw hide, and sent in that condition to court. When the mandate arrived at Tatta, Kasim was prepared to carry an expedition against Harchand, monarch of Kanouj. When he arrived at court, the Khalif shewed him to the daughters of Dahir, who expressed their joy upon beholding their father's murderer in such a condition."
—*Ayeen Akbery*, Vol. II. p. 119.

† Arore is seven miles east of Bekher.

‡ Marigny, Vol. III. p. 83. Univ. Hist. Vol. ii. p. 162.

§ His father's name was Aleptegin, termed a slave by Ferishta and his authorities; though El-Makin gives him an ancestor in Yezdegid.

several visitations did Mahmood make with his Tartar hordes, sweeping India of her riches, destroying her temples and architectural remains, and leaving the country plunged in poverty and ignorance. From the effect of these incursions she never recovered; for though she had a respite of a century between Mahmood and the final conquest, it was too short to repair what it had cost ages to rear: the temples of Somnath, of Cheetore, and Girnar are but types of the magnificence of past times. The memorial of Sacti Komar proves him to have been the contemporary of Soobektegin, and to one of his son's visitations is attributed the destruction of the 'city of the sun' (Aitpur),* his capital.

Having thus condensed the little information afforded by Mahomedan historians of the connection between the Caliphs of Bagdad and Princes of Hind, from the first to the end of the fourth century of the Hegira, we shall revert to the first recorded attack on the Mori Prince of Cheetore, which brought Bappa into notice. This was either by Yezid or Mahomed bin Kasim from Scind. Though in the histories of the Caliphs we can only expect to find recorded those expeditions which were successful, or had some lasting results, there are inroads of their revolted lieutenants or their frontier deputies, which frequently, though indistinctly alluded to in Hindu annals, have no place in Mahomedan records. Throughout the period mentioned there was a stir amongst the Hindu nations, in which we find confusion and dethronement from an unknown invader, who is described as coming some times by Scind, sometimes by sea, and not unfrequently as a demon and magician; but invariably as *mlechchha*, for 'barbarian.† From S. 750 to S. 780 (A. D. 694 to 724),

* *Ait*, contracted from *Aditya*; hence *Ait-war* 'sun-day.'

† Even from the puerilities of Hindu legends something may be extracted. A Mendicant derveish, called Roshun Ali (*i. e.*, the *light* of Ali), had found his way to Gurh Beetli (the ancient name of the Ajmeer fortress), and having thrust his hand into a vessel of curds destined for the Rajah, had his finger cut off. The disjointed member flew to Mecca, and was recognized as belonging to the saint. An army was equipped in the disguise of horse-merchants, which invaded Ajmeer, whose Prince was slain. May we not gather from this incident, that an insult to the first Islamite missionary in the person of Roshun Ali, brought upon the Prince the arms of the Caliph? The same Chohan legends state that Ajpal was Prince of Ajmeer at this time; that in this invasion by sea he hastened to Anjar (on the coast of Cutch), where he held the 'guard of the ocean' (*Samoodra ca Chouki*), where he fell in opposing the landing. An altar was erected on the spot, on which was sculptured the finger of the Prince on horseback, with his lance at rest, and which still annually attracts multitudes at the 'fair (Mela) of Ajpal.'

The subsequent invasion alluded to in the text, of S. 750 (A. D. 694), is marked by a curious anecdote. When the 'Assoor's had blockaded Ajmeer, Lot, the infant son of Manika Rae, was playing on the battlements, when an arrow from the foe killed the heir of Ajmeer, who has ever since been worshipped amongst the lares and penates of the Chohans; and as he had on a silver chain anklet at the time, this ornament is forbid to the children of the race. In all these Rajpoot families there is a pootra (*adolescens*) amongst the penates, always one who has come to an untimely end, and chiefly worshipped by females; having a strong resemblance to the rites in honour of Adonis. We have traced several Roman and Grecian terms to Sanscrit origin; may we add that of *lares*, from *lar la*, 'dear' or 'beloved.

the annals of the Yadus, the Chohans, the Chawuras, and the Gehlotes, bear evidence to simultaneous convulsions in their respective houses at this period. In S. 750 (A. H. 75), the Yadu Bhatti was driven from his capital Salpura in the Punjab, across the Sutledge into the Indian desert; the invader named Ferid. At the same period, Manika Rae, the Chohan Prince of Ajmeer, was assailed, and slain.

The first of the Keechie Princes who occupied the Do-abeh of Scind-sagar in the Punjab, as well as the ancestor of the Haras established in Golcoonda, was expelled at the same time. The invader is treated in the genuine Hindu style as a danoo, or demon, and is named 'Gyranan,' (*i.e.*, restless) from *Gujlibund*,* a term geographically given to a portion of the Himalaya mountains about the glaciers of the Ganges. The ancestor of the founder of Putun was expelled from his petty islandic dominion on the coast of Saurashtra at the same time. This is the period when Yezid was the Caliph's lieutenant in Khorassan, and when the arms of Walid conquered to the Ganges; nor is there a doubt that Yezid or Kasim was the author of all these revolutions in the Hindu dynasties. We are supported in this by the names of the Princes contained in the catalogue, who aided to defend Cheetore and the Mori Prince on this occasion. It is evident that Cheetore was, alternately with Oojein, the seat of sovereignty of the Pramara at this period, and, as it became the rallying point of the Hindus, that this race was the first in consequence †

* Signifying 'Elephant forests,' and described in a Hindu map (stamped on cloth and painted) of India from Gujlibund to Lanka, and the provinces west of the Indus to Calcutta.

† The list of the vassal Princes at the Court of the Mori confirms the statement of the bard Chund, of the supremacy of Ram Pramara, and the partition of his dominion amongst the Princes who founded separate dynasties at this period; hitherto in vassalage or subordinate to the Pramara. We can scarcely suppose the family to have suffered any decay since their ancestor, Chandragupta, connected by marriage with as well as the ally of the Grecian Seleucus, and who held Greeks in his pay. From such connection, the arts of sculpture and architecture may have derived a character hitherto unnoticed. Amidst the ruins of Barolli are seen sculptured the Grecian helmet; and the elegant ornament, the *camcoomp*, or 'vessel of desire' on the temple of *Anna-poorna*, *i.e.*, 'giver of food') the Hindu Ceres, has much affinity to the Grecian device.

From the inscription it is evident that Cheetore was an appanage of Oojein, the seat of Pramara empire. Its monarch, Chandragupta (Mori), degraded into the barber (maurya) tribe (was the) descendant of Srenika, Prince of Rajgraha, who, according to the Jain work *Calpoodrum Calka*, flourished in the year 477 before Vicramaditya, and from whom Chandragupta was the thirteenth in descent. The names as follows: Konika, Oodsen, and nine in succession of the name of Nanda, thence called the *No-nanda*. These at twenty-two years to a reign would give 286 years, which—477=196 S. V.+56=247 A. C. Now it was in A. C. 260, according to Bayer, that the treaty was formed between Seleucus and Chandragupta; so that this scrap of Jain history may be regarded as authentic and valuable. Asoca (a name of weight in Jain annals) succeeded Chandragupta. He by Koonal, whose son was Sumpriti, with whose name ends the line of Srenika, according to the authority from which I made the extract. The name of Sumpriti is well

We find the Prince of Ajmeer, and the quotas of Saurashtra and Guzerat; Ungutsi, lord of the Huns; Boosa, the lord of the North; Seo, the Prince of the Jharejas; the Johya, lord of Junguldes, the Aswuria, the Seput, the Koolhur, the Malun, the Ohir, the Hool, and many others, having nothing of the Hindu in name, now extinct. But the most conspicuous is "Dahir Despati from Deweli." This is erroneously written Delhi, the seat of the Tuars; whereas we recognize the name of the Prince of Scind, slain by Kasim, whose expatriated son doubtless found refuge in Cheetore.

This attack on the Mori Prince was defeated chiefly through the bravery of the youthful Gehlote. The foe from Gujlibund, though stated to have advanced by Mathura, retreated by Saurashtra and Scind, pursued by Bappa. He found the ancient seat of his ancestors, Gajni,* still in the possession of the 'Assoor;' a term as well as *mlechchha*, or 'barbarian,' always given to the Islamite at this period. Selim, who held Gajni, was attacked and forced to surrender, and Bappa inducted into this stronghold of his ancestors a nephew of his own. It is no less singular than honourable to their veracity, that the annals should record the fact, so contrary to their religion, of Bappa having married the daughter of the conquered Selim; and we have right to infer that it was from the influence acquired by his union, that he ultimately abandoned the sovereignty of Mewar and the title of 'Hindua Sooraje,' to become the founder of the 'one hundred and thirty tribes of Nosheyra Pathans' of the west. It is fair to conclude from all these notices regarding the founder of the Gehlote race in Cheetore, that he must have abjured his faith for that of Islam; and it is probable (though the surmise must ever remain unproved), that, under some new title applicable to such change, we may have, in one of the early distinguished leaders of 'the Faith,' the ancestor of the Gehlotes.

Let us now proceed to the next irruption of the Islamite invaders in the reign of Khoman, from A.D. 812 to 836. Though the leader of this attack is styled 'Mahmood Khorasan Put,' it is evident from the catalogue of Hindu Princes who came to defend Cheetore, that this 'lord of Khorassan' was at least two centuries before the son of Soobektegin; and as the period is in perfect accordance with the partition of the Caliphate by Haroon amongst his sons, we can have no hesitation in assigning such invasion to Mahmood, to whose share was allotted Khorassan, Scind,

known from Ajmeer to Saurashtra, and his era is given in a valuable Chronogrammatic catalogue in an ancient Jain manuscript from the temple of Nadole, at 202 of the Virat Samvat. He is mentioned both traditionally and by books, as the great supporter of the Jain faith, and the remains of temples dedicated to Mahavira, erected by this Prince, yet exist at Ajmeer, on Aboo, Komulmeer, and Girnar.

* It has already been stated that the ancient name of Cambay was Gayni, or Gajni, whose ruins are three miles from the present city. There is also a Gajni on the estuary of the Myhie, and Abul Fuzil incidentally mentions a *Gujnagur* as one of the most important fortresses of Guzerat, belonging to Ahmed Shah; in attempting to obtain which by stratagem, his antagonist, Hoshung, king of Malwa, was made prisoner. I am unaware of the site of this place, though there are remains of an extensive fortress near the capital, founded by Ahmed, and which preserves no name. It may be the ancient Gujnagur.

and the Indian dependencies. The records of this period are too scanty to admit of our passing over in silence even a barren catalogue of names, which, as texts, with the aid of collateral information, may prove of some benefit to the future antiquarian and historian.

"From Gajuni came the Gehlote; the Tak from Aser; from Nadolaye the Chohan; the Chalook from Rahigurh; from Set-Bunder the Jirkera; from Mundore the Khairavi; from Mangrole the Malwahana; from Jeitgurh the Joria; from Taragurh the Rewur; the Cutchwaha from Nirwar; from Sanchore the Kalum; from Joengurh the Dussanoh; from Ajmeer the Gor; from Lohadurgurh the Chandano; from Kasoondi the Dor; from Delhi the Tuar; from Patun the Chawura, preserver of royalty (*Rijdhur*); from Jhalore the Sonigurra; from Sirohi the Deora; from Gagrown the Keechief; the Jadoo from Joonagurh; the Jhala from Patri; from Kanouj the Rahtore; from Chotiala the Balla; from Perungurh the Gohil; from Jesulgurh the Bhatti; the Boosa from Lahore; the Sankla from Roneja; the Sehut from Kherligurh; from Mandelgurh the Nacoompa; the Birgoonjur from Rajore; from Kurrungurh the Chundail from Sikur the Sikurwal; from Omergurh the Jaitwa; from Palli the Birgota; from Khunturgurh the Jareja; from Jirgah the Kherwur; from Cashmere the Purihara."

Of the Gehlote from Gajuni we have said enough; nor shall we comment on the Tak, or his capital, Aser, which now belongs to the British government. The Chohan, who came from Nadolaye, was a celebrated branch of the Ajmeer house, and claims the honour of being the parent of the Sonigurras of Jhalore and the Deoras of Sirohi. Nadole* is mentioned by Ferishta as falling a prey to one of Mahmood's invasions, who destroyed its ancient temples; but from erroneous punctuation it is lost in the translation as Bazule. Of Rahigurh and the Jirkhera from Setbunder (on the Malabar coast) nothing is known. Of the Khairavi from Mundore we can only say that it appears to be a branch of the Pramaras (who reckoned Mundore one of the nine strongholds, '*No-kote*,' under its dominion), established anterior to the Puriharas, who at this period had sovereignty in Cashmere. Both the Dor and his capital, Dussoondi, are described in ancient books as situated on the Ganges below Kanouj.

It is a subject of regret that the annals do not mention the name of the Tuar Prince of Delhi, which city could not have been re-founded above a century, when this call was made upon its aid. Abul Fuzil, Ferishta, their translators, and those who have followed them, have been corrected by the *Edinburgh Review*, whose critical judgment on this portion of ancient history is eminently good. I possess the original Hindu record used by Abul Fuzil, which gives S. 829 for the first Anungpal, instead of S. 429; and as there were but nineteen princes who intervened until his dynasty was set aside by the Chohan, it requires no argument to support the *four* instead of *eight* centuries. The former will give the just average of twenty-one years to a reign. The name of Anungpal was titular in

* I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society two inscriptions from Nadole, one dated, S. 1024, the other 1039. They are of Prince Lakha, and state as instances of his power, that he collected the transit duties at the further barrier of Putun, and levied tribute from the Prince of Cheetore. He was the cotemporary of Mahmood, who devastated Nadole. I also discovered inscriptions of the twelfth century relative to this celebrated Chohan family, in passing from Oodipur to Jodhpur.

the family, and the epithet was applied to the last as to the first of the race.

The name of the Chawura prince of Putun (Anhulwara) being recorded amongst the auxiliaries of Khoman, is another satisfactory proof of the antiquity of this invasion; for this dynasty was extinct, and succeeded by the Solankis, in S. 998 (A. D. 942), fifty years prior to Mahmood of Gazni who captured Putun during the reign of Chaond, the second Solanki Prince.

The Sonigurra, who came from Jhalore, is a celebrated branch of the Chohan race, but we are ignorant of the extent of time that it held this fortress; and as nothing can invalidate the testimonies afforded by the names of the Chawura of Putun, the Cutchwaha of Nirwur, the Tuar of Delhi, and the Rahtore from Kanouj, there can be no hesitation at pointing out the anachronisms of the chronicle, which states the Deora from Sirohi, the Keechie from Gagrown, or the Bhatti from Jessulgurh, amongst the levies on this occasion; and which we must affirm to be decided interpolations, the two first being at that period in possession of the Prāmara, and the latter not erected for three centuries later. That the Deoras, the Keechies, and the Bhattis, came to the aid of Khoman, we cannot doubt; but the copyist, ignorant even of the names of the ancient capitals of these tribes, Chotun, Sind-Sagur, and Tannote, substituted those which they subsequently founded.

The Jodu (Yadu) from Joonagurh (Girnar), was of the race of Crishna, and appeared long to have held possession of this territory; and the names of the Khengars, of this tribe, will remain as long as the stupendous monuments they reared on this sacred hill. Besides the Jadu¹ we find Saurashtra sending forth the Jhalas, the Ballas, and the Gohils, to the aid of the descendant of the lord of Ballabhipura, whose paramount authority they once all acknowledged, and who appeared to have long maintained influence in that distant region.

Of the tribe of Boosa, who left their capital, Lahore, to succour Cheetore, we have no mention, further than the name being enumerated amongst the unassigned tribes of Rajpoots. Ferishta frequently notices the Prince of Lahore in the early progress of Islamism, though he does not tell us the name of the tribe. In the reign of the Caliph Al-Mansoor, A.H. 143 (A.D. 761), the Afghans of Kirman and Peshawur, who according to this authority were a Coptic colony expelled from Egypt, had increased in such numbers as to abandon their residence about the 'hill of Suliman,' and crossing the Indus, wrested possessions from the Hindu Princes of Lahore. This frontier warfare with a tribe which, though it had certainly not then embraced the faith of Islam, brought to their succour the forces of the Caliph in Zabulistan, so that in five months seventy battles were fought with varied success; but the last, in which the Lahore Prince carried his arms to Peshawur,* produced a peace. Hence arose an union of interests between them and the hill tribe of Ghiker, and all the Kohistan west of the Indus was ceded to them, on the condition of guarding this barrier into Hindusthan against invasion. For this purpose the fortress of Khyber was erected in the chief pass of the Koh-i-Damaun. For two centuries after this event Ferishta is silent on this frontier warfare, stating that henceforth Hindusthan was only accessible through Sind. When Aliptegin first crossed the Indus, the Prince

* The scene of action was between Peshawur and Kirman, the latter lying ninety miles south-west of the former.

of Lahore and the Afghans still maintained this alliance and united to oppose him. Jeipal was then Prince of Lahore; and it is on this event that Ferishta, for the first time, mentions the tribe of Bhatti† "at the advice of whose Prince he conferred the command of the united forces on an Afghan chief," to whom he assigned the provinces of Mooltan and Limgham. From this junction of interests the Princes of Lahore enjoyed comparative security, until Soobektegin and Mahmood compelled the Afghans to serve them; then Lahore was captured. The territory dependent upon Lahore, at this period, extended from Sirhind to Limgham, and from Cashmere to Mooltan. Bhatinda divided with Lahore the residence of its Princes. Their first encounter was at Limgham, on which occasion young Mahmood first distinguished himself, and as the historian says, "the eyes of the heavens were obscured at seeing his deeds."* A tributary engagement was the result, which Jeipal soon broke; and being aided by levies from all the Princes of Hindusthan, marched an army of one hundred thousand men against Soobektegin, and was again defeated on the banks of the Indus. He was at length invested and taken in Bhatinda by Mahmood, when he put himself to death. The successors of Jeipal are mentioned merely as fugitives, and always distinct from the Princes of Delhi. It is most probable that they were of the tribe termed Boosa in the annals of Mewar, possibly a subdivision of another; though, Ferishta calls the Prince of Lahore a Brahmin.

The Sankala from Roneja. Both tribe and abode are well known: it is a subdivision of the Pramara. Hurba Sankla was the Paladin of Marwar, in which Roneja was situated.

The Sehat from Kherligurh was a northern tribe dwelling about the Indus, and though entirely unknown to the modern genealogists of India, is frequently mentioned in the early history of the Bhattis, when their possessions extended on both sides of the Hyphasis. As intermarriages between the Bhattis and Sehats are often spoken of, it must have been Rajpoot. It most probably occupied the province of Sewad, the *Suvat* of D'Anville, a division of the province of Ash-nagar, where dwelt the Asacani of Alexander; concerning which this celebrated geographer says, "Il est mention de Suwat comme d'un canton du pays d'Ash-nagar dans la meme geographie Turque." (Ecl. page 25.) The whole of this ground was sacred to the Jadu tribe from the most remote antiquity, from Mooltan, the hills of Joud, to Aswini-kote (the *Tshehin-kote* of D'Anville) which, built on the point of confluence of the Choaspes of the Greeks with the Indus, marks the spot where dwelt the Asaseni, corroborated by the Puranas, which mention the partition of all these territories amongst the sons of Baj-aswa, the lord of Kampilnagara, the grand subdivision of the Yadu race. In all likelihood, the Sehat, who came to the aid of Khoman of Cheetore, was a branch of these Asaseni, the opponents of Alexander. The modern town of Deenkote appears to occupy the site of Aswini-kote, though D'Anville feels inclined to carry it into the heart of Bijore and place it on the rock (*silla*) Aornus. Such the Sehat; not improbably, the *Soha*, one of the eight subdivisions of the Yadu. When, in S. 785, the Bhatti chief Rao Tannoo was driven across the Sutledge, the Sehats are mentioned with other tribes as joining the army of Hussein Shah, with the Barahas, the Joudis, and Johyas (the Juds and Jinjohyas of Baber), the Bootas, and the 'men of Doode.'

* The sense of this passage has been quite perverted by Dow.

The Chundail, from Kurrungurh, occupied the tracts now termed Boondelkhund.

We shall pass over the other auxiliary tribes and conclude with the Purihar, who came from Cashmere on this occasion: a circumstance entirely overlooked in the dissertation on this tribe; nor does this isolated fact afford room for further discussion on a race which expelled the Pramaras from Mundore.

Such aids, who preserved Khoman when assailed by the 'Khorasan Put,' fully demonstrate the antiquity of the annals, which is further attested by inscriptions. Khoman fought twenty-four great battles, and his name, like that of Cæsar, became a family distinction. At Oodipur, if you make a false step, or even sneeze, you hear the ejaculation of 'Khoman aid you!' Khoman, by the advice of the Brahmins, resigned the Gadi to his younger son, Jograz; but again resumed it, slaying his advisers and execrating the name of Brahmin, which he almost exterminated in his own dominions. Khoman was at length slain by his own son, Mangul; but the chiefs expelled the parricide, who seized upon Lodurwa in the northern desert, and there established the Mungulia Gehlotes.

Bhartribhut (familiarily Bhatto) succeeded. In his reign, and in that of his successor, the territory dependent on Cheetore was greatly increased. All the forest tribes, from the banks of the Myhie to Aboo, were subjugated, and stronghold erected, of which Dhorunghur and Ujargurh still remain to maintain them. He established no less than thirteen* of his sons in independent possessions in Malwa and Guzerat, and these were distinguished as the Bhatewra Gehlotes.

We shall now leap over fifteen generations; which though affording a few interesting facts to the antiquarian, would not amuse the general reader. We will rest satisfied with stating, that the Chohans of Ajmere and the Gehlotes of Cheetore were alternately friends and foes; that Doorlub Chohan was slain by Bersi Raoul in a grand battle fought at Kowario, of which the Chohan annals state, 'that their Princes were now so powerful as to oppose the Chief of Cheetore.' Again, in the next reign, we find the renowned Beesuldeo, son of Doorlub, combining with Raoul Tejsi of Cheetore to oppose the progress of Islamite invasion; facts recorded by inscriptions as well as by the annals. We may close these remarks on the fifteen Princes, from Khoman to Samarsi, with the words of Gibbon on the dark period of Guelphic annals: "It may be presumed that they were illiterate and valiant; that they plundered in their youth, and reared churches in their old age; that they were fond of arms, horses, and huping," and we may add, continued bickering with their vassals within, when left unemployd by the enemy from without.

* By name, Koolanugger, Champanair, Choreta, Bhojpur, Loonara, Neemthore, Sodaru, Jodghur, Sandpur, Aetpur, and Gungabheva. The remaining two are not mentioned.

CHAPTER V.

ALTHOUGH the whole of this chain of ancestry, from Kanaksen in the second, Vijaya the founder of Ballabhi in the fourth, to Samarsi in the thirteenth century, cannot be discriminated with perfect accuracy, we may affirm, to borrow a metaphor, that "the two extremities of it are rivetted in truth:" and some links have at intervals been recognized as equally valid. We will now extend the chain to the nineteenth century.

Samarsi was born in S. 1206. Though the domestic annals are not silent on his acts, we shall recur chiefly to the bard of Delhi* for his character and actions, and the history of the period. Before we proceed, however, a sketch of the political condition of Hindusthan during the last of the Tuar sovereigns of Delhi, derived from this authority and in the bard's own words, may not be unacceptable. "In Putun is Bhola Bheem the Chalook, of iron frame. On the mountain Aboo, Jeit Pramara, in battle immoveable as the star of the north. In Mewar is Samar Sing, who takes tribute from the mighty, a wave of iron in the path of Delhi's foe. In the midst of all, strong in his own strength, Mundore's Prince, the arrogant Nahar Rao, the might of Maroo, fearing none. In Delhi the Chief of all Anunga, at whose summons attended the Princes of Mundore, Nagore, Scind, Julwut† and others on its confines, Peshawur, Lahore, Kangra and its mountain Chiefs, with Kasi,‡ Prayag§ and Gurh Deogir. The lords Seemar|| were in constant danger of his power." The Bhatti, since their expulsion, from Zabulishthan, had successively occupied as capitals, Salbahana in the Punjab, Tannote, Derawul, which last they founded, and the ancient Lodurwa, which they conquered in the desert; and at the

* The word of Chund is a universal history of the period in which he wrote. In the sixty-nine books, comprizing one hundred thousand stanzas, relating to the exploits of Prithwi Raj, every noble family of Rajasthan will find some record of their ancestors. It is accordingly treasured amongst the archives of each race having any pretensions to the name of Rajpoot. From this he can trace his martial forefathers who 'drank of the wave of battle' in the passes of Kirman, when 'the cloud of war' rolled from Himachal to the plains of Hindusthan. The wars of Prithwi Raj, his alliances, his numerous and powerful tributaries, their abodes and pedigrees, make the works of Chund invaluable as historic and geographical memoranda, besides being treasures in mythology, manners, and the annals of the mind. To read this poet well is a sure road to honour, and my own *Gooru* was allowed, even by the professional bards, to excel therein. As he read, I rapidly translated about thirty thousand stanzas. Familiar with the dialects in which it is written, I have fancied that I seized occasionally the poet's spirit; but it were presumption to suppose that I embodied all his brilliancy, or fully comprehended the depth of his allusions. But I knew for whom he wrote. The most familiar of his images and sentiments I heard daily from the mouths of those around me, the descendants of the men whose deeds he rehearses. I was enabled thus to seize his meaning, where one more skilled in poetic lore might have failed, and to make my prosaic version of some value.

† Unknown, unless the country on the 'waters' (*jul*) of Scind.

‡ Benares. § Allahabad. || The cold regions (see 'cold').

period in question were constructing their present residence, Jessulmeer. In this nook they had been fighting for centuries with the Lieutenants of the Caliph at Arore, occasionally redeeming their ancient possessions as far as the city of the Tak on the Indus. Their situation gave them little political interest in the affair of Hindusthan until the period of Prithwi Raj, one of whose principal leaders, Achilles, was the brother of the Bhatti Prince. Anungapal, from this description was justly entitled to be termed the Paramount Sovereign of Hindusthan; but he was the last of a dynasty of nineteen Princes, who had occupied Delhi nearly four hundred years, from the time of the founder Beelun Deo, who, according to a manuscript in the author's possession, was only an opulent Thacoor, when he assumed the ensigns of royalty in the then deserted Indraprastha, taking the name of Anungapal,* ever after titular in the family. The Chohans of Ajmeer owed at least homage to Delhi at this time, although Beesuldeo had rendered it almost nominal; and to Someswar, the fourth in descent, Anungapal was indebted for the preservation of this supremacy against the attempts of Kanouj, for which service he obtained the Tuar's daughter in marriage, the issue of which was Prithwi Raj, who when only eight years of age was proclaimed successor to the Delhi throne. Jeychand of Kanouj and Prithwi Raj bore the same relative situation to Anungapal; Bejjipal, the father of former, as well as Someswar, having had a daughter of the Tuar to wife. This originated the rivalry between the Chohans and Rahtores, which ended in the destruction of both. When Prithwi Raj mounted the throne of Delhi, Jeychand not only refused to acknowledge his supremacy, but set forth his own claims to this distinction. In these he was supported by the Prince of Putun Anbulwara (the eternal foe of the Chohans), and likewise by the Purihars of Mundore. But the affront given by the latter, in refusing to fulfil the contract of bestowing his daughter on the young Chohan, brought on a warfare, in which this first essay was but the presage of his future fame. Konouj and Putun had recourse to the dangerous expedient of entertaining bands of Tatars, through whom the Sovereign of Gazni was enabled to take advantage of their internal broils.

Samarsi, Prince of Cheetore, had married the sister of Prithwi Raj, and their personal characters, as well as this tie, bound them to each other throughout all these commotions, until the last fatal battle on the Caggar. From these feuds Hindusthan never was free. But unrelenting enmity was not a part of their character; having displayed the valour of the tribe, the bard or Nestor of the day would step in, and a marriage would conciliate and maintain in friendship such foes for two generations. From time immemorial such has been the political state of India, as represented by their own epics, or in Arabian or Persian histories; thus always the prey of foreigners, and destined to remain so. Samarsi had to contend both with the Princes of Putun and Konouj; and although the bard says "he washed his blade in the Jumna," the domestic annals slur over the circumstance of Pid Rae Jey Sing having actually made a conquest of Cheetore; for it is not only included in the eighteen capitals enumerated as appertaining to this Prince, but the author discovered a tablet in

* *Anunga* is a poetical epithet of the Hindu Cupid, literally 'incorporeal;' but, according to good authority, applicable to the founder of the desolate abode, *palna* being 'to support,' and *unga*, with the primitive *an*, 'without body.'

Cheetore, placed there by his successor, Komarpal, bearing the date S. 1206, the period of Samarsi's birth. The first occasion of Samarsi's aid being called in by the Chohan Emperor was on the discovery of treasure at Nagore, amounting to seven millions of gold, the deposit of ancient days. The Princes of Konouj and Putun, dreading the influence which such sinews of war would afford their antagonist, invited Shabudin to aid their designs of humiliating the Chohan who in this emergency sent an embassy to Samarsi. The envoy was Chund Poondir, the vassal Chief of Lahore, and guardian of that frontier. He is conspicuous from this time to the hour "when he planted his lance at the ford of the Ravee," and fell in opposing the passage of Shabudin. The presents he carries, the speech with which he greets the Cheetore Prince, his reception, reply, and dismissal, are all preserved by Chund. The style of address and the apparel of Samarsi betoken that he had not laid aside the office and ensigns of 'Regent of Mahadeva.' A simple necklace of the seeds of the lotus adorned his neck; his hair was braided, and he is addressed as Jogindra, or chief of ascetics. Samarsi proceeded to Delhi; and it was arranged, as he was connected by marriage with the Prince of Putun that Prithwi Raj should march against this Prince, while he should oppose the army from Gazni. He (Samarsi) accordingly fought several battles which gave time to the Chohan to terminate the war in Guzerat and rejoin him. United, they completely discomfited the invaders, making their leader prisoner. Samarsi declined any share of the discovered treasure, but permitted his Chiefs to accept the gifts offered by the Chohan. Many years elapsed in such subordinate warfare, when the Prince of Cheetore was again constrained to use his buckler in defence of Delhi and its Prince, whose arrogance and successful ambition, followed by disgraceful inactivity, invited invasion with every presage of success. Jealousy and revenge rendered the Princes of Putun, Kanouj, Dhar, and the minor Courts, indifferent spectators of a contest destined to overthrow them all.

The bard gives a good description of the preparations for his departure from Cheetore, which he was destined never to see again. The charge of the city was entrusted to a favourite and younger son, Kurna: which disgusted the elder brother, who went to the Dekhan to Biedur, where he was well received by an Abyssinian Chief,* who had there established himself in sovereignty. Another son, either on this occasion or on the subsequent fall of Cheetore, fled to the mountains of Nepal, and there spread the Gehlote line. It is in this, the last of the books of Chund, termed "the Great Fight," that we have the character of Samarsi fully delineated. His arrival at Delhi is hailed with songs of joy as a day of deliverance. Prithwi Raj and his Court advance seven miles to meet him, and the description of the greeting of the King of Delhi and his sister, and the Chiefs on either side who recognize ancient friendships, is most animated. Samarsi reads his brother-in-law an indignant lecture on his unprincely inactivity, and throughout the book divides attention with him.

In the planning of the campaign, and march towards the Caggar to meet the foe, Samarsi is consulted, and his opinions are recorded. The bard represents him as the Ulysses of the host: brave, cool, and skilful in the fight; prudent, wise, and eloquent in council; pious and decorous on all occasions: beloved by his own Chiefs, and revered by the vassals of the Chohan. In the line of march no augur or bard could better explain the omens, none in the field better dress the squadrons for battle,

* Styled Huchee Padsha.

none guide his steed or use his lance with more address. His tent is the principal resort of the leaders after the march or in the intervals of battle, who were delighted by his eloquence or instructed by his knowledge. The bard confesses that his precepts of government are chiefly from the lips of Khoman;* and of his best episodes and allegories, whether on morals, rules for the guidance of ambassadors, choice of ministers, religious or social duties (but especially those of the Rajpoot to the Sovereign), the wise Prince of Cheetore is the general organ.

On the last of three days' desperate fighting Samarsi was slain, together with his son Calian, and thirteen thousand of his household troops and most renowned Chieftains. His beloved Pritha, on hearing the fatal issue, her husband slain, her brother captive, the heroes of Delhi and Cheetore "asleep on the banks of the Caggar, in the wave of the steel," joined her lord through the flame, nor waited the advance of the Tartar King, when Delhi was carried by storm, and the last stay of the Chohans, Prince Rainsi, met death in the assault. The capture of Delhi and its monarch, the death of his ally of Cheetore, with the bravest and best of their troops, specially ensured the further and final success of the Tatar arms; and when Kanouj fell, and the traitor to his nation met his fate in the waves of the Ganges, none were left to contend with Shabudin the possession of the regal seat of the Chohan. Scenes of devastation, plunder and massacre commenced, which lasted through ages; during which nearly all that was sacred in religion or celebrated in art was destroyed by these ruthless and barbarous invaders. The noble Rajpoot, with a spirit of constancy and enduring courage, seized every opportunity to turn upon his oppressor. By his perseverance and valour he wore out entire dynasties of foes, alternately yielding 'to his fate,' or restricting the circle of conquest. Every road in Rajasthan was moistened with torrents of blood of the spoiled and the spoiler. But all was of no avail; fresh supplies were ever pouring in, and dynasty succeeded dynasty, heir to the same remorseless feeling which sanctified murder, legalised spoliation, and deified destruction. In these desperate conflicts entire tribes were swept away, whose names are the only memento of their former existence and celebrity.

What nation on earth would have maintained the semblance of civilization, the spirit or the customs of their forefathers, during so many centuries of overwhelming depression, but one of such singular character as the Rajpoot? Though ardent and reckless, he can, when required, subside into forbearance and apparent apathy, and reserve himself for the opportunity of revenge. Rajasthan exhibits the sole example in the history of mankind, of a people withstanding every outrage barbarity can inflict, or human nature sustain, from a foe whose religion commands annihilation, and bent to the earth, yet rising buoyant from the pressure, and making calamity a whetstone to courage. How did the Britons at once sink under the Romans, and in vain strive to save their groves, their druids, or the altars of Bal from destruction! To the Saxons they alike succumbed; they, again, to the Danes; and this heterogeneous breed to the Normans. Empire was lost and gained by a single battle, and the laws and religion of the conquered merged in those of the conquerors. Contrast with these the Rajpoots: not an iota of their religion or customs have they lost, though many a foot of land.

* I have already mentioned that Khoman became a patronymic and title, amongst the princes of Cheetore.

Some of their states have been expunged from the map of dominion ; and, as a punishment of national infidelity the pride of the Rahtore, and the glory of the Chalook, the overgrown Kanouj and gorgeous Anhwara, are forgotten names ! Mewar alone, the sacred bulwark of religion, never compromised her honour for her safety, and still survives her ancient limits ; and since the brave Samarsi gave up his life, the blood of her princes has flowed in copious streams for the maintenance of this honour, religion and independence.

Samarsi had several sons ;* but Kurna was his heir, and during his minority his mother, Kormadevi, a princess of Putun, nobly maintained what his father left. She headed her Rajpoots and gave battle† in person to Kootub-oo-din, near Ambar, when the viceroy was defeated and wounded. Nine Rajas, and eleven Chiefs of inferior dignity with the title of Rawut, followed the mother of their prince.

Kurna (the radiant) succeeded in S. 1249 (A.D. 1193); but he was not destined to be the founder of a line in Mewar.‡ The annals are at variance with each other on an event which gave the sovereignty of Cheetore to a younger branch, and sent the elder into the inhospitable wilds of the west, to found a city§ and perpetuate a line. It is stated generally that Kurna had two sons, Mahup and Rahup ; but this is an error : Samarsi and Soorajmul were brothers : Kurna was the son of the former and Mahup was his son, whose mother was a Chohan of Bhagur. Soorajmul had a son named Bharut, who was driven from Cheetore by a conspiracy. He proceeded to Scind, obtained Arore from its prince, a Moosulman, and married the daughter of the Bhatti Chief of the Poogul, by whom he had a son named Rahup. Kurna died of grief for the loss of Bharut and the unworthiness of Mahup, who abandoned to live entirely with his maternal relations, the Chohans.

The Sonigurra Chief of Jhalore had married the daughter of Kurna, by whom he had a child named Rindhole,|| whom by treachery he placed on the Throne of Cheetore, slaying the Chief Gehlotes. Mahup being unable to recover his rights, and unwilling to make any exertion, the chair of Bappa Rowul would have passed to the Chohan but for an ancient bard of the house. He pursued his way to Arore, held by old Bharut as a fief of Cabul. With the levies of Scind he marched to claim the right abandoned by Mahup, and at Pally encountered and defeated the Sonigurras. The retainers of Mewar flocked to his standard, and by their aid he enthroned himself in Cheetore. He sent for his father and mother, Rangadevi, whose dwelling on the Indus was made over to a younger brother, who bartered his faith for Arore, and held it as a vassal of Cabul.

* Calianrae, slain with his father ; Koomkurna, who went to Biedur a third, the founder of the Gorkas.

† This must be the battle mentioned by Ferishta. See Dow, p. 169, Vol. ii.

‡ He had a son, Sirwan, who took to commerce. Hence the mercantile Sesodia caste, Sirwana.

§ Dongurpur, so named from *dongra*, 'a mountain.'

|| So pronounced, but properly written Rin-dhaval, 'the standard of the field.'

Rahup obtained Cheetore in S. 1257 (A. D. 1201), and shortly after sustained the attack of Shemsudin, whom he met and overcame in a battle at Nagore. Two great changes were introduced by this Prince; the first in the title of the tribe, to Sesodia; the other in that of its Prince, from Rawul to Rana. The puerile reason for the former has already been noticed; the cause of the latter is deserving of more attention. Amongst the foes of Rahup was the Purihar Prince of Mundore: his name Mokul, with the title of Rana. Rahup seized him in his capital and brought him to Sesodia, making him renounce the rich district of Godwar, and his title of Rana which he assumed himself, to denote the completion of his feud. He ruled thirty-eight years in a period of great distraction, and appears to have been well calculated, not only to uphold the fallen fortunes of the state, but to rescue them from utter ruin. His reign is the more remarkable by contrast with his successors, nine of whom are "pushed from their stools" in the same or even a shorter period than that during which he upheld the dignity.

From Rahup to Lakumsi, in the short space of half a century, nine princes of Cheetore were crowned, and at nearly equal intervals of time followed each other to 'the mansions of the sun.' Of these nine, six fell in battle. Nor did they meet their fate at home, but in a chivalrous enterprise to redeem the sacred Gya from the pollution of the barbarian. For this object these princes successively fell, but such devotion inspired fear, if not pity or conviction, and the bigot renounced the impiety which Pirthimul purchased with this blood, and until Alla-oo-din's reign, this outrage to their prejudices was renounced. But in this interval they had lost their capital, for it is stated as the only occurrence in Bhonsi's* reign,

* His second son, Chandra, obtained an appange on the Chumbul, and his issue, well known as Chanderawuts, constituted one of the most powerful vassal clans of Mewar. Rampura (Bhanpura) was their residence, yielding a revenue of nine lacks (£110, 000), held on the tenure of service which, from an original grant in my possession from Rana Jnaut Sing to his nephew Madhu Sing, afterwards Prince of Ambar, was two thousand horse and foot, and the fine of investiture was seventy-five thousand rupees. Madhu Sing, when Prince of Ambar, did what was invalid as well as ungrateful; he made over this domain, granted during his misfortunes, to Holkar, the first limb lopped off Mewar. The Chanderawut proprietor continued, however, to possess a portion of the original estate with the fortress of Amud, which it maintained throughout all the troubles of Rajwarra till A. D. 1821. It shows the attachment to custom, that the young Rao applied and received 'the sword' of investiture from his old lord paramount, the Rana, though dependent on Holkar's forbearance. But a minority is proverbially dangerous in India. Disorder from party plots made Amudo troublesome to Holkar's government, which as his ally and preserver of tranquillity we suppressed by blowing up the walls of the fortress. This is one of many instances of the harsh, uncompromising nature of our power and the anomalous description of our alliances with the Rajpoots. However necessary to repress the disorder arising from the claims of ancient proprietors and the recent rights of Holkar, or the new proprietor, Guffor Khan, yet surrounding princes, and the general population, who know the history of past times, lament to see a name of five hundred years' duration thus summarily extinguished, which chiefly benefits an upstart Pathan. Such the vortex of the ambiguous, irregular, and unsystematic policy, which marks many of our alliances, which protect too often but to

that he "recovered Cheetore" and made the name of Rana be acknowledged by all. Two memorials are preserved [of the nine princes from Rahup to Lakumsi, and of the same character: confusion and strife within and without. We will, therefore, pass over these to another grand event in the vicissitudes of this house, which possesses more of romance than of history, though the facts are undoubted.

CHAPTER VI.

LAKUMSI succeeded his father in S. 1331 (A. D. 1275), a memorable era in the annals, when Cheetore, the repository of all that was precious yet untouched of the arts of India, was stormed, sacked, and treated with remorseless barbarity, by the Pathan Emperor, Alla-oo-din. Twice it was attacked by this subjugator of India. In the first siege it escaped spoliation, though at the price of its best defenders: that which followed is the first successful assault and capture of which we have any detailed account.

Bheemsi was the uncle of the young Prince, and protector during his minority. He had espoused the daughter of Hamir Sank (Chohan) of Ceylon, the cause of woes unnumbered to the Sesodias. Her name was Pudmini, a title bestowed only on the superlatively fair, and transmitted with renown to posterity by tradition and the song of the bard. Her beauty, accomplishments, exaltation, and destruction, with other incidental circumstances, constitute the subject of one of the most popular traditions of Rajwarra. The Hindu bard recognises the fair, in preference to fame and love of conquest, as the motive for the attack of Alla-oo-din, who limited his demand to the possession of Pudmini; though this was after a long and fruitless siege. At length he restricted his desire to a mere sight of this extraordinary beauty, and acceded to the proposal of beholding her through the medium of mirrors. Relying on the faith of the Rajpoot, he entered Cheetore slightly guarded, and having gratified with his wish, returned. The Rajpoot, unwilling to be out-done in confidence, accompanied the King to the foot of the fortress, amidst many complimentary excuses from his guest at the trouble he thus occasioned. It was for this that Alla risked his own safety, relying on the superior faith of the Hindu. Here he had an ambush; Bheemsi was made prisoner, hurried away to the Tatar camp, and his liberty made dependent on the surrender of Pudmini.

Despair resigned in Cheetore when this fatal event was known, and it was debated whether Pudmini should be resigned as a ransom for their defender. Of this she was informed, and expressed her acquiescence. Having provided wherewithal to secure her from dishonour, she communed with two Chiefs of her own kin and clan of Ceylon, uncle Gorah and his nephew Badul, who devised a scheme for the liberation

injure, and gives to our office of general arbitrator and high constable of Rajsthan a harsh and unfeeling character.

Much of this arises from ignorance of the past history; much from disregard of the peculiar usages of the people; or from that expediency which too often comes in contact with moral fitness, which will go on until the day predicted by the Nestor of India, when "*one sicca* (seal) alone will be used in Hindusthan."

of their Prince without hazarding her life or fame. Intimation was despatched to Alla, that on the day he withdrew from his trenches the fair Pudmini would be sent, but in a manner befitting her own and his high station, surrounded by her females and handmaids; not only those who would accompany her to Delhi, but many others who desired to pay her this last mark of reverence. Strict commands were to be issued to prevent curiosity from violating the sanctity of female decorum and privacy. No less than seven hundred covered litters proceeded to the royal camp. In each was placed one of the bravest of the defenders of Cheetore, borne by six armed soldiers disguised as litter-porters. They reached the camp. The royal tents were enclosed with *kanats* (walls of cloth); the litters were deposited, and half an hour was granted for a parting interview between the Hindu prince and his bride. They then placed their prince in a litter and returned with him, while the greater number (the supposed damsels) remained to accompany the fair to Delhi. But Alla had no intention to permit Bheemsi's return, and was becoming jealous of the long interview he enjoyed, when, instead of the Prince and Pudmini the devoted band issued from their litters: but Alla was too well guarded. Pursuit was ordered, while these covered the retreat till they perished to a man. A fleet horse was in reserve for Bheemsi, on which he was placed and in safety ascended the fort, at whose outer gate the host of Alla was encountered. The choicest of the heroes of Cheetore met the assault. With Gorah and Badul at their head, animated by the noblest sentiments the deliverance of their Chief and the honour of their Queen, they devoted themselves to destruction, and few were the survivors of this slaughter of the flower of Mewar. For a time Alla was defeated in his object, and the havoc they had made in his ranks, joined to the dread of their determined resistance, obliged him to desist from the enterprize.

Mention has already been made of the adjuration, "by the sin of the sack of Cheetore." Of these sacks they enumerate *three and a half*. This is the 'half': for though the city was not stormed, the best and bravest were cut off (*saka*). It is described with great animation in the *Khoman Rasa*. Badul was but a stripling of twelve, but the Rajpoot expects wonders from this early age. He escaped, though wounded, and a dialogue ensues between him and his uncle's wife, who desires him to relate how her lord conducted himself ere she joins him. The stripling replies: "He was the reaper of the harvest of battle; I followed his steps as the humble gleaner of his sword. On the gory bed of honour he spread a carpet of the slain; a barbarian prince his pillow, he laid him down, and sleeps surrounded by the foe." Again she said: "tell me, Badul, how did my love (*peer*) behave?"—"Oh! mother, how further describe his deeds, when he left no foe to dread or admire him?" She smiled farewell to the boy, and adding, "my lord will chide my delay," sprung into the flame.

Alla-oo-din, having recruited his strength, returned to his object, Cheetore. The annals state this to have been in S. 1346 A. D. 1290), but Ferishta gives a date thirteen years latter. They had not yet recovered the loss of so many valiant men who had sacrificed themselves for their Prince's safety, and Alla carried on his attacks more closely, and at length obtained the hill at the southern point, where he entrenched himself. They still pretend to point out his trenches; but so many have been formed by subsequent attacks that we cannot credit the assertion. The poet has found in the disastrous issue of this siege admirable materials for his song. He represents the Rana, after an arduous day,

stretched on his pallet, and during a night of watchful anxiety, pondering on the means by which he might preserve from the general destruction one at least of his twelve sons; when a voice broke on his solitude, exclaiming "*Myn bhooka ho*;"* and raising his eyes, he saw, by the dim glare of the cheragh,† advancing between the granite columns, the majestic form of the guardian goddess of Cheetore. "Not satiated," exclaimed the Rana, "though eight thousands of my kin were late an offering to thee?"—"I must have regal victims; and if twelve who wear the diadem bleed not for Cheetore, the land will pass from the line." This said, she vanished.

On the morn he conveyed a council of his chiefs, to whom he revealed the vision of the night, which they treated as the dream of a disordered fancy. He commanded their attendance at midnight; when again the form appeared, and repeated the terms on which alone she would remain amongst them. "Though thousands of barbarians strew the earth, what are they to me? On each day enthrone a Prince. Let the *kirnia*,‡ the *chhatra*,§ and the *chamara*¶ proclaim his sovereignty, and for three days let his decrees be supreme: on the fourth let him meet the foe and his fate. Then only may I remain."

Whether we have merely the fiction of the poet, or whether the scene was got up to animate the spirit of resistance, matters but little, it is consistent with the belief of the tribe; and that the goddess should openly manifest her wish to retain as her tiara the battlements of Cheetore on conditions so congenial to the warlike and superstitious Rajpoot, was a gage readily taken up and fully answering the end. A generous contention arose amongst the brave brothers, who should be the first victim to avert the denunciation. Ursi urged his priority of birth: he was proclaimed, the umbrella waved o'er his head, and on the fourth day he surrendered his shortlived honours and his life. Ajeyi, the next in birth, demanded to follow; but he was the favourite son of his father, and at his request he consented to let his brothers precede him. Eleven had fallen in turn, and but one victim remained to the salvation of the city, when the Rana, calling his chiefs around him, said, "Now I devote myself for Cheeture." But another awful sacrifice was to precede this act of self-devotion, in that horrible rite, the *Fohur*, where the females are immolated to preserve them from pollution or captivity. The funeral pyre was lighted within the "great subterranean retreat," in chambers impervious to the light of day, and the defenders of Cheetore beheld in procession the Queen, their own wives and daughters, to the number of several thousands. The fair Pudmini closed the throng, which was augmented by whatever of female beauty or youth could be tainted by Tatar lust. They were conveyed to the cavern, and the opening closed upon them, leaving them to find security from dishonour in the devouring element.

A contest now arose between the Rana and his surviving son; but the father prevailed, and Ajeyi, in obedience to his commands, with a small band passed through the enemy's lines, and reached Kailwarra in safety. The Rana, satisfied that his line was not extinct, now prepared to follow his brave sons; and calling around him his devoted clans, for whom life had

* 'I am hungry.'

† Lamp.

‡ These are the insignia of royalty. The *kirnia* is parasol, from *keren*, 'a ray': the *chhatra* is the umbrella, always red: the *chamara*, the flowing tail of the wild ox, set in a gold handle, and used to drive away the flies.

no longer any charms, they threw upon the portals and descended to the plain and with a reckless despair carried death, or met it, in the crowded ranks of Alla. The Tatar conqueror took possession of an inanimate capital, strewn with brave defenders, the smoke yet issuing from the recesses where lay consumed the once fair object of his desire ; and since this devoted day the cavern has been sacred : no eye has penetrated its gloom, and superstition has placed as its guardian a huge serpent, whose "venomous breath" extinguishes the light which might guide intruders* to "the place of sacrifice."

Thus fell, in A. D. 1303, this celebrated capital, in the round of conquest of Alla-oo-din, one of the most vigorous and warlike sovereigns who have occupied the throne of India. In success, and in one of the means of attainment, a bigotted hypocrisy, he bore a striking resemblance to Aurungzebe; and the title of "Secunder Sani," or the second Alexander, which he assumed and impressed on his coins, was no idle vaunt. The proud Anhilwara, the ancient Dhar and Avanti, Mundore and Deogir, the seats of the Solankis, the Pramaras, the Puriharas and Taks, the entire Agnicula race, were overturned for ever by Alla. Jessulmeer, Gaggrown, Boondi the abodes of the Bhatti, the Keechee, and the Hara, with many of minor importance, suffered all the horrors of assault from this foe of the race, though destined again to raise their heads. The Rahtores of Marwar and the Cutchwahs of Ambar were yet in a state of insignificance : the former were slowly creeping into notice as the vassals of the Puriharas, while the latter could scarcely withstand the attacks of the original Meena population. Alla remained in Cheetore some days, admiring the grandeur of his conquest ; and having committed every act of barbarity and wanton dilapidation which a bigotted zeal could suggest, overthrowing the temples and other monuments of art, he delivered the city in charge to Maldeo, the chief of Jhalore, whom he had conquered and enrolled amongst his vassals. The palace of Bheem and the fair Pudmini alone appears to have escaped the wrath of Alla ; it would be pleasing could we suppose any kinder sentiment suggested the exception, which enables the author of these annals to exhibit the abode of the fair of Ceylon.

The survivor of Cheetore, Rana Ajeysi, was now in security at Kailwarra a town situated in the heart of the Aravali mountains, the western boundary of Mewar, to which its princes had been indebted for twelve centuries of dominion. Kailwarra is at the highest part of one of its most extensive valleys, termed the Shero Nalla, the richest district of this Alpine region. Guarded by faithful adherents, Ajeysi, cherished for future occasion the wrecks of Mewar. It was the last behest of his father, that when he attained "one hundred years" (a figurative expression for dying), the son of Ursi, the elder brother, should succeed him. This injunction, from the deficiency of the qualities requisite at such a juncture in his own sons, met a ready compliance. Hamir was this son, destined to redeem the promise of the genius of Cheetore and the lost honours of his race, and whose birth and early history fill many a page

* The author has been at the entrance of this retreat, which, according to the *Khoman Rasa*, conducts to a subterranean palace; but the mephitic vapours and venomous reptiles did not invite to adventure, even had official situation permitted such slight to these prejudices. The author is the only Englishman admitted to Cheetore since the days of Herbert, who appears to have described what he saw.

of their annals. His father, Ursi, being out on a hunting excursion in the forest of Ondwa with some young chiefs of the court, in pursuit of the boar entered a field of maize, when a female offered to drive out the game. Pulling one of the stalks of the maize, which grows to the height of ten or twelve feet, she pointed it, and mounting the platform made to watch the corn, impaled the hog, dragged him before the hunters, and departed. Though accustomed to feats of strength and heroism from the nervous arms of their country-women, the act surprised them. They descended to the stream at hand, and prepared the repast, as is usual, on the spot. The feast was held, and comments were passing on the fair arm which had transfixed the boar when a ball of clay from a sling fractured a limb of the prince's steed. Looking in the direction whence it came, they observed the same damsel, from her elevated stand,* preserving her fields from aerial depredators; but seeing the mischief she had occasioned she descended to express her regret, and then returned to her pursuit. As they were proceeding homewards after the sports of the day, they again encountered the damsel, with a vessel of milk on her head, and leading in either hand a young buffalo. It was proposed, in frolic, to overturn her milk, and one of the companions of the prince dashed rudely by her; but without being disconcerted, she entangled one of her charges with the horse's limbs, and brought the rider to the ground. On enquiry the prince discovered that she was the daughter of a poor Rajpoot of the Chundano tribe.† He returned the next day to the same quarter and sent for her father, who came and took his seat with perfect independence close to the prince, to the merriment of his companions, which was checked by Ursi asking his daughter to wife. They were yet more surprised by the demand being refused. The Rajpoot, on going home, told the more prudent mother who scolded him heartily, made him recall the refusal, and seek the prince. They were married, and Hamir was the son of the Chundano Rajpootnee. He remained little noticed at the maternal abode till the catastrophe of Chetore. At this period he was twelve years of age, and had led a rustic life, from which the necessity of the times recalled him.

Mewar was now occupied by the garrisons of Delhi, and Ajeysi had besides to contend with the mountain chiefs, amongst whom Moonja Balaitcha was the most formidable, who had, on a recent occasion, invaded the Shero Nalla, and personally encountered the Rana, whom he wounded on the head with a lance. The Rana's sons, Sujunsi and Ajimsi, though fourteen and fifteen, an age at which a Rajpoot ought to indicate his future character, proved of little aid in the emergency. Hamir was summoned, and accepted the feud against Moonja, promising to return successful or not at all. In a few days he was seen entering the pass of Kailwarra with Moonja's head at his saddle-bow. Modestly placing the trophy at his uncle's feet, he exclaimed: "recognise the head of your foe!" Ajeysi "kissed his beard,"‡ and observing that fate had stamped empire on his forehead, impressed it with a teeka of blood from the head of the Balaitcha. This decided the fate of the sons of Ajeysi; one of whom died at Kailwarra, and the other, Sujunsi, who might have excited

* A stand is fixed upon four poles in the middle of a field, on which a guard is placed armed with a sling and clay balls, to drive away the ravens, peacocks and other birds that destroy the corn.

† One of the branches of the Chohan.

* This is an idiomatic phrase; Hamir could have had no beard.

a civil war, was sent from the country. He departed for the Dekhan, where his issue was destined to avenge some of the wrongs the parent country had sustained, and eventually to overturn the monarchy of Hindusthan; for Sujunsi was the ancestor of Sevaji, the founder of the Satara throne, whose lineage* is given in the chronicles of Mewar.

Hamir succeeded in S. 1357 (A. D. 1301), and had sixty-four years granted to him to redeem his country from the ruins of the past century, which period had elapsed since India ceased to own the paramount sway of her native princes. The day on which he assumed the ensigns of rule he gave, in the *teeka dowl*, an earnest of his future energy, which he signaled by a rapid inroad into the heart of the country of the predatory Balaitcha, and captured their stronghold Possalio. We may here explain the nature of this custom of a barbaric chivalry. The *teeka dowl* signifies the foray of inauguration, which obtained from time immemorial on such events, and is yet maintained where any semblance of hostility will allow its execution. On the morning of installation, having previously received the *teeka* of sovereignty, the prince at the head of his retainers makes a foray into the territory of any one with whom he may have a feud, or with whom he may be indifferent as to exciting one; he captures a stronghold or plunders a town, and returns with the trophies. If amity should prevail with all around, which the prince cares not to disturb, they have still a mock representation of the custom. For many reigns after the Jeipur princes united their fortunes to the throne of Delhi, their frontier town, Malpura, was the object of the *teeka dowl* of the princes of Mewar.

"When Ajmal† went another road," as the bard figuratively describes the demise of Rana Ajeysi, "the son of Ursi unsheathed the sword, thence never stranger to his hand." Maldeo remained with the royal garrison in Cheetore, but Hamir desolated their plains, and left to his enemies only the fortified towns which could safely be inhabited. He commanded all who owned his sovereignty either to quit their abodes, and retire with their families to the shelter of the hills on the eastern and western frontiers, or share the fate of the public enemy. The roads were rendered impassable from his parties, who issued from their retreats in the Aravali, the security of which baffled pursuit. This destructive policy of laying waste the resources of their own country, and from this asylum attacking their foes as opportunity offered, has obtained from the time of Mahmood of Gazni in the tenth, to Mahomed, the last who merited the name of Emperor of Delhi, in the eighteenth century.

Hamir made Kailwarra‡ his residence, which soon became the chief

* Ajeysi, Sujunsi, Duleepji, Seoji, Bhoraji, Deoraj, Ongursen, Mahoolji, Khailooji, Junkoji, Suttooji, Sambaji, Sevaji (the founder of the Marhatta nation), Sambaji, Ramraja, usurpation of the Peishwas. The Satara throne, but for the jealousies of Oodipur, might on the imbecility of Ramraja have been replenished from Mewar. It was offered to Nathji, the grandfather of the present chief Sheodan Sing, presumptive heir to Cheetore. Two noble lines were reared from princes of Cheetore expelled on similar occasions; those of Sevaji and the Ghorkas of Nepal.

† This is a poetical version of the name of Ajeysi; a liberty frequently taken by the bards for the sake of rhyme.

‡ The lake he excavated here, the '*Hamir-tallao*,' and the temple of the protecting goddess on its bank, still bear witness of his acts while confined to this retreat.

retreat of the emigrants from the plains. The situation was admirably chosen, being covered by several ranges, guarded by intricate defiles, and situated at the foot of a pass leading over the mountain into a still more inaccessible retreat (where Komulmeer now stands), well watered and wooded, with abundance of pastures and excellent indigenous fruits and roots. This tract, above fifty miles in breadth, is twelve hundred feet above the level of the plains and three thousand above the sea, with a considerable quantity of arable land, and free communication to obtain supplies by the passes of the western declivity from Marwar, Guzerat, or the friendly Bhils of the west, to whom this house owes a large debt of gratitude. On various occasions, the communities of Oguna and Panora furnished the princes of Mewar with five thousand bowmen, supplied them with provisions, or guarded the safety of their families when they had to oppose the foe in the field. The elevated plateau of the eastern frontier presented in its forests and dells many places of security; but Alla* traversed these in person, destroying as he went: neither did they possess the advantages of climate and natural productions arising from the elevation of the other. Such was the state of Mewar: its places of strength occupied by the foe, cultivation and peaceful objects neglected from the persevering hostility of Hamir, when a proposal of marriage came from the Hindu governor of Cheetore, which was immediately accepted, contrary to the wishes of the prince's advisers. Whether this was intended as a snare to entrap him or merely as an insult, every danger was scouted by Hamir which gave a chance to the recovery of Cheetore. He desired that '*the cocoa-nut† might be retained,*' coolly remarking on the dangers pointed out, "my feet shall at least tread in the rocky steps in which my ancestors have moved. A Rajpoot should always be prepared for reverses; one day to abandon his abode covered with wounds, and the next to reascend with the *mor* (crown) on his head." It was stipulated that only five hundred horse should form his suit. As he approached Cheetore, the five sons of the Chohan advanced to meet him, but on the portal of the city no torun,‡ or

* I have an inscription, and in *Sanscrit*, set up by an apostate chief or bard in his train, which I found in this tract.

† This is the symbol of an offer of marriage.

‡ The *torun* is the symbol of marriage. It consists of three wooden bars forming an equilateral triangle; mystic in shape and number, and having the apex crowned with the effigies of a peacock, it is placed over the portal of the bride's abode. At Oodipur, when the princes of Jesulmeer, Bikaner, and Kishengurh simultaneously married the two daughters and grand-daughter of the Rana, the toruns were suspended from the battlements of the tripolia, or *three-arched portal*, leading to the palace. The bridegroom on horseback, lance in hand, proceeds to break the torun (*torun toorna*), which is defended by the damsels of the bride, who from the parapet assail him with missiles of various kinds, especially with a crimson powder made from the flowers of the *palasa*, at the same time singing songs fitted to the occasion, replete with *double-entendres*. At length the torun is broken amidst the shouts of the retainers; when the fair defenders retire.

The similitude of these ceremonies in the north of Europe and in Asia, increases the list of common affinities, and indicates the violence of rude times to obtain the object of affection; and the lance with which the Rajpoot chieftain breaks the torun, has the same emblematic import

nuptial emblem, was suspended. He however accepted the unsatisfactory reply to his remark on this indication of treachery, and ascended for the first time the ramp of Cheetore. He was received in the ancient halls of his ancestors by Rao Maldeo, his son Bunbeer, and other chiefs, '*with folded hands.*' The bride was brought forth, and presented by her father without any of the solemnities practised on such occasions; 'the knot of their garments tied and their hands united,' and thus they were left. The family priest recommended patience, and Hamir retired with his bride to the apartments allotted for them. Her kindness and vows of fidelity overcame his sadness upon learning that he had married a widow. She had been wedded to a chief of the Bhatti tribe, shortly afterwards slain, and when she was so young as not to recollect even his appearance. He ceased to lament the insult when she herself taught him how it might be avenged, and that it might even lead to the recovery of Cheetore. It is a privilege possessed by the bridegroom to have one specific favour complied with as a part of the dower (*daeja*), and Hamir was instructed by his bride to ask for Jal, one of the civil officers of Cheetore, and of the Mehta tribe. With his wife so obtained, and the scribe whose talents remained for trial, he returned in a fortnight to Kailwarra. Kaitsi was the fruit of this marriage, on which occasion Maldeo made over all the hill tracts to Hamir. Kaitsi was a year old when one of the penates (Kaitr Pal) was found at fault, on which she wrote to her parents to invite her to Cheetore, that the infant might be placed before the shrine of the deity. Escorted by a party from Cheetore, with her child she entered its walls; and instructed by the Mehta she gained over the troops who were left, for the Rao had gone with his chief adherents against the Mers of Madaria. Hamir was at hand. Notice that all was ready reached him at Bagore. Still he met opposition that had nearly defeated the scheme; but having forced admission, his sword overcame every obstacle, and the oath of allegiance (*an*) was proclaimed from the palace of his fathers.

The Sonigurra on his return was met with 'a salute of arabas,'* and Maldeo himself carried the account of his loss to the Ghilji king Mahmood, who had succeeded Alla. The 'standard of the sun' once more shone resplendent from the walls of Cheetore, and was the signal for return to their ancient abodes from their hills and hiding-places to the adherents of Hamir. The valleys of Komulmeer and the western highlands poured forth their 'streams of men' while every chief of true Hindu blood rejoiced at the prospect of once more throwing off the barbarian yoke. So powerful was this feeling, and with such activity and skill did Hamir follow up this favour of fortune, that he marched to meet Mahmood, who was advancing to recover his lost possessions. The king unwisely directed his march by the eastern plateau, where numbers were rendered useless by the intricacies of the country. Of the three steppes which mark the physiognomy of this tract, from the first ascent from the plain of Mewar to descend at the Chumbul, the king had encamped on the central, at Singolli, where he was attacked, defeated, and made prisoner by Hamir, who slew Hari Sing, brother of Bunbeer, in single combat. The king suffered a confinement of three months in Cheetore, nor was liberated till he had surrendered Ajmeer, Rinthumbore, Nagore, and

as the spear, which, at the marriage of the nobles in Sweden, was a necessary implement in the furniture of the marriage chamber.—*Vide* "Northern Antiquities."

* A kind of arquebuss.

Sooe Sopur, besides paying fifty lacks of rupees and one hundred elephants. Hamir would exact no promise of cessation from further inroads, but contented himself with assuring him that from such he should be prepared to defend Cheetore; not within, but without the walls.*

Bunbeer, the son of Maldeo, offered to serve Hamir, who assigned the districts of Neemuch, Jeerun, Ruttonpur, and the Kairar to maintain the family of his wife in becoming dignity; and as he gave the grant he remarked: "eat, serve, and be faithful. You were once the servant of a Toork, but now of a Hindu of your own faith; for I have but taken back my own, the rock moistened by the blood of my ancestors, the gift of the deity I adore, and who will maintain me in it; nor shall I endanger it by the worship of a fair face, as did my predecessor." Bunbeer shortly after carried Bhynsrore by assault, and this ancient possession guarding the Chumbull was again added to Mewar. The chieftains of Rajasthan rejoiced once more to see a Hindu take the lead, paid willing homage, and added him with service when required.

Hamir was the sole Hindu prince of power now left in India: all the ancient dynasties, were crushed, and the ancestors of the present princes of Marwar and Jeipur brought their levies, paid homage, and obeyed the summons of the prince of Cheetore, as did the chiefs of Boondi, Gwalior, Chanderi, Raeseen, Sicri, Calpee, Aboo, etc.

Extensive as was the power of Mewar before the Tatar occupation of India, it could scarcely have surpassed the solidity of sway which she enjoyed during the two centuries following Hamir's recovery of the capital. From this event to the next invasion from the same Cimmerian abode, led by Baber, we have a succession of splendid names recorded in her annals, and though destined soon to be surrounded by new Mahomedan dynasties, in Malwa, and Guzerat as well as Delhi, yet successfully opposing them all. The distracted state of affairs when the races of Ghilji, Lodi, and Soor alternately struggled for and obtained the seat of dominion, Delhi was favourable to Mewar, whose power was now so consolidated, that she not only repelled armies from her territory, but carried war abroad, leaving tokens of victory at Nagore, in Saurashtra, and to the walls of Delhi. The subjects of Mewar must have enjoyed not only a long repose, but high prosperity during this period, judging from their magnificent public works when a triumphal column must have cost the income of a kingdom to erect, and which ten years' produce of the crown-lands of Mewar could not at this time defray. Only one of the structures prior to the sack of Cheetore was left entire by Alla, and is yet existing, and this was raised by private and sectarian hands. It would be curious if the unitarian profession of the Jain creed was the means of preserving this ancient relic from Alla's wrath. The princes of this house were great patrons of the arts, and especially of architecture; and it is matter of surprise how their revenues, derived chiefly from the soil, could have enabled them to expend so much on these objects and at the same time maintain such armies as are enumerated. Such could be effected only by long prosperity, and a mild, paternal system of government; for the subject had his monuments as well as the prince, the ruins of which may yet be discovered in the more inaccessible or deserted portions of Rajasthan. Hamir died full of years, leaving a name still

* Ferista does not mention this conquest over the Ghilji emperor; but as Mewar recovered her wonted splendour in this reign, we cannot doubt the truth of the native annals.

honoured in Mewar, as one of the wisest and most gallant of her princes, and bequeathing a well-established and extensive power to his son.

KHAITSI succeeded in S. 1421 (A. D. 1305) to the power and to the character of his father. He captured Ajmeer and Jehajpur from Lilla Patan, and re-annexed Mandalgurh, Dussore, and the whole of Chuppun (for the first time) to Mewar. He obtained a victory over the Delhi monarch Hemayoon at Bakrole; but unhappily his life terminated in a family broil with his vassal, the Hara chief of Bunaoda, whose daughter he was about to espouse.

LAKHA RANA, by this assassination, mounted the throne in Cheetore S. 1439 (A.D. 1383). His first act was the entire subjugation of the mountainous region of Merwarra, and the destruction of its chief stronghold, Beratgurh, where he erected Bednore. But an event of much greater importance than settling his frontier, and which most powerfully tended to the prosperity of the country, was the discovery of the tin and silver mines Jawura, in the tract wrested by Khaitisi from the Bhils of Chuppun. Lakha Rana has the merit of having first worked them, though their existence is superstitiously alluded to so early as the period of the founder. It is said the "seven metals (*heft-dhat*)"* were formerly abundant; but this appears figurative. We have no evidence for the gold; though silver, tin, copper, lead, and antimony, were yielded in abundance (the first two from the same matrix), but the tin that has been extracted for many years past yields but a small portion of silver.† Lakha Rana defeated the Sankla Rajpoots of Nagarchal,‡ at Ambar. He encountered the emperor Mahomed Shah Lodi, and on one occasion defeated a royal army at Bednore; but he carried the war to Gya, and in driving the barbarian from this sacred place, was slain. Lakha is a name of celebrity, as a patron of the arts and benefactor of his country. He excavated many reservoirs and lakes, raised immense ramparts to dam their waters, besides erecting strongholds. The riches of the mines of Jawura were expended to rebuild the temples and palaces levelled by Alla. A portion of his own palace yet exists, in the same style of architecture as that, more ancient, of Rutna and the fair Pudmini; and a minister (*mundir*) dedicated to the creator (Bramha), an enormous and costly fabric, is yet entire. Being to "the one," and consequently containing no idol, it may thus have escaped the ruthless fury of the invaders.

Lakha had a numerous progeny, who have left their clans called after them, as the Loonawuts, and Doolawuts, now the sturdy allodial proprietors of the alpine regions bordering on Oguna, Panora, and other tracts in the Aravali§ But a circumstance which set aside the rights of

* *Heft-dhat*; corresponding to the planets, each of which ruled a metal; hence Mohar, 'the sun,' for gold; *Chandra*, 'the moon,' for silver.

† They have long been abandoned, the miners are extinct, and the protecting deities of mines are unable to get even a flower placed on their shrines, though some have been re-consecrated by the Bhills, who have converted Latchmi into Seetlamata (Juno Lucina), whom the Bhil females invoke to pass them through danger.

‡ Jhoonjoonoo, Singhana, and Nurbana, formed the ancient Nagar-cha territory.

§ The Sarungdeote chief of Kanorh (on the borders of Chuppun),

primogeniture, and transferred the crown of Cheetore from his eldest son, Chonda, to the younger, Mokul, had nearly carried it to another line. The consequences of making the elder branch a powerful vassal clan with claims to the throne, and which have been the chief cause of its subsequent prostration, we will reserve for another chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

IF devotion to the fair sex be admitted as a criterion of civilization, the Rajpoot must rank high. His susceptibility is extreme, and fires at the slightest offence to female delicacy, which he never forgives. A satirica impromptu, involving the sacrifice of Rajpoot prejudices, dissolved the coalition of the Rahtores and Cutchwahs, and laid each prostrate before the Mahrattas, whom when united they had crushed: and a jest, apparently trivial, compromised the right of primogeniture to the throne of Cheetore, and proved more disastrous in its consequences than the arms either of Moguls or Mahrattas.

LAKHA RANA was advanced in years, his sons and grandsons established in suitable domains, when "the cocoa-nut came" from Rinmul Prince of Marwar, to affianc his daughter with Chonda, the heir of Mewar. When the embassy was announced, Chonda was absent, and the old chief was seated in his chair of state surrounded by his Court. The messenger of Hymen was courteously received by Lakha, who observed that Chonda would soon return and take the gage; "for," added he, drawing his fingers over his mustachios, "I don't suppose you send such playthings to an old greybeard like me." This little sally was of course applauded and repeated; but Chonda, offended at delicacy being sacrificed to wit, declined accepting the symbol which his father had even in jest supposed might be intended for him: and as it could not be returned without gross insult to Rinmul, the old Rana incensed at his son's obstinacy, agreed to accept it himself, provided Chonda would swear to renounce his birthright in the event of his having a son, and be to the child but "the first of his Rajpoots." He swore by Eklinga to fulfil his father's wishes.

MOKULJI was the issue of this union, and had attained the age of five when the Rana resolved to signalize his finale, by a raid against the enemies of their faith, and to expel the 'barbarian' from the holy land of Gya. In ancient times this was by no means uncommon, and we have several instances in the annals of these states of princes resigning 'the purple' on the approach of old age, and by a life of austerity and devotion, pilgrimage and charity, seeking to make their peace with heaven 'for the sins inevitably committed by all who wield a sceptre.' But when war was made against their religion by the Tatar proselytes to Islam, the Sutledge and the Caggar were as the banks of the Jordan—Gya, their Jerusalem, their holy land; and if their destiny filled his cup, the Hindu chieftain was secure of beatitude,* exempted from the troubles of

one of the sixteen lords of Mewar, is also descendant of Lakha, as are some of the tribes of Sondwara, about Furfurah and the ravines of the Cali Sinde.

* Mookt.

'second birth;*' and borne from the scene of probation in celestial cars by the Apsaras,† was introduced at once into the 'realm of the sun.‡ Ere, however, the Rana of Cheetore journeyed to this bourne, he was desirous to leave his throne unexposed to civil strife. The subject of succession had never been renewed; but discussing with Chonda his warlike pilgrimage to Gya, from which he might not return, he sounded him by asking what estates should be settled on Mokul. "The throne of Cheetore," was the honest reply; and to set suspicion at rest, he desired that the ceremony of installation should be performed previous to Lakha's departure. Chonda was the first to pay homage and swear obedience and fidelity to his future sovereign: reserving as the recompense of his renunciation, the first place of the councils, and stipulating that in all grant to the vassals of the crown, his symbol (the lance), should superadded to the autograph of the prince. In all grants the lance of Saloombra§ still precedes the monogram of the Rana.

The sacrifice of Chonda to offended delicacy and filial respect was great, for he had all the qualities requisite for command. Brave, frank, and skilful, he conducted all public affairs after his fathers' departure and death, to the benefit of the minor and the state. The queen-mother, however, who is admitted as the natural guardian of her infant's rights on all such occasions, felt umbrage and discontent at her loss of power; forgetting that, but for Chonda, she would never have been mother to the Rana of Mewar. She watched with a jealous eye all his proceedings; but it was only through the medium of suspicion she could accuse the integrity of Chonda, and she artfully asserted that, under colour of directing state affairs, he was exercising absolute sovereignty, and that if he did not assume the title of Rana, he would reduce it to an empty name. Chonda, knowing the purity of his own motives, made liberal allowances for maternal solicitude; but upbraiding the queen with the injustice of her suspicions, and advising a vigilant care to the rights of Sesodians, he retired to the Court of Mandoo, then rising into notice, where he was received with the highest distinctions, and the district of Hallar was assigned to him by the king.

His departure was the signal for an influx of the kindred of the queen from Mundore. Her brother Joda (who afterwards gave his name to Jodhpur) was the first, and was soon followed by his father, Rao Rinmul, and numerous adherents who deemed the arid region of Maroo-des, and its rabri, or maize porridge, well exchanged for the fertile plains and wheaten bread of Mewar.

With his grandson on his knee, the old Rao "would sit on the Throne of Bappa Rawul, on whose quitting him for play, the regal ensigns of Mewar waved over the head of Mundore." This was more than the Sesodia nurse|| (an important personage in all the Hindu governments)

* This is a literal phrase, denoting further transmigration of the soul, which is always deemed a punishment. The soldier, who falls in battle in the faithful performance of his duty, is alone exempted, according to their martial mythology, from the pains of 'second birth.'

† The fair messengers of heaven.

‡ Sooraj Mandal.

§ The abode of the chief of the various clans of Chondawut.

|| The *Dhae*. The *Dhabhaes*, or 'foster-brothers,' often hold lands in perpetuity, and are employed in the most confidential places; on embassies, marriages, etc.

could bear, and bursting with indignation, she demanded of the queen if her kin was to defraud her own child of his inheritance: The honesty of the nurse was greater than prudence. The creed of the Rajpoot is to "obtain sovereignty," regarding ~~the~~ means as secondary, and this avowal of her suspicions only hastened their designs. The queen soon found herself without remedy, and a remonstrance to her father produced a hint which threatened the existence of her offspring. Her fears were soon after augmented by the assassination of Raghudeva, the second brother of Chonda, whose estates were Kailwara and Kowaria. To the former place, where he resided aloof from the court, Rao Rinnul sent a dress of honour, which etiquette requiring him to put on when presented, the prince was assassinated in the act. Raghudeva was so much beloved for his virtues, courage, and manly beauty, that his murder became martyrdom, and obtained for him divine honours, and a place amongst the *Dei Patres* (*Pitri-deva*) of Mewar. His image is on every hearth, and is daily worshipped with the Penates. Twice in the year his altars receive public homage from every Sesodia from the Rana to the serf.*

In this extremity the queen-mother turned her thoughts to Chonda, and it was not difficult to apprise him of the danger which menaced the race, every place of trust being held by her kinsmen, and the principal post of Cheetore by a Bhatti Rajpoot of Jesulmeer. Chonda, though at a distance, was not inattentive to the proverbially dangerous situation of a minor amongst the Rajpoots. At his departure he was accompanied by two hundred Ahaires or huntsmen, whose ancestors had served the princes of Cheetore from ancient time. These had left their families behind, a visit to whom was the pretext for their introduction to the fort. They were instructed to get into the service of the keepers of the gates, and being considered more attached to the place than to the family, their object was effected. The queen-mother was counselled to cause the young prince to descend daily with a numerous retinue to give feasts to the surrounding villages, and gradually to increase the distance, but not to fail on the "festival of lamps"† to hold the feast (*gote*) at Gosoonda‡.

* On the 8th day of the *dysserah*, or 'military festival,' when the levies are mustered at the *Chaogan*, or 'Champ de Mars,' and on the 10th of the Cheit, his altars are purified, and his image is washed and placed thereon. Women pray for the safety of their children; husbands that their wives may be fruitful. Previously to this, a son of Bappa Rawul was worshipped; but after the enshrinement of Raghudeva, the adoration of Kules-putra was gradually abolished. Nor is this custom confined to Mewar: there is a deified *Putra* in every Rajpoot family,—one who has met a violent death. Besides Eklinga, the descendants of Bappa have adopted numerous household divinities: the destinies of life and death. Bvenmatta the goddess of the Chawuras, Nagnaitcha the serpent divinity of the Rahtores, and Khetra-pal, 'fosterer of the field,' have with many others obtained a place on the Sesodia altars. This festival may not unaptly be compared to that of Adonis amongst the Greeks, for the *Putra* is worshipped chiefly by women.

† The *Dewalli* from *dewa*, 'a lamp.' This festival is in honour of Latchmi, goddess of wealth.

‡ Seven miles south of Cheetore, on the road to Malwa.

The injunctions were carefully attended to. The day arrived, the feast was held at Gosoonada; but the night was closing in, and no Chonda appeared. With heavy hearts the nurse, the Purohit,* and those in the secret, moved homeward, and had reached the eminence called Chitoree, when forty horsemen passed them at the gallop, and at their head Chonda in disguise, who by a secret sign paid homage as he passed to his younger brother and sovereign. Chonda and his band had reached the *Rampol*,† or upper gate, unchecked. Here, when challenged, they said they were neighbouring chieftains, who hearing of the feast at Gosoonada, had the honour to escort the prince home. The story obtained credit; but the main body, of which this was but the advance, presently coming up, the treachery was apparent. Chonda unsheathed his sword, and at his well-known shout the hunters were speedily in action. The Bhatti chief taken by surprise, and unable to reach Chonda, launched his dagger at and wounded him, but was himself slain; the guards at the gates were cut to pieces, and the Rahtores hunted out and killed without mercy.

The end of Rao Rinnul was more ludicrous than tragical. Smitten with the charms of a Sesodia handmaid of the queen, who was compelled to his embrace, the old chief was in her arms, intoxicated with love, wine, and opium, and heard nothing of the tumult without. A woman's wit and revenge combined to make his end afford some compensation for her loss of honour. Gently rising, she bound him to his bed with his own Marwari turban:‡ nor did this disturb him, and the messengers of fate had entered ere the opiate allowed his eyes to open to a sense of his danger. Enraged, he in vain endeavoured to extricate himself; and by some tortuosity of movement he got upon his legs, his pallet at his back like a shell or shield of defence. With no arms but a brass vessel of ablution, he levelled to the earth several of his assailants, when a ball from a matchlock extended him on the floor of the palace. His son Joda was in the lower town, and was indebted to the fleetness of his steed for escaping the fate of his father and kindred, whose bodies strewed the *terre-pleine* of Cheetore, the merited reward of their usurpation and treachery.

But Chonda's revenge was not yet satisfied. He pursued Rao Joda, who, unable to oppose him, took refuge with Hurba Sankla, leaving Mundore to its fate. This city Chonda entered by surprise, and holding it till his sons Kontotji and Munjaji arrived with reinforcements, the Rahtore treachery was repaid by their keeping possession of the capital during twelve years. We might here leave the future founder of Jodhpur, had not this feud led to the junction of the rich province of Godwar to Mewar, held for three centuries and again lost by treachery. It may yet involve a struggle between the Sesodias and Rahtores.

'Sweet are the uses of adversity.' To Joda it was the first step in the ladder of his eventual elevation. A century and a half had scarcely elapsed since a colony, the wreck of Kanouj, found an asylum, and at length a kingdom, taking possession of one capital and founding another, abandoning Mundore and erecting Jodhpur. But even Joda could never have hoped that his issue would have extended their sway from the valley of the Indus or within one hundred miles of the Jumna, and from the desert bordering on the Sutledge to the Aravali mountains: that one

* The family priest and instructor of youth.

† *Ram-pol*, 'the gate of Rama.'

‡ Often sixty cubits in length.

hundred thousand swords should at once be in the hands of Rathores, 'the sons of one father (*ek Bap ca Betan*).'

If we slightly encroach upon the annals of Marwar, it is owing to its history and that of Mewar being here so interwoven, and the incidents these events gave birth to illustrative of the national character of each, that it is, perhaps, more expedient to advert to the period when Joda was shut out from Mundore, and the means by which he regained that city, previous to relating the events of the reign of Mokul.

Hurba Sankla, at once a soldier and a devotee, was one of those Rajpoot cavaliers '*sans peur et sans reproche*,' whose life of celibacy and perilous adventure was mingled with the austere devotion of an ascetic: by turns aiding with his lance the cause which he deemed worthy or exercising an unbounded hospitality towards the stranger. This generosity had much reduced his resources when Joda sought his protection. It was the eve of the '*Sudda Birt*,' one of those hospital rites which, in former times, characterised Rajwarra. This 'perpetual charity' supplies food to the stranger and traveller, and is distributed not only by individual chiefs and by the government, but by subscriptions of communities. Even in Mewar, in her present improverished condition, the offerings to the gods in support of their shrines and the establishment of the '*Sudda Birt*' were simultaneous. Hospitality is a virtue pronounced to belong more peculiarly to a semibarbarous condition. Alas! for refinement and ultra-civilization strangers to the happiness enjoyed by Hurba Sankla. Joda, with one hundred and twenty followers, came to solicit the 'stranger's fare: but unfortunately it was too late, the '*Sudda Birt*' had been distributed. In this exigence, Hurba recollected that there was a wood called *mujd*,* use in dyeing, which among other things in the desert regions is resorted to in scarcity. A portion of this was bruised, and boiled with some flour, sugar, and spices, making altogether a palatable pottage; and with a promise of better fare on the morrow, it was set before the young Rao and his followers, who, after making a good repast, soon forgot Cheetore in sleep. On waking, each stared at his fellow, for their mustachios were dyed with their evening's meal; but the old chief, who was not disposed to reveal his expedient, made it minister to their hopes by giving it a miraculous character, and saying "that as the grey of age was thus metamorphosed into the tint of morn† and hope, so would their fortunes become young, and Mundore again be theirs."

Elevated by this prospect, they enlisted Hurba on their side. He accompanied them to the chieftain of Mewoh, "whose stables contained one hundred chosen steed." Pabooji, a third independent of the same stamp, with his 'coal-black steed,' was gained to the cause, and Joda soon found himself strong enough to attempt the recovery of his capital. The sons of Chonda were taken by surprise: but despising the numbers of the foe, and ignorant who were their auxiliaries, they descended sword in hand to meet the assailants. The elder‡ son of Chonda with many

* The wood of Solomon's temple is called the *al-mug*; the prefix *al* is merely the article. This is the wood also mentioned in the annals of Guzerat, of which the temple to 'Adinath' was constructed. It is said to be indestructible even by fire. It has been surmised that the fleets of Tyre frequented in Indian coast: could they thence have carried the *Almujd* for the temple of Solomon? † This wood has a brownish red tint.

‡ This is related with some variation in other annals of the period.

adherents was slain; and the younger, deserted by the subjects of Mundore, trusted to the swiftness of his horse for escape; but being pursued, was overtaken and killed on the boundary of Godwar. Thus Joda, in his turn, was revenged, but the "*feud was not balanced.*" Two sons of Cheetore had fallen for one chief of Mundore. But wisely reflecting on the original aggression, and the superior power of Mewar, as well as his being indebted for his present success to foreign aid, Joda sued for peace, and offered as the *moondkati*, or 'price of blood,' and "to quench the feud," that the spot where Manja fell should be the future barrier of the two states. The entire province of Godwar was comprehended in the cession, which for three centuries withstood every contention, till the internal dissensions of the last half century, which grew out of the cause by which it was obtained, the change of succession in Mewar severed this most valuable acquisition.*

Who would imagine, after such deadly feuds between those rival states, that in the very next succession those hostile frays were not only buried in oblivion, but that the prince of Marwar abjured "his turban and his bed" till he had revenged the assassination of the prince of Cheetore and restored his infant heir to his rights? The annals of these states afford numerous instances of the same hasty, overbearing temperament governing all; easily moved to strife, impatient of revenge, and steadfast in its gratification. But this satisfied, resentment subsides. A daughter of the offender given to wife banishes its remembrance, and when the bard joins the lately rival names in the couplet, each will complacently curl his mustachio over his lip as he hears his "renown expand like the lotus," and thus "the feud is extinguished."

Thus have they gone on from time immemorial, and will continue, till what we may fear to contemplate. They have now neither friend nor foe but the British. The Tatar invader sleeps in his tomb, and the Marhatta predator is muzzled and enchained. To return.

MOKUL, who obtained the throne by Chonda's surrender of his birth-right, was not destined long to enjoy the distinction, though he evinced qualities worthy of heading the Sesodias. He ascended the throne in S. 1454 (A. D. 1398), at an important era in the history of India; when Timur, who had already established the race of Chagitai in the kingdoms of Central Asia, and laid prostrate the throne of Byzantium, turned his arms towards India. But it was not a field for his ambition; and the event is not even noticed in the annals of Mewar: a proof that it did not affect their repose. But they record an attempted invasion by the king of Delhi, which is erroneously stated to have been by Feroz Shah. A grandson of this prince had indeed been set up, and compelled to fly from the arms of Timur, and as the direction of his flight was Guzerat, it is not unlikely that the recorded attempt to penetrate by the passes of Mewar may have been his. Be this as it may, the Rana Mokul anticipated and met him beyond the passes of the Aravali, in the field of Raepur, and compelled him to abandon his enterprise. Pursuing his success, he took

* There is little hope, while British power acts as high constable and keeper of the peace in Rajwarra, of this being recovered: nor, were it otherwise would it be desirable to see it become an object of contention between these states. Marwar has attained much grandeur since the time of Joda, and her resources are more unbroken than those of Mewar; who, if she could redeem, could not, from its exposed position maintain the province against the brave Rahtore.

possession of Sambur and its salt lakes, and otherwise extended and strengthened his territory, which the distracted state of the empire consequent to Timur's invasion rendered a matter of little difficulty. Mokul finished the palace commenced by Lakha, now a mass of ruins; and erected the shrine of Chatoor-bhooj, 'the four-armed deity,' in the western hills.

Besides three sons, Rana Mokul had a daughter, celebrated for her beauty, called Lal Bae, or 'the ruby.' She was betrothed to the Keechie chieftain of Gagrown, who at the *Hatleav** demanded the pledge of succour of foreign invasion. Dheruj, the son of the Keechie, had come to solicit the stipulated aid against Hoshung of Malwa, who had invested their capital. The Rana's headquarters were then at Madaria, and he was employed in quelling a revolt of the mountaineers, when Dheruj arrived and obtained the necessary aid. Madaria was destined to be the scene of the termination of Mokul's career: he was assassinated by his uncles, the natural brothers of his father, from an unintentional offence, which tradition has handed down in its details.

Chacha and Maira were the natural sons of Kaitsi Rana (the predecessor of Lakha); their mother a fair handmaid of low descent, generally allowed to be a carpenter's daughter. 'The fifth sons of Mewar' (as the natural children are figuratively termed) possess no rank, and though treated with kindness and entrusted with confidential employments, the sons of the chiefs of the second class take precedence of them and sit higher on the carpet. These brothers had the charge of seven hundred horse in the train of Rana Mokul at Madria. Some chiefs at enmity with them, conceiving that they had overstepped their privileges, wished to see them humiliated. Chance procured them the opportunity: which however cost their prince his life. Seated in a grove with his chiefs around him, he inquired the name of a particular tree. The Chohan chief, feigning ignorance, whispered him to ask either of the brothers; and not perceiving their scope, he artlessly did so. "Uncle what tree is this?" This sarcasm thus prompted, they considered as reflecting on their birth (being sons of the carpenter's daughter), and the same day, while Mokul was at his devotions, and in the act of counting his rosary, one blow severed his arm from his body, while another stretched him lifeless. The brothers quickly mounting their steeds, had the audacity to hope to surprise Cheetore, but the gates were closed upon them.

Though the murder of Mokul is related to have no other cause than the sarcasm alluded to, the precautions taken by the young prince Koombha, his successor, would induce a belief that this was but the opening of a deep-laid conspiracy. The traitors returned to the stronghold near Madaria, and Koombha trusted to the friendship and good feelings of the prince of Marwar in this emergency. His confidence was well repaid. The prince put his son at the head of a force and the retreat of the assassins being near his own frontier, they were encountered and dislodged. From Madaria they fled to Paye, where they strengthened a fortress in the mountains named Ratakote; a lofty peak of the compound chain which encircles Oodipur, visible from the surrounding country, as are the remains of this stronghold of the assassins. It would appear that their lives were dissolute, for they had carried off the virgin daughter of a Chohan, which led to their eventual detection and punishment. Her father, Sooja, had traced the route of the ravishers, and mixing with the workmen, found that the approaches to the place of their concealment were capable of being

*The ceremony of joining hands.

scaled. He was about to lay his complaint before his prince, when he met the cavalcade of Koombho and the Rahtore. The distressed father 'covering his face,' disclosed the story of his own and daughter's dishonour. They encamped till night at Sailwara, when led by the Chundanah, they issued forth to surprise the authors of so many evils. Arrived at the base of the rock, where the parapet was yet low, they commenced the escalade, aided by the thick foliage. The path was steep and rugged, and in the darkness of the night each had grasped his neighbour's skirt for security. Animated by a just revenge, the Chohan (Sooja) led the way, when on reaching a ledge of the rock the glaring eye-balls of a tigress flashed upon him. Undismayed, he squeezed the hand of the Rahtore prince who followed him, and who on perceiving the object of terror instantly buried his poignard in her heart. This omen was superb. They soon reached the summit. Some had ascended the parapet; others were scrambling over, when the minstrel slipping, fell and his drum, which was to have accompanied his voice in singing the conquest, awoke by its crash the daughter of Chacha. Her father quieted her fears by saying it was only 'the thunder and the rains of Bhadoon:' to fear God only and go to sleep, for their enemies were safe at Kailwa. At this moment the Rao and his party rushed in. Chacha and Maira had no time to avoid their fate. Chacha was cleft in two by the Chandanah, while the Rahtore prince laid Maira at his feet, and the spoils of Ratakote were divided among the assailants.

CHAPTER VIII.

KOOMBHO succeeded his father in S. 1475 (A. D. 1412); nor did any symptom of dissatisfaction appear to usher in his reign which was one of great success amidst no common difficulties. The bardic historians* do as much honour to the Marwar prince, who had made common cause with their sovereign in revenging the death of his father, as if he had involved the security of his crown; but this was a precautionary measure of the prince, who was induced thus to act from several motives, and above all in accordance with usage, which stigmatizes the refusal of aid when demanded: besides "Koombho was the nephew of Marwar,"

It has rarely occurred in any country to have possessed successively so many energetic princes as ruled Mewar through several centuries. She was now in the middle path of her glory, and enjoying the legitimate triumph of seeing the foes of her religion captives on the rock of her power. A century had elapsed since the bigot Alla had wreaked his vengeance on the different monuments of art. Cheetore had recovered the sack, and new defenders had sprung up in the place of those who had fallen in their 'saffron robes,' a sacrifice for her preservation. All that was wanting to augment her resources against the storms which were collecting on the brows of Caucasus and the shores of the Oxus, and were destined to burst on the head of his grandson Sanga, was effected by Koombho; who with Hamir's energy, Lakha's taste for the arts, and a genius comprehensive as either and more fortunate,

* The *Raj Ruttana* by Rinchor Bhut says: "the Mundore Rao was pradhan, or premier, to Mokul, and conquered Nowah and Deedwana for Mewar."

succeeded in all his undertakings, and once more raised the 'crimson banner' of Mewar upon the banks of the Caggar, the scene of Samarsi's defeat. Let us contrast the patriarchal Hindu governments of this period with the despotism of the Tatar invader.

From the age of Shahbudin, the conqueror of India, and his contemporary Samarsi, to the time we have now reached, two entire dynasties, numbering twenty-four emperors and one empress, through assassination, rebellion, and dethronement, had followed in rapid succession, yielding a result of only nine years to a reign. Of Mewar, though several fell in defending their altars at home or their religion abroad, eleven princes suffice to fill the same period.

It was toward the close of the Ghilji dynasty that the saptaps of Delhi shook off its authority and established subordinate kingdoms: Beejipur and Golconda in the Dekhan; Malwa, Guzerat, Joinpur in the east; and even Calpee had its king. Malwa and Guzerat had attained considerable power when Koombhoo ascended the throne. In the midst of his prosperity, these two states formed a league against him, and in S. 1496, (A.D. 1440) both kings, at the head of powerful armies, invaded Mewar. Koombhoo met them on the plains of Malwa bordering on his own state, and at the head of one hundred thousand horse and foot and fourteen hundred elephants, gave them an entire defeat, carrying captive to Cheetore, Mahmood, the Ghilji sovereign of Malwa.

Abul Fuzil relates this victory, and dilates on Koombhoo's greatness of soul in setting his enemy at liberty, not only without ransom but with gifts. Such is the character of the Hindu: a mixture of arrogance, political blindness, pride, and generosity. To spare a prostrate foe is the creed of the Hindu cavalier, and he carries all such maxims to excess. The annals, however, state that Mahmood was confined six months in Cheetore; and that the trophies of conquest were retained we have evidence from Baber, who mentions receiving from the son of his opponent, Sanga, the crown of the Malwa king. But there is a more durable monument than this written record of victory: the triumphal pillar in Cheetore, whose inscriptions detail the event, "when, shaking the earth, the lords of Goojur-klund and Malwa, with armies overwhelming as the ocean, invaded Medpat." Eleven years after this event Koombhoo laid the foundation of this column, which was completed in ten more: a period apparently too short to place "this ringlet on the brow of Cheetore, which makes her look down upon Meru with derision." We will leave it, with the aspiration that it may long continue a monument of the fortune of its founders.

It would appear that the Malwa king afterwards united his arms with Koombhoo, as, in a victory gained over the imperial forces at Jhoonjoonoo when "he planted his standard in Hissar," the Malwa troops were combined with those of Mewar. The imperial power had at this period greatly declined: the Khootba was read in the mosques in the name of Timoor, and the Malwa king had defeated, single-handed, the last Ghorian sultan of Delhi.

Of eighty-four fortresses for the defence of Mewar, thirty-two were erected by Koombhoo. Inferior only to Cheetore is that stupendous work called after him Koombhomer,* 'the hill of Koombhoo,' from its natural position, and the works he raised, impregnable to a native army. These works were on the site of a more ancient fortress, of which the mountain-

* Pronounced *Komulmeer*.

eers long held possession. Tradition ascribes it to Sumpriti Raja, a Jain prince in the second century, and a descendant of Chandragupta; and the ancient Jain temples appear to confirm the tradition. When Koombho captured Nagore he brought away the gates, with the statue of the god Hanuman, who gives his name to the gate which he still guards. He also erected a citadel on a peak of Aboo, within the fortress of the ancient Pramara, where he often resided. Its magazine and alarm-tower still bear Koombho's name; and in a rude temple the bronze effigies of Koombho and his father still receive divine honours. Centuries have passed since the princes of Mewar had influence here, but the incident marks the vivid remembrance of their condition. He fortified the passes between the western frontier and Aboo, and erected the fort Vasunti near the present Sirohi, and that of Macheen, to defend the Shero Nalla and Deogurh against the *Mairs* of Aravali. He re-established Ahoer and other smaller forts to overawe the Bhoomia* Bhil of Jarole and Panora, and defined the boundaries of Marwar and Mewar.

Besides these monuments of his genius, two consecrated to religion have survived; that of "Koombho Sham," on Aboo, which, though worthy to attract notice elsewhere, is here eclipsed by a crowd of more interesting objects. The other one of the largest edifices existing, cost upwards of a million sterling, towards which Koombho contributed eighty thousand pounds. It is erected in the Sadri pass leading from the western descent of the highlands of Mewar, and is dedicated to Rishub-deva†. Its secluded position has preserved it from bigoted fury, and its only visitors now are the wild beasts who take shelter in its sanctuary. Koombho Rana was also a poet; but in a far more elevated strain than the troubadour princes, his neighbours, who contented themselves with rehearsing their own prowess or celebrating their lady's beauty. He composed a *tika*, or appendix to the 'Divine Melodies,'‡ in praise of Crishna. We can pass no judgment on these inspirations of the royal bard, as we are ignorant whether any are preserved in the records of the house; a point his descendant, who is deeply skilled in such lore, might probably answer.

Koombho married a daughter of the Rahtore of Mairta, the first of the clans of Marwar. Meera Bai was the most celebrated princess of her time for beauty and romantic piety. Her compositions were numerous, though better known to the worshipper of Hindu Apollo than to the ribald bards. Some of her odes and hymns to the deity are preserved and ad-

* A powerful phrase, indicating 'possessor of the soil.'

† The Rana's minister of the Jain faith, and of the tribe Porwar (one of the *twelve and a half* divisions), laid the foundation of this temple in A.D. 1438. It was completed by subscriptions. It consists of three stories, and is supported by numerous columns of granite upwards of forty feet in height. The interior is inlaid with mosaics of cornelian and agate. The statues of the Jain saints are in its subterranean vaults. We could not expect much elegance at a period when the arts had long been declining, but it would doubtless afford a fair specimen of them, and enable us to trace their gradual descent in the scale of refinement. This temple is an additional proof of the early existence of the art of inlaying. That I did not see it, is now to me one of the many vain regrets which I might have avoided.

‡ *Gita Govinda*.

mired. Whether she imbibed her poetic piety from her husband, or whether from her he caught the sympathy which produced the "sequel to the songs of Govinda," we cannot determine. Her history is a romance, and her excess of devotion at every shrine of the favourite deity with the fair of Hind, from the Yumuna to "the world's end,"* gave rise to many tales of scandal. Koombho mixed gallantry with his warlike pursuits. He carried off the daughter of the chief of Jhalawar, who had been betrothed to the prince of Mundore; this renewed the old feud, and the Rahtore made many attempts to redeem his affianced bride. His humiliation was insupportable, when through the purified atmosphere of the periodical rains "the towers of Koomblhomeer became visible from the castle of Mundore, and the light radiated from the chamber of the fair through the gloom of a night in Bhadoon,† to the hall where he brooded o'er his sorrows." It was surmised that this night-lamp was an understood signal of the Jhalani, who pined at the decree which ambition had dictated to her father, in consigning her to the more powerful rival of her affianced lord. The Rahtore exhausted every resource to gain access to the fair, and had once nearly succeeded in a surprise by escalade, having cut his way in the night through the forest in the western and least guarded acclivity: but, as the bard equivocally remarks, "though he cut his way through the *jhal* (brushwood)—he could not reach the *Jhalani*."

Koombho had occupied the throne half a century; he had triumphed over the enemies of his race, fortified his country with strongholds, embellished it with temples, and with the superstructure of her fame had laid the foundation of his own—when, the year which should have been a jubilee was disgraced by the foulest blot in the annals; and his life, which nature was about to close, terminated by the poniard of an assassin—that assassin, his son!

This happened S. 1525 (A. D. 1469). Ooda was the name of the parricide, whose unnatural ambition, and impatience to enjoy a short lustre of sovereignty, bereft of life the author of his existence. But such is the detestation which marks this unusual crime, that, like that of the Venetian traitor, his name is left a blank in the annals nor is Ooda known but by the epithet *Hatiaro*, 'the murderer.' Shunned by his kin, and compelled to look abroad for succour to maintain him on the throne polluted by his crime, Mewar in five years of illegitimate rule lost half the consequence which had cost so many to acquire. He made the Deora prince independent in Aboo, and bestowed Sambhur, Ajmeer, and adjacent districts, on the prince of Jodhpur‡ as the price of his friendship. But a prey to remorse, he felt that he could neither claim regard from nor place any dependence upon, these princes, though he bribed them with provinces. He humbled himself before the king of Delhi, offering him a daughter in marriage to obtain his sanction to his authority; but heaven manifested its vengeance to prevent this additional iniquity, and preserve the house of "of Bappa Rawul from dishonour." He had scarcely quitted the divan (*dewan khaneh*), on taking leave of the king, when a flash of lightning struck the '*Hatiaro*' to the earth, whence he never arose. The bards pass over this period cursorily, as one of their race was the instrument of Ooda's crime.

* *Juggut Koont*, or Dwarica.

† The darkest of the rainy months.

‡ Joda laid the foundation of his new capital in S. 1515, ten years anterior to the event we are recording.

There has always been a jealousy between the *Mangtas*, as they term all classes 'who extend the palm,' whether Brahmins, Yatis, Charuns, or Bhats; but since Hamir, the Charun influence had far eclipsed the rest. A Brahmin astrologer predicted Koombho's death through a Charun, and as the class had given other cause of offence, Koombho banished the fraternity from his dominions, resuming all their lands: a strong measure in those days, and which few would have had nerve to attempt or firmness to execute. The heir-apparent, Raemul, who was exiled to Eidur for what his father deemed an impertinent curiosity,* had attached one of these bards to his suite, whose ingenuity got the edict set aside, and his race restored to their lands and the prince's favour. Had they taken off the Brahmin's head, they might have falsified the prediction which unhappily was too soon fulfilled.†

Raemul succeeded in S. 1530 (A. D. 1474) by his own valour to the seat of Koombho. He had fought and defeated the usurper, who on this occasion fled to the king of Delhi and offered him a daughter of Mewar. After his death in the manner described, the Delhi monarch, with Sehesmul and Soorjamul sons of the parricide, invaded Mewar, encamping at Siarh, now Nathdwara. The chiefs were faithful to their legitimate prince, Raemul, and aided by his allies of Aboo and Girnar, at the head of fifty-eight thousand horse and eleven thousand foot, he gave battle to the pretender and his imperial ally at Ghassa. The conflict was ferocious. "The streams ran blood," for the sons of the usurper were brave as lions; but the king was so completely routed that he never again entered Mewar.

Raemul bestowed one daughter on Soorji (Yadu), the chief of Girnar; and another on the Deora, Jeymul of Sirohi, confirming his title to Aboo as her dower. He sustained the warlike reputation of his predecessors, and carried on interminable strife with Gheas-oo-din of Malwa, whom he defeated in several pitched battles, to the success of which the valour of his nephews, whom he had pardoned, mainly contributed. In the last

* He had observed that his father, ever since the victory over the king at Jhoon-Joonu, before he took a seat thrice waved his sword in circles over his head, pronouncing at the same time some incantation. Inquiry into the meaning of this was the cause of his banishment.

† During the rains of 1820, when the author was residing at Oodipur, the Rana fell ill; his complaint was an intermittent (which for several years returned with the monsoon), at the same time that he was jaundiced with bile. An intriguing Brahmin, who managed the estates of the Rana's elder sister, held also the two-fold office of physician and astrologer to the Rana. He had predicted that year as one of evil in his horoscope, and was about to verify the prophecy, since, instead of the active medicines requisite, he was administering the *Hefdhat*, or seven metals, compounded. Having a most sincere regard for the Rana's welfare, the author seized the opportunity of a full court being assembled on the distribution of swords and cocoanuts preparatory to the military festival, to ask a personal favour. The Rana, smiling said that it was granted when he was entreated to leave off the poison he was taking. He did so; the amendment was soon visible, and aided by the medicines of Dr. Duncan, which he readily took, his complaint was speedily cured. The man of fate and physic lost half his estates, which he had obtained through intrigue. He was succeeded by Umra the bard who is not likely to ransack the pharmacopœia for such poisonous ingredients; his ordinary prescription being the amrit.

of these encounters the Ghilji king sued for peace, renouncing the pretensions he had formerly urged. The dynasty of Lodi next enjoyed the imperial bauble, and with it Mewar had to contest her northern boundary.

Raemul had three sons, † celebrated in the annals of Rajasthan. Sanga, the competitor of Baber, and Prithwi Raj, the Rolando of his age. Unhappily for the country and their father's repose, fraternal affection was discarded for deadly hate, and their feuds and dissensions were a source of constant alarm. Had discord not disunited them, the reign of Raemul would have equallied any of his predecessors. As it was, it presented a striking contrast to them: his two elder sons banished; the first, Sanga self-exiled from perpetual fear of his life, and Prithwi Raj, the second, from his turbulence; while the younger, Jeimal, was slain through his intemperance. A sketch of these feuds will present a good picture of the Rajpoot character, and their mode of life when their arms were not required against their country's foes.

Sanga* and Prithwi Raj were the offspring of the Jhali Queen; Jeimal was by another mother. What moral influence the name he bore had on Prithwi Raj we can surmise only from his actions, which would stand comparison with those of his prototype, the Chohan of Delhi, and are yet the delight of the Sesodia. When they assemble at the feast after a day's sport, or in a sultry evening spread the carpet on the terrace to inhale the leaf or take a cup of kusoomba, a tale of Prithwi Raj recited by the bard is the highest treat they can enjoy. Sanga, the heir-apparent, was a contrast to his brother. Equally brave, his courage was tempered by reflection; while Prithwi Raj burned with a perpetual thirst for action, and often observed "that fate must have intended him to rule Mewar." The three brothers, with their uncle, Surajmul, were one day discussing these topics, when Sanga observed that, though heir to 'the ten thousand towns of Mewar, he would waive his claims, and trust them, as did the Roman brothers to the omen which should be given by the priestess of Charuni Devi at Nahra Mugro, ‡ the 'Tiger's Mount.' They repaired to her abode. Prithwi Raj and Jeimal entered first, and seated themselves on a pallet: Sanga followed and took possession of the panther hide of the prophetess; his uncle, Suraimul, with one knee resting thereon. Scarcely had Prithwi Raj disclosed their errand, when the sybil pointed to the panther hide ‡ as the decisive omen of sovereignty to Sanga, with a portion of his uncle. They received the decree as did the twins of Rome. Prithwi Raj drew his sword and would have falsified the omen, had not Surajmul stepped in and received the blow destined for Sanga, while the prophetess fled from their fury. Surajmul and Prithwi Raj were exhausted with wounds, and Sanga fled with five sword-cuts and an arrow in his eye, which destroyed the sight for ever. He made for the sanctuary of Chutturbhooja, and passing Sevantee, took refuge with Beeda (Oodawut), who has accoutred for a journey, his steed standing by him. Scarcely had he assisted the wounded heir of Mewar to alight when Jeimal galloped up in pursuit. The Rahtore guarded the

* His name classically is *Singram Sing*, 'the lion of war.'

† About ten miles east of Oodipur.

‡ *Singhasun* is the ancient term for the Hindu throne, signifying the lion seat. Charuns, bard, who are all *Maharjas*, 'great princes,' by courtesy, have their seats of the hide of the lion, tiger, panther, or black antelope.

sanctuary, and gave up his life in defence of his guest, who meanwhile escaped.

Prithwi Raj recovered from his wounds; and Sanga, aware of his implacable enmity, had recourse to many expedients to avoid discovery. He, who at a future period leagued a hundred thousand men against the descendant of Timoor, was compelled to associate with goatherds, expelled from the peasant's abode as too stupid to tend his cattle, and, precisely like our Alfred the great, having in charge some cakes of flour, was reproached with being more desirous of eating than tending them. A few faithful Rajpoots found him in this state, and providing him with arms and a horse, they took service with Rao Kurimchand Prammar, chief of Sreenugger,* and with him "ran the country." After one of these raids, Sanga one day alighted under a banian tree, and placing his dagger under his head, reposed, while two of his faithful Rajpoots, whose names are preserved,† prepared his repast, their steeds grazing by them. A ray of the sun penetrating the foliage, fell on Sanga's face and discovered a snake, which feeling the warmth, had uncoiled itself and was rearing its crest over the head of the exile: a bird of omen‡ had perched itself on the crested serpent, and was chattering aloud. A goatherd, named Maroo, "versed in the language of birds," passed at the moment Sanga awoke. The prince repelled the proffered homage of the goatherd, who, however, had intimated to the Prammar chief that he was served by "royalty."§ The Prammar kept the secret and gave Sanga, a daughter to wife, and protection till the tragical end of his brother called him to the throne.

When the Rana heard of the quarrel which had nearly deprived him of his heir, he banished Prithwi Raj, telling him that he might live on his bravery and maintain himself with strife. With but five horse¶ Prithwi Raj quitted the paternal abode, and made for Baleoh in Godwar. These dissensions following the disastrous conclusion of the last reign, paralyzed the country, and the wild tribes of the west and the mountaineers of the Aravali so little respected the garrison of Nadole (the chief town of Godwar), that they carried their depredations to the plains. Prithwi Raj halted at Nadole, and having to procure some necessaries pledged a ring to the merchant who had sold it to him, the merchant recognised the prince, and learning the cause of his disguise, proffered his services in the scheme which the prince had in view for the restoration of order in Godwar, being determined to evince to his father that he had resources independent of birth. The Meenas were the aboriginal proprietors of all these regions; the Rajpoots were interlopers and conquerors. A Rawut of this tribe had regained their ancient haunts, and held his petty court at the town of Nodolaye in the plains, and was even served by Rajpoots. By the advice of Ojah, the merchant, Prithwi Raj enlisted himself and his band among the adherents of the Meena. On the *Ahaura*, or "hunter's festival," the vassals have leave to rejoin their families. Prithwi Raj, who had also obtained leave, rapidly re-

* Near Ajmeer.

† Jey Sing Baleo and Jeimoo Sindia.

‡ Called the *devi*, about the size of the wagtail, and like it black and white.

§ Chuthurdhari.

¶ The names of his followers, Jessa Sindil, Singum (Dabi), Abho, Junoh, and a Bhadail Rahtore.

traced his steps, and despatching his Rajpoots to dislodge the Meena, awaited the result in ambush at the gate of the town. In a short time the Meena appeared on horseback, and in full flight to the mountains for security. Prithwi Raj pursued, overtook, and transfixed him with his lance to a kesoola tree, and setting fire to the village, he slew the Meenas as they sought to escape the flames. Other towns shared the same fate and all the province of Godwar, with the exception of Daisoori, a stronghold of the Madraicha Chohans, fell into his power. At this time Sadda Solanki, whose ancestor had escaped the destruction of Putun and found refuge in these mountainous tracts, held Sodgurbh. He had espoused a daughter of the Madraicha, but the grant of Daisoori and its lands* in perpetuity easily gained him to the cause of Prithwi Raja.

Prithwi Raj having thus restored order in Godwar, and appointed Ojah and the Solanki to the government thereof, regained the confidence of his father; and his brother Jeimal being slain at this time, accelerated his forgiveness and recall. Ere he rejoins Raemul we will relate the manner of this event. Jeimal was desirous to obtain the hand of Tarra Bae, daughter of Rao Soortan,† who had been expelled from Thoda by the Pathans. The price of her hand was the recovery of this domain: but Jeimal, willing to anticipate the reward, and rudely attempting access to the fair, was slain by the indignant father. The quibbling remark of the bard upon this event is that "Tarra was not the star (*tarra*) of his destiny." At the period of this occurrence Sanga was in concealment, Prithwi Raj banished, and Jeimal consequently looked to as the heir of Mewar. The Rana, when incited to revenge, replied with a magnanimity which deserves to be recorded, "that he who had thus dared to insult the honour of a father, and that father in distress, richly merited his fate;" and in proof of his disavowal of such a son he conferred on the Solanki the district of Bednore.

This event led to the recall of Prithwi Raj, who eagerly took up the gage disgraced by his brother. The adventure was akin to his taste. The exploit which won the hand of the fair Amazon, who, equipped with bow and quiver, subsequently accompanied him in many perilous enterprises, will be elsewhere related.

Surajmul (the uncle), who had fomented these quarrels, resolved not to belie the prophetess if a crown lay in his path. The claims acquired from his parricidal parent were revived when Mewar had no sons to look to. Prithwi Raja on his return renewed the feud with Surajmul, whose "vaulting ambition" persuaded him that the crown was his destiny, and he plunged deep into treason to obtain it. He joined as partner in his schemes Sarungdeo, another descent of Lakha Rana, and both repaired to Mozuffir, the sultan of Malwa. With his aid they assailed the southern frontier, and rapidly possessed themselves of Sadri, Baturu, and a wide

* The grant in the preamble denounces a curse on any of Prithwi Raj's descendants who should resume it. I have often conversed with his descendant, who held Sodgurbh and its land, which were never resumed by the princes of Cheetore though they reverted to Marwar. The chief still honours the Rana, and many lives have been sacrificed to maintain his claims, and with any prospect of success he would not hesitate to offer his own.

† This a genuine Hindu name, 'the Hero's refuge, from Soor, a warrior, and Than, an abode.'

tract extending from Nye to Neematch, attempting even Cheetore. With the few troops at hand Raemul descended to punish the rebels, who met the attack on the river Gumbeeree. The Rana, fighting like a common soldier, had received two and twenty wounds, and was nearly falling through faintness, when Prithwi Raja joined him with one thousand fresh horse, and reanimated the battle. He selected his uncle Surajmul, whom he soon covered with wounds. Many had fallen on both sides, but neither party would yield; when worn out they mutually retired from the field, and bivouacked in sight of each other.

It will shew the manners and feelings so peculiar to the Rajpoot, to describe the meeting between the rival uncle and nephew:—unique in the details of strife, perhaps, since the origin of man. It is taken from a MS. of the Jhala chief, who succeeded Surajmul in Sadri. Prithwi Raj visited his uncle, whom he found in a small tent reclining on a pallet, having just had "*the barber*" (*nae*) to sew up his wounds. He rose, and met his nephew with the customary respect, as if nothing unusual had occurred; but the exertion caused some of the wounds to open afresh, when the following dialogue ensued.

Prithwi Raj. "Well, uncle, how are your wounds?"

Surajmul. "Quite healed, my child, since I have the pleasure of seeing you."

Prithwi Raj. "But, uncle (*kaka*), I have not yet seen the Dewanji.* I first ran to see you, and I am very hungry; have you any thing to eat?"

Dinner was soon served, and the extraordinary pair sat down and "ate off the same platter;"† nor did Prithwi Raj hesitate to eat the *pan*,‡ presented on his taking leave.

Prithwi Raj. "You and I will end our battle in the morning, uncle."

Surajmul. "Very well, child; come early!"

They met: but Sarungdeo bore the brunt of the conflict, receiving thirty-five wounds. During "four guries§ swords and lances were plied, and every tribe of Rajpoot lost numbers that day;" but the rebels were defeated and fled to Sadri, and Prithwiraj returned in triumph, though with seven wounds, to Cheetore. The rebels, however, did not relinquish their designs, and many personal encounters took place between the uncle and nephew: the latter saying he would not let him retain "as much land of Mewar as would cover a needle's point:" and Sujoh|| retorting, that "he would allow his nephew to redeem only as much as would suffice to lie upon." Bâ† Prithwi Raj gave them no rest, pursuing them from place to place. In the wilds of Baturro they formed a stockaded retreat of the dho tree, which abounds in these forests. Within this shelter, horses and men

* Regent; the title the Rana is most familiarly known by.

† *Thali*, 'a brass platter.' This is the highest mark of confidence and friendship.

‡ This compound of the betel or areca-nut, cloves, mace, terra japonica and prepared lime is always taken after meals, and has not unfrequently been a medium for administering poison.

§ Hours of twenty-two minutes each.

|| Familiar contraction of Surajmul.

were intermingled: Sujoh and his coadjutor communing by the night-fire on their desperate plight, when their cogitations were checked by the rush and neigh of horses. Scarcely had the pretender exclaimed "this must be my nephew!" when Prithwi Raj dashed his steed through the barricade and entered with his troops. All was confusion, and the sword showered its blows indiscriminately. The young prince reached his uncle, and dealt him a blow which would have levelled him, but for the support of Sarungdeo, who upbraided him, adding that "a buffet now was more than a score of wounds in former days;" to which Sujoh rejoined, "only when dealt by my nephew's hand." Sujoh demanded a parley; and calling on the prince to stop the combat, he continued: "if I am killed, it matters not—my children are Rajpoots, they will run the country to find support; but if you are slain, what will become of Cheetore? My face will be blackened, and my name everlastingly reprobated."

The sword was sheathed, and as the uncle and nephew embraced, the latter asked the former, "what were you about, uncle, when I came?"—"Only talking nonsense, child, after dinner."—"But with me over your head, uncle, as a foe, how could you be so negligent?"—"What could I do? You had left me no resource and I must have some place to rest my head!" There was a small temple near the stockade, to which in the morning Prithwi Raj requested his uncle to accompany him to sacrifice to Cali,* but the blow of the preceding night prevented him. Sarungdeo was his proxy. One buffalo had fallen, and a goat was about to follow, when the prince turned his word on Sarungdeo. The combat was desperate; but Prithwi Raj was the victor and the head of the traitor was placed as an offering on the altar of Time. The Gooda† was plundered, the town of Baturro, recovered, and Surajmul fled to Sadri, where he only stopped to fulfill his threat, "that if he could not retain its lands he would make them over to those stronger than the king:‡" and having distributed them amongst Brahmins and bards, he finally abandoned Mewar. Passing through the wilds of Khanthul, he had an omen which recalled the Charuni's prediction; 'a wolf endeavouring in vain to carry off a kid defended by maternal affection.' This was interpreted as 'strong ground for a dwelling.' He halted, subdued the aboriginal tribes, and on this spot erected the town and stronghold of Deola, becoming lord of a thousand villages which have descended to his offspring, who now enjoy them under British protection. Such was the origin of Pertabgurh Deola.

Prithwi Raj was poisoned by his brother-in-law, of Aboo, whom he had punished for maltreating his sister, and afterwards confided in. His death was soon followed by that of Rana Raemul, who, though not equal to his predecessors, was greatly respected, and maintained the dignity of his station amidst no ordinary calamities.§

* The Hindu proserpine, or Calligena. Is this Grecian handmaid of Hecate also Hindu, born of time (*Cali-jenema*)!

† Gooda, or Goora is the name of such temporary places of refuge; the origin of towns bearing this name.

‡ Such grants are irresumeable, under penalty of sixty thousand years in hell. This fine district is eaten up by these mendicant Brahmins. One town alone, containing 52,000 beeghas (about 15,000 acres) of rich land, is thus lost and by such follies Mewar has gradually sunk to her present extreme poverty.

§ The walls of his palace are still pointed out.

CHAPTER IX.

SINGRAM, better known in the annals of Mewar as Sanga (called Sinka by the Mogul historians), succeeded in S. 1565 (A.D. 1509). With this prince Mewar reached the summit of her prosperity. To use their own Metaphor, "he was the kullus* on the pinnacle of her glory." From him we shall witness this glory on the wane; and though many rays of splendour illuminated her declining career, they served but to gild the ruin.

The imperial chair, since occupied by the Tuar descendant of the Pandus and the first and last of the Chohans, and which had been filled successively by the dynasties of Gazni and Ghor, the Ghilji and Lodi, was now shivered to pieces and numerous petty thrones were constructed of its fragments. Mewar little dreaded these imperial puppets, 'when Amurath to Amurath succeeded,' and when four kings reigned simultaneously between Delhi and Benares.† The kings of Malwa, though leagued with those of Guzerat conjoined to the rebels, could make no impression on Mewar when Sanga led her heroes. Eighty thousand horse, seven Rajas of the highest rank, nine Raos, and one hundred and four chieftains bearing the titles of Rawul and Rawut, with five hundred war elephants, followed him into the field. The princes of Marwar and Ambar‡ did him homage, and the Raos of Gwalior, Ajmeer, Sikri, Raesen, Kalpee, Chanderi, Boondi, Gagroon, Rampura, and Aboo, served him as tributaries or held of him in chief.

Sanga did not forget those who sheltered him in his reverses. Keremchand of Srinuggur had a grant of Ajmeer and the title of Rao for his son Jugmal, the reward of his services in the reduction of Chanderi.

In a short space of time Sanga entirely allayed the disorders occasioned by the intestine feuds of his family; and were it permitted to speculate on the cause which prompted a temporary cession of his rights and his dignities to his more impetuous brother, it might be discerned in a spirit of forecast, and of fraternal and patriotic forbearance, a deviation from which would have endangered the country as well as the safety of his family. We may assume this, in order to account for an otherwise pusillanimous surrender of his birthright, and being in contrast to all the subsequent heroism of his life, which, when he resigned, was contained within the wreck of a form. Sanga organized his forces, with which he always kept the field, and ere called to contend with the descendant of Timoor, he had gained eighteen pitched battles against the kings of Delhi and Malwa. In two of these he was opposed by Ibrahim Lodi in person, at Bakrole and Ghatolli, in which last battle the imperial forces were defeated with great slaughter, leaving a prisoner of the blood royal to grace the triumph of Cheetore. The peelakhal (yellow rivulet) near Biana became the northern boundary of Mewar, with the Sind river to the east,—touching Malwa to the south, while his native hills were an impenetrable barrier

* The balls or urn which crowns the pinnacle (*siker*).

† Delhi, Biana Kalpee, and Joinpur.

‡ Prithwi Raj was yet but Rao of Ambar a name now lost in Jeypur. The twelve sons of this prince formed the existing subdivisions or clans of the Cutchwahs, whose political consequence dates from Hemayoon, the son and successor of Baber.

to the west. Thus swaying directly or by control, the greater part of Rajasthan, and adored by the Rajpoots for the possession of those qualities they hold in estimation, Sanga was ascending to the pinnacle of distinction; and had not fresh hordes of Usbecs and Tatars from the prolific shores of the Oxus and Jaxartes again poured down on the devoted plains of Hindusthan, the crown of the *Chacravartu** might again have encircled the brow of a Hindu, and the banner of supremacy been transferred from Indraprastha to the battlements of Cheetore. But Baber arrived at a critical time to rally the dejected followers of the Koran, and to collect them around his own victorious standard.

From the earliest recorded periods of her history, India has been the prey of the more hardy population from the central regions of Asia. From this fact we may infer another, namely that its internal form of government was the same as the present day, partitioned into numerous petty kingdoms of tribes and clans of a feudal federation, a prey to all the jealousies inseparable from such a condition. The historians of Alexander bear ample testimony to such form of government, when the Punjab alone possessed many sovereigns, besides the democracies of cities. The Persians overran it, and Darius the Mede accounted India the richest of his satrapies. The Greeks, the Parthians, who have left in their medals the best proofs of their power; the Getes or Yuti followed; and from the Gori Shahbuddin to the Chagitai Baber, in less than three centuries, five invasions are recorded, each originating a dynasty. Sanga's opponent was the last, and will continue so until the rays of knowledge renovate the ancient nursery of the human race:—then, may end the anomaly in the history of power, of a handful of Britons holding the succession to the Mede, the Parthian, and the Tatar. But, however surprise may be excited at witnessing such rapidity of change, from the physical superiority of man over man, it is immeasurably heightened at the little moral consequence, which in every other region of the world has always attended such convulsions. Creeds have changed, races have mingled, and names have been effaced from the page of history; but in this corner of civilization we have no such result, and the Rajpoot remains the same singular being, concentrated in his prejudices, political and moral, as in the days of Alexander, desiring no change himself, and still less to cause any in others. Whatever be the conservative principle, it merits a philosophic analysis; but more a proper application and direction, by those to whom the destinies of this portion of the globe are confided: for in this remote spot there is a nucleus of energy, on which may accumulate a mass for our support, or our destruction.

To return: a descendant of the Turshka of the Jaxartes, the ancient foe of the children of Surya and Chandra, was destined to fulfil the prophetic puran which foretold dominion "to the Turshka, the Yavan," and other foreign races, in Hind; and the conquered made a right application of the term Turk, both as regards its ancient and modern signification, when applied to the conquerors from Turkisthan. Baber, the opponent of Sanga, was king of Ferghana, and of Turki race. His dominions were on both sides the Jaxartes, a portion of ancient Sakatai, or Sacadwipa (Scythia), where dwelt Tomyris the Getic queen immortalized by Herodotus, and where her opponent erected Cyropolis, as did in after-times the Macedonian his most remote Alexandria. From this region

* Universal potentate: the Hindus reckon only six of these in their history.

did the same Gete, Jit, or Yuti, issue, to the destruction of Bactri, two centuries before the Christian era, and also five subsequent thereto to found a kingdom in Northern India. Again, one thousand years later, Baber issued with his bands to the final subjugation of India. As affecting India alone, this portion of the globe merits deep attention; but as the "*officina gentium*," whence issued those hordes of Asi, Jits, or Yeuts (of whom the Angles were a branch), who peopled the shores of the Baltic, and the precursors of those Goths who, under Attila and Alaric, altered the condition of Europe, its importance is vastly enhanced. But on this occasion it was not redundant population which made the descendant of Timoor and Jungheez abandon the Jaxartes for the Ganges, but unsuccessful ambition: for Baber quitted the delights of Samarcand as a fugitive, and commenced his enterprize, which gave him the throne of the Pandus, with less than two thousand adherents.

The Rajpoot prince had a worthy antagonist in the king of Ferghana. Like Sanga he was trained in the school of adversity, and like him, though his acts of personal heroism were even romantic, he tempered it with that discretion which looks to its results. In A. D. 1494, at the tender age of twelve, he succeeded to a kingdom; ere he was sixteen, he defeated several confederacies and conquered Samarcand, and in two short years again lost and regained it. His life was a tissue of successes and reverses; at one moment hailed lord of the chief kingdoms of Transoxiana; at another flying, unattended, or putting all to hazard in desperate single combats, in one of which he slew five champions of his enemies. Driven at length from Ferghana, in despair he crossed the Hindu-Coosh, and in 1519 the Indus. Between the Punjab and Cabul he lingered seven years, ere he advanced to measure his sword with Ibrahim of Delhi. Fortune returned to his standard; Ibrahim was slain, his army routed and dispersed, and Delhi and Agra opened their gates to the fugitive king of Ferghana. His reflections on success evince it was his due: "not to me, oh God! but to thee, be the 'victory!'" says the chivalrous Baber. A year had elapsed in possession of Delhi, ere he ventured against the most powerful of his antagonists, Rana Sanga of Chetore.

With all Baber's qualities as a soldier, supported by the hardy clans of the 'cloud mountains (*Belut Tag*)' of Karatagin, the chances were many that he and they terminated their career on the 'yellow rivulet' of Biana. Neither bravery nor skill saved him from this fate, which he appears to have expected. What better proof can be desired than Baber's own testimony to the fact, that a horde of invaders from the Jaxartes, without support or retreat, were obliged to entrench themselves to the teeth in the face of their Rajpoot foe, alike brave and overpowering in numbers? To ancient jealousies he was indebted for not losing his life instead of gaining a crown, and for being extricated from a condition so desperate, that even the frenzy of religion, which made death martyrdom in "this holy war," scarcely availed to expel the despair which so infected his followers, that in the bitterness of his heart he says, "not a single person who uttered a manly word, nor an individual who delivered a courageous opinion."

Baber advanced from Agra and Sikri to oppose Rana Sanga, in full march to attack him at the head of almost all the princes of Rajasthan. Although the annals state some points which the imperial historian has not recorded, yet both accounts of the conflict correspond in all the essential

details. On the 5th of Kartik, S. 1534* (A. D. 1528) according to the annals, the Rana raised the siege of Biana, and at Kanua encountered the advanced guard of the Tatars, amounting to fifteen hundred men, which was entirely destroyed; the fugitives carrying to the main body the accounts of the disaster, which paralyzed their energies, and made them entrench for security, instead of advancing with the confidence of victory. Reinforcements met the same fate, and were pursued to the camp. Accustomed to reverses, Baber met the check without dismay, and adopted every precaution that a mind fertile in expedients could suggest to re-assure the drooping spirits of his troops. He threw up entrenchments, in which he placed his artillery connecting his guns by chains, and in the more exposed part *chevaux de frise*, united by leather ropes: a precaution continued in every subsequent change of position. Every thing seemed to aid the Hindu cause: even the Tatar astrologer asserted, that as Mars was in the west, whoever should engage coming from the opposite quarter should be defeated. In this state of total inactivity, blockaded in his encampment, Baber remained near a fortnight, when he determined to renounce his besetting sin, and merit superior aid to extricate him from his peril: the *naivete* of his vow must be given in his own words.† But the destruction of the wine flasks would

* According to the Memoirs of Baber, 11th February 1527.

† "On Monday, the 23rd of the first Jemadi, I had mounted to survey my posts, and in the course of my ride was seriously struck with the reflexion, that I had, always resolved, one time or another, to make an effectual repentance, and that some traces of a hankering after the renunciation of forbidden works had ever remained in my heart: I said to myself, 'O, my soul!

(Persian Verse.)

- 'How long wilt thou continue to take pleasure in sin?
- 'Repentance is not unpalatable—taste it.

(Turki Verse.)

- 'How great has been thy defilement from sin!
- 'How much pleasure thou didst take in despair!
- 'How long hast thou been the slave of thy passions!
- 'How much of thy life hast thou thrown away!
- 'Since thou hast set out on a holy war,
- 'Thou hast seen death before thine eyes for thy salvation.
- 'He who resolves to sacrifice his life to save himself,
- 'Shall attain that exalted state which thou knowest.
- 'Keep thyself far away from all forbidden enjoyments;
- 'Cleanse thyself from all thy sins.'

"Having* withdrawn† myself from such temptation, I vowed never more to drink wine. Having sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking parties, I directed them to be broken, and renounced the use of wine, purifying my mind. The fragments of the goblets and other utensils of gold and silver I directed to be divided among derwishes and the poor. The first person who followed me in my repentance was Asas, who also accompanied me in my resolution of ceasing to cut the beard, and of allowing it to grow. That night and the following, numbers of Amirs and courtiers, soldiers, and persons not in the service, to the number of nearly three hundred men, made vows of reformation. The wine which we had with us we poured on the ground. I ordered that the wine brought by Baba Dost

appear only to have added to the existing consternation, and made him, as a last resort, appeal to their faith. Having addressed them in a speech of manly courage, though bordering on despair, he seized the happy moment that his exhortation elicited, to swear them on the Koran to conquer or perish.* Profiting by this excitement, he broke up his camp, to which he had been confined nearly a month, and marched in order of battle to a position two miles in advance, the Rajpoots skirmishing up to his guns. Without a regular circumvallation, his moveable

should have salt thrown into it, that it might be made into vinegar. On the spot where the wine had been poured out I directed a wain to be sunk and built of stone, and close by the wain an alms-house to be erected. In the month of moharrem in the year 935, when I went to visit Gualiar, in my way from Dholpur to Sikri, I found this wain completed. I had previously made a vow, that if I gained the victory over Rana Sanka the Pagan, I would remit the temgha (or stamp-tax) levied from Musulmans. At the time when I made my vow of penitence, Derwish Muhammed Sarban and Sheikh Zin put me in mind of my promise. I said, you did right to remind me of this: I renounce the temgha in all my dominions so far as concerns Musulmans; and I sent for my secretaries, and desired them to write and send to all my dominions firmans, conveying intelligence of the two important incidents that had occurred."—*Memoirs of Baber*, page 354.

* "At this time, as I have already observed, in consequence of preceding events, a general consternation and alarm prevailed among great and small. There was not a single person who uttered a manly word, nor an individual who delivered a courageous opinion. The Vazirs, whose duty it was to give good counsel, and the Amirs, who enjoyed the wealth of kingdoms, neither spoke bravely, nor was their counsel or deportment such as became men of firmness. During the whole course of this expedition, Khalifeh conducted himself admirably, and was unremitting and indefatigable in his endeavours to put every thing in the best order. At length, observing the universal discouragement of my troops, and their total want of spirit, I formed my plan. I called an assembly of all the Amirs and officers, and addressed them: 'Noblemen and soldiers! Every man that comes into the world is subject to dissolution. When we are passed away and gone, God only survives, unchangeable. Whoever comes to the feast of life must, before it is over, drink from the cup of death. He who arrives at the inn of mortality, must one day inevitably take his departure from that house of sorrow, the world. How much better it is to die with honour than to live with infamy!

'With fame, even if I die, I am contented;

'Let fame be mine, since my body is death's.'

'The most high God has been propitious to us, and has now placed us in such a crisis, that, if we fall in the field we die the death of martyrs; if we survive, we rise victorious, the avengers of the cause of God. Let us, then, with one accord, swear on God's holy word, that none of us will even think of turning his face from this warfare, nor desert from the battle and slaughter that ensues till his soul is separated from his body.'

"Master and servant, small and great, all with emulation, seizing the blessed Koran in the hands, swore in the form that I had given. My plan succeeded to admiration, and its effects were instantly visible, far and near, on friend and foe."—*Memoirs of Baber*, page 357.

pallisadoes and guns chained, he felt no security. The inactivity of Sanga can scarcely escape censure, however we may incline to palliate it by supposing that he deemed his enemy in the toils, and that every day's delay brought with it increased danger to him. Such reasoning would be valid if the heterogeneous mass by which the prince of Mewar was surrounded had owned the same patriotic sentiments as himself: but he ought to have known his countrymen, nor overlooked the regulating maxim of their ambition, "*get land.*" Delay was fatal to this last coalition against the foes of his race. Baber is silent on the point to which the annals ascribe their discomfiture, a negotiation pending his blockade at Kanua: but these have preserved it, with the name of the traitor who sold the cause of his country. The negotiation* had reached this point, that on condition of Baber being left Delhi and its dependencies, the Peela-khal at Biana should be the boundary of their respective dominions, and even an annual tribute was offered to the Rana. We can believe that in the position Baber then was, he would not scruple to promise any thing. The chief of Rayseen, by name Sillaidi, of the Tuar tribe, was the medium of communication, and though the arrangement was negatived, treason had effected the salvation of Baber.

On the 16th March the attack commenced by a furious on the centre and right wing of the Tatars, and for several hours the conflict was tremendous. Devotion was never more manifest on the side of the Rajpoot, attested by long list of noble names amongst the slain as well as the bulletin of their foe, whose artillery made dreadful havoc in the close ranks of the Rajpoot cavalry, which could not force the entrenchments, nor reach the infantry which defended them. While the battle was still doubtful, the Tuar traitor who led the van (*herole*) went over to Baber, and Sanga was obliged to retreat from the field which in the onset promised a glorious victory, himself severely wounded, and the choicest of his chieftains slain: Rawul Udi† Sing of Dongerpnr, with two hundred of his clan; Rutna of Saloombra, with three hundred of his Chondawut kin; Raemul Rahtore, son of the prince of Marwar, with the brave Mairtea leaders Khaitai and Rutna; Ramdas the Sonigurra Rao; Ujo the Jhala; Gokuldas Pramara; Manikchand and Chundrabhan, Chohan chiefs of the first rank in Mewar; besides a host of inferior names. Husein Khan of Mewar, and a son of the last Lodi king of Delhi, who coalesced with Sanga, were amongst the killed. Triumphant pyramids were raised of the heads of the slain, and on a hillock which overlooked the field of battle a tower of Skulls was erected; and the conqueror assumed the title of '*Ghazi*,' which has ever since been retained by his descendants.

Sanga retreated towards the hills of Mewar, having announced his fixed determination never to re-enter Cheetore but with victory. Had his life been spared to his country, he might have redeemed the pledge but the year of his defeat was the last of his existence, and he died at

* Baber says, "although Rana Sanga (Sanga) the Pagan, when I was at Cabul, sent me ambassadors, and had arranged with me that if I would march upon Delhi he would on Agra; but when I took Delhi and Agra, the Pagan did not move."—*Memoirs of Baber*, page 339.

† In the translation of Baber's Memoirs, Udi Sing is styled "Wali of the country," confounding him with Udi Sing, successor of Sanga. He was Wali (sovereign) of Dongerpur, not "*Oodipur*," which was not then in existence.

Buswa, on the frontier of Mewat, not without suspicion of poison. It is painful to record the surmise that his ministers prompted the deed, and the cause is one which would fix a deep stain on the country ; namely, the purchase by regicide of inglorious ease and stipulated safety, in preference to privations and dangers, and to emulating the manly constancy of their prince, who resolved to make the heavens his canopy till his foe was crushed,—a determination which was pursued with the most resolute perseverance by some of his gallant successors.

Polygamy is the fertile source of evil, moral as well as physical, in the east. It is a relic of barbarism and primeval necessity, affording a proof that ancient Asia is still young in knowledge. The desire of each wife* that her offspring should wear a crown, is natural ; but they do not always wait the course of nature for the attainment of their wishes, and the love of power too often furnishes instruments for any deed, however base. When we see, shortly after the death of Sanga, the mother of his second son intriguing with Barber, and bribing him with the surrender of Rinthumbor and the trophy of victory, the crown of the Malwa king, to supplant the awful heir, we can easily suppose she would not have scrupled to remove any other bar. On this occasion, however, the suspicion rests on the ministers alone. That Baber respected and dreaded his foe we have the best proof, in his not risking another battle with him ; and the blame which he bestows on himself for slackness of his pursuit after victory is honorable to Sanga, who is always mentioned with respect in the commentaries of the conqueror ; and although he generally styles him the Pagan, and dignifies the contest with the title of "the holy war," yet he freely acknowledges his merit, when he says, "Rana Sanga attained his present high eminence by his own valour and his sword."

Sanga Rana was of the middle stature, but of great muscular strength ; fair in complexion, with unusually large eyes, which appear to be peculiar to his descendants.† He exhibited at his death but the fragments of a warrior ; one eye was lost in the broil with his brother ; an arm in an action with the Lodi king of Delhi, and he was a cripple owing to a limb being broken by a cannon ball in another ; while he counted eighty wounds from the sword or the lance on various parts of his body. He was celebrated for energetic enterprise, his capture, of Mozuffur, king of Malwa, in his own capital is a celebrated instance ; and his successful storm of the almost impregnable Rinthumbor, though ably defended by the imperial general Ali, gained him great renown. He erected a small palace at Kanua, on the line which he

* The number of queens is determined only by state necessity and the fancy of the prince. To have them equal in number to the days of the week is not unusual ; while the number of *handmaids* is unlimited. It will be conceded, that the prince who can govern such a household, and maintain equal rights, when claims to pre-eminence must be perpetually asserted, possesses no little tact. The government of the kingdom is but an amusement compared with such a task, for it is within the *Ramula* that intrigue is enthroned.

† I possess his portrait, given to me by the present Rana who has a collection of full lengths of all his royal ancestors, from Samarsi to himself of their exact heights and with every bodily peculiarity, whether of complexion or form. They are valuable for the costume. He has often shewn them to me, while illustrating their actions.

determined, should be the northern limit of Mewar; and had he been succeeded by a prince possessed of his foresight and judgment, Baber's descendants might not have retained the sovereignty of India. A cenotaph long marked the spot where the fire consumed the remains of this celebrated prince. Sanga had seven sons, of whom the two elder died in non-age. He was succeeded by the third son.

RUTNA (S. 1586, A.D. 1530), possessed all the arrogance and martial virtue of his race. Like his father, he determined to make the field his capital, and commanded that the gates of Cheetore never should be closed, boasting that 'its portals were Delhi and Mandoo.' Had he been spared to temper by experience the exuberance of youthful impetuosity, he would have well seconded the resolution of his father, and the league against the enemies of his country and faith. But he was not destined to pass the age always dangerous to the turbulent and impatient Rajpoot, ever courting strife if it would not find him. He had married by stealth the daughter of Prithwi Raj of Ambar, probably before the death of his elder brothers made him heir to Cheetore. His double-edged sword, the proxy of the Rajpoot cavalier, represented Rutna on this occasion. Unfortunately it was kept but too secret; for the Hara prince of Boondi,* in ignorance of the fact, demanded and obtained her to wife, and carried her to his capital. The consequences are attributable to the Rana alone, for he ought, on coming to the throne to have espoused her; but his vanity was flattered at the mysterious transaction, which he deemed would prevent all application for the hand of his "affianced" (*manga*). The bards of Boondi are rather pleased to record the power of their princes, who dared to solicit and obtained the hand of the "bride" of Cheetore. The princes of Boondi had long been attached to the Sesodia house: and from the period when their common ancestors fought together on the banks of the Caggar against Shabudin, they had silently grown to power under the wing of Mewar, and often proved a strong plume in her pinion. The Hara inhabited the hilly tract on her eastern frontier, and though not actually incorporated with Mewar, they yet paid homage to her princes, bore her ensigns and titles, and in return often poured forth their blood. But at the tribunal of 'Anunga,'† the Rajpoot scattered all other homage and allegiance to the winds. The maiden of Ambar saw no necessity for disclosing her secret, or refusing the brave Hara, of whom fame spoke loudly, when Rutna delayed to redeem his proxy. The unintentional offence sank deep into the heart of the Rana, and though he was closely connected with the Hara, having married his sister, he brooded on the means of revenge, in the attainment of which he sacrificed his own life as well as that of his rival. The festival of the *Ahaire*‡ (the spring hunt), which has thrice been fatal to the princes of Mewar, gave the occasion, when they fell by each other's weapons. Though Rutna enjoyed the dignity only five years, he had the satisfaction to see the ex-king of Ferghana, now founder of the Mogul dynasty of India, leave the scene before him, and without

* Surajmul.

† The Hindoo Cupid, implying 'incorporeal,' from *anga*, 'body,' with the privative prefix '*an*.'

‡ Regarding the cenotaph of Rutna, erected where he fell, the author says: "It was the pleasure of my life to listen to the traditional anecdotes illustrative of Rajpoot history on the scenes of their transactions."

the diminution of an acre of land to Mewar since the fatal day of Biana. Rana Rutna was succeeded by his brother.

BIKRAMAJEET,* in S. 1591 (A.D. 1535). This prince had all the turbulence, without the redeeming qualities of character, which endeared his brother to his subjects; he was insolent, passionate, and vindictive, and utterly regardless of that respect which his proud nobles rigidly exacted. Instead of appearing at their head, he passed his time amongst wrestlers and prize-fighters, on whom and a multitude of 'paeks,' or foot-soldiers, he lavished those gifts and that approbation, to which the aristocratic Rajpoot, the equestrian order of Rajasthan, arrogated exclusive right. In this innovation he probably imitated his foes, who had learned the superiority of infantry, despised by the Rajpoot who, except in sieges, or when "they spread the carpet and hamstring their steeds," held the foot-soldier very cheap. The use of artillery was now becoming general, and the Moslems soon perceived the necessity of foot for their protection: but prejudice operated longer upon the Rajpoot, who still curses "those vile guns," which render of comparatively little value the lance of many a gallant soldier; and he still prefers falling with dignity from his steed, to descending to an equality with his mercenary antagonist.

An open rupture was the consequence of such innovation, and (to use the figurative expression for misrule) "Poppa Bae ka Raj"† was triumphant; the police were despised; the cattle carried off by the mountaineers from under the walls of Cheetore; and when his cavaliers were ordered in pursuit, the Rana was tauntingly told to send his paeks.

Bahadoor, Sultan of Guzerat, determined to take advantage of the Rajpoot divisions, to revenge the disgrace of the defeat and captivity of his predecessor Mozuffur.‡ Reinforced by the troops of Mandoo, he marched against Rana, then encamped at Loecha, in the Boondi territory. Though the force was overwhelming, yet with the high courage which belonged to his house, Bikramajeet did not hesitate to give battle; but he found weak defenders in his mercenary paeks, while his vassals and kin not only kept aloof, but marched off in a body to defend Cheetore and the posthumous son of Sanga Rana, still an infant.

There is a sanctity in the very name of Cheetore, which from the earliest times secured her defenders; and now, when threatened again by "the barbarian," such the inexplicable character of the Rajpoot, we find the heir of Surajmul abandoning his new capital of Deola, to pour out the few drops which yet circulated in his veins in defence of the abode of his fathers.

"The son of Boondi," with a brave band of five hundred Haras, also came; as did the Sonigurra and Deora Raos of Jhalore and Aboo, with many auxiliaries from all parts of Rajwarra. This was the most powerful effort hitherto made by the sultans of Central India, and European artists are recorded in these annals as brought to the subjugation of Cheetore. The engineer is styled 'Labri Khan of Frengan,' and to his

* The Bhakha orthography for Vicramaditya.

† The government of Poppa Bae, a princess of ancient times, whose mismanaged sovereignty has given a proverb to the Rajpoot.

‡ Taken by Prithwi Raj and carried to Rana Raemul, who took a large sum of money and seven hundred horses as his ransom.

skill Bahadoor was indebted for the successful storm which ensued. He sprung a mine at the "Beeka rock," which blew up forty-five cubits of the rampart, with the bastion where the brave Haras were posted. The Boondi bards dwell on this incident, which destroyed their prince and five hundred of his kin. Rao Doorga, with the Chondawut chieftains Sutto and Doodoo and their vassals, bravely defended the breach and repelled many assaults; and, to set an example of courageous devotion, the queen-mother Jawahir Bae, of Rahtore race, clad in armour, headed a sally in which she was slain. Still the besiegers gained ground, and the last council convened was to concert means to save the infant son of Sanga from this imminent peril. But Cheetore can only be defended by royalty, and again they had recourse to the expedient of crowning a king, as a sacrifice to the dignity of the protecting deity of Cheetore. Bagh-ji, prince of Deola, courted the insignia of destruction; the banner of Mewar floated over him, and the golden sun from its sable field never shone more refulgent than when the changi was raised amidst the shouts of her defenders over the head of the son of Surajmul. The infant, Oody Sing, was placed in safety with Soortan, prince of Boondi,* the garrison put on their saffron robes, while materials for the *johur* were preparing. There was little time for the pyre. The bravest had fallen in defending the breach, now completely exposed. Combustibles were quickly heaped up in reservoirs and magazines excavated in the rock, under which gunpowder was strewed. Kurnavati, mother of the prince, and sister to the gallant Arjoon Hara, led the procession of willing victims to their doom, and thirteen thousand females were thus swept at once from the record of life. The gates were thrown open, and the Deola chief, at the head of the survivors, with a blind and impotent despair, rushed on his fate.

Bahadoor must have been appalled at the horrid sight on viewing his conquest;† the mangled bodies of the slain, with hundreds in the last agonies from the poniard or poison, awaiting death as less dreadful than dishonour and captivity.‡ To use the emphatic words of the annalist, "the last day of Cheetore had arrived." Every clan lost its chief, and the choicest of their retainers; during the siege and in the storm thirty-two thousand Rajpoots were slain. This is the second *saka* of Cheetore.

Bahadoor had remained but a fortnight, when the tardy advance of Hemayoon with his succours warned him to retire. According to the annals, he left Bengal at the solicitation of the queen Kurnavati; but instead of following up the spoil-encumbered foe, he commenced a pedantic war of words with Bahadoor, punning on the word 'Cheetore.' Had Hemayoon not been so distant, this catastrophe would have been averted, for he was bound by the laws of chivalry, the claims of which he

* The name of the faithful Rajpoot who preserved Oody Sing, Chuka sen Dhoon-dera, deserves to be recorded.

† "The date Jeit sood 12th, S. 1589," A. D. 1533, and according to Ferishta A. H. 949, A.D. 1532-3.

‡ From ancient time, leading the females captive appears to have been the sign of complete victory. Rajpoot inscriptions often allude to a "conqueror beloved by the wives of his conquered foe," and in the early parts of Scripture the same notion is referred to. The mother of Sisera asks, "Have they not divided the prey, to every man a damsel or two?"—*Judges*, v. 31.

had acknowledged, to defend the queen's cause, whose knight he had become. The relation of the peculiarity of a custom analogous to the taste of the chivalrous age of Europe may amuse. When her Amazonian sister the Rahtore queen was slain, the mother of the infant prince took a surer method to shield him in demanding the fulfilment of the pledge given by Hemayoon when she sent the *Rakhi* to that monarch.

'The festival of the bracelet (*Rakhi*)' is in spring, and whatever its origin, it is one of the few when an intercourse of gallantry of the most delicate nature is established between the fair sex and the cavaliers of Rajasthan. Though the bracelet may be sent by maidens, it is only on occasions of urgent necessity or danger. The Rajpoot dame bestows with the *Rakhi* the title of adopted brother; and while its acceptance secures to her all the protection of a '*Cavaliere servente*,' scandal itself never suggests any other tie to his devotion. He may hazard his life in her cause, and yet never receive a smile in reward, for he cannot even see the fair object who, as brother of her adoption, has constituted him her defender. But there is a charm in the mystery of such connection, never endangered by close observation, and the loyal to the fair may well attach a value to the public recognition of being the *Rakhi-bund Bhae*, the 'bracelet-bound brother' of a princess. The intrinsic value of such pledge is never looked to, nor is it requisite it should be costly, though it varies with means and rank of the donor, and may be of flock silk and spangles, or gold chains and gems. The acceptance of the pledge and its return is by the *katchli*, or corset, of simple silk or satin, or gold brocade and pearls. In shape or application there is nothing similar in Europe, and as defending the most delicate part of the structure of the fair, it is peculiarly appropriate as an emblem of devotion. A whole province has often accompanied the *katchli*, and the monarch of India was so pleased with this courteous delicacy in the customs of Rajasthan, on receiving the bracelet of the princess Kurnavati, which invested him with the title of her brother, and uncle and protector to her infant Oody Sing, that he pledged himself to her service, *even if the demand were the castle of Rinthumbor." Hemayoon proved himself a true knight, and even abandoned his conquests in Bengal when called on to redeem his pledge, and succour Cheetore, and the widows and minor sons of Sanga Rana,* Hemayoon had the highest proofs of the worth of those courting his protection; he was with his father Baber in all his wars in India, and at the battle of Biana his prowess was conspicuous, and is recorded by Baber's own pen. He amply fulfilled his pledge, expelled the foe from Cheetore, took Mandoo by assault, and, as some revenge for her king's

* Many romantic tales are founded on "*the gift of the Rakhi*." The author, who was placed in the enviable situation of being able to do good, and on the most extensive scale, was the means of restoring many of these ancient families from degradation to Affluence. The greatest reward he could, and the only one he would, receive, was the courteous civility displayed in many of these interesting customs. He was the "*Rakhi-band Bhae*" of, and received 'the bracelet, from, three queens of Oodipur, Boondi, and Kotah, besides Chund-Bae, the maiden sister of the Rana; as well as many ladies of rank, with whom he interchanged letters. The sole articles of 'barbaric pearl and gold,' which he conveyed from a country where he was six years supreme, are these testimonies of friendly regard. Intrinsically of no great value, they were presented and accepted in the ancient spirit, and he retains them with a sentiment the more powerful, he can no longer render them any service.

aiding the king of Guzerat, he sent for the Rana Bikramajeet, whom, following their own notions of investiture, he girt with a sword in the captured citadel of his foe.

The Mahomedan historians, strangers to their customs, or the secret motives which caused the emperor to abandon Bengal, ascribe it to the Rana's solicitation; but we may credit the annals, which are in unison with the chivalrous notions of the Rajpoots, into which succeeding monarchs, the great Akbar, his son Jehangir, and Shah Jehan, entered with delight: and even Aurungzebe, two of whose original letters to the queen-mother of Oodipur are now in the author's possession, and are remarkable for their elegance and purity of diction, and couched in terms perfectly accordant with Rajpoot delicacy.*

Bikramajeet, thus restored to his capital, had gained nothing by adversity; or, to employ the words of the annalist, "experience had yielded no wisdom." He renewed all his former insolence to his chiefs, and so entirely threw aside his own dignity, and, what is of still greater consequence, the reverence universally shewn to old age, as to strike in open court Keremchund of Ajmeer, the protector of his father Sanga in his misfortunes. The assembly rose with one accord at this indignity to their order; and as they retired, the Chondawut leader Kanji, the first of the nobles, exclaimed, "hitherto, brother chiefs, we have had but a smell of the blossom, but now "we shall be obliged to eat the fruit;" to which the insulted Pramara added, as he hastily retired, "to-morrow its flavour will be known."

Though the Rajpoot looks up to his sovereign as to a divinity, and is enjoined implicit obedience by his religion, which rewards him accordingly hereafter, yet this doctrine has its limits, and precedents are abundant for deposal, when the acts of the prince may endanger the realm. But there is a bond of love as well as of awe which restrains them, and softens its severity in the paternity of sway; for these princes are at once the father and king of their people: not in fiction, but in reality—for he is the representative of the common ancestor of the aristocracy,—the sole lawgiver of Rajasthan.

Sick of these minors (and they had now a third in prospect), which in a few years had laid prostrate the throne of Mewar, her nobles on leaving their unworthy prince repaired to Bunbeer, the natural son of the heroic Prithwi Raj, and offered "to seat him on the throne of Cheetore." He had the virtue to resist the solicitation; and it was only on painting the dangers which threatened the country, if its chief at such a period had not their confidence, that he gave his consent. The step between the deposal and death of a king is necessarily short, and the cries of the females, which announced the end of Bikramajeet, were drowned in the acclamations raised on the elevation of the *changi* over the head of the bastard Bunbeer.

* He addresses her as "dear and virtuous sister," and evinces much interest in her welfare. We are in total ignorance of the refined sentiment which regulates such a people—our home-bred prejudices deem them beneath inquiry; and thus indolence and self-conceit combine to deprive the benevolent of a high gratification.

CHAPTER X.

A few hours of sovereignty sufficed to check those "compunctious visitings" which assailed Bunbeer ere he assumed its trappings, with which he found himself so little encumbered that he was content to wear them for life. Whether this was the intention of the nobles who set aside the unworthy son of Sanga, there is abundant reason to doubt; and as he is subsequently branded with the epithet of "usurper" it was probably limited, though unexpressed, to investing him with the executive authority during the minority of Oody Sing. Bunbeer, however, only awaited the approach of night to remove with his own hands the obstacle to his ambition. Oody Sing was about six years of age. "He had gone to sleep after his rice and milk," when his nurse was alarmed by screams from the rawula,* and the Bari† coming in to take away the remains of the dinner, informed her of the cause, the assassination of the Rana. Aware that one murder was the precursor of another, the faithful nurse put her charge into a fruit basket, and covering it with leaves, she delivered it to the Bari, enjoining him to escape with it from the fort. Scarcely had she time to substitute her own infant in the room of the prince, when Bunbeer, entering, inquired for him. Her lips refused their office; she pointed to the cradle, and beheld the murderous steel buried in the heart of her babe. The little victim to fidelity was burnt amidst the tears of the rawula, the inconsolable household of their late sovereign, who supposed that their grief was given to the last pledge of the illustrious Sanga. The nurse (*Dhae*) was a Rajpootnee of the Kheechee tribe, her name *Punna*, or 'the Diamond.' Having consecrated with her tears the ashes of her child, she hastened after that she had preserved. But well had it been for Mewar had the poniard fulfilled its intention, and had the annals never recorded the name of Oody Sing in the catalogue of her princes.

The faithful barber was awaiting the nurse in the bed of the Beris river, some miles west of Cheetore, and fortunately the infant had not awoke until he descended the city. They departed for Deola, and sought refuge with Sing Rao, the successor of Bagh-ji, who fell for Cheetore; who dreading the consequence of detection, they proceeded to Dongerpur. Rawul Aiskurn then ruled this principality, which, as well as Deola, was not only a branch, but the elder branch, of Cheetore. With every wish to afford a shelter, he pleaded the danger which threatened himself and the child in such a feeble sanctuary. Pursuing a circuitous route through Edur, and the intricate valleys of the Aravali, by the help and with the protection of its wild inmates, the Bhiils, she gained Komulmeer. The resolution she had formed was bold as it was judicious. She demanded an interview with the governor, Assa Sah his name, of the mercantile tribe of Depra, and a follower of the theistical tenets of the Jains. The interview being granted, she placed the infant in his lap, and bid him "guard the life of his sovereign." He felt perplexed and alarmed: but his mother, who was present, upbraided him for his scruples. "Fidelity," said she, "never looks at dangers or difficulties. He is your master, the son of Sanga, and by God's blessing the result will be glorious." Having thus fulfilled her trust, the faithful Punna withdrew from Komulmeer to

* The seraglio, or female palace.

† Bari, Nae, are names for the barbers, who are the *cuisiniers* of the Rajpoots.

avoid the suspicion which a Rajpootnee about a Srawuk's* child would have occasioned, as the heir of Cheetore was declared to be the nephew of the Depra.

Suspensions were often excited regarding Assa's nephew ; once, especially, on the anniversary (*samvalsiri*) of the governor's father, when "the Rajpoot guests being in one rank, and the men of wealth in another, young Oody seized a vessel of curds, which no entreaty could prevail on him to relinquish, deriding their threats." Seven years elapsed before the secret transpired ; at length self-revealed, from the same independent bearing. On occasion of a visit from the Sonigurra chief, Oody was sent to receive him, and the dignified manner in which he performed the duty, convinced the chief "he was no nephew to the Sah." Rumour spread the tale, and brought not only the nobles of Mewar, but adjacent chiefs, to hail the son of Sanga Rana. Sahidas of Saloombra, the representatives of Chonda : Juggo of Kailwa, Sanga of Bagore, all chiefs of the clans of Chondawut, the Chohans of Kotario and Baidla, the Pramars of Bijolli Akhiraj (Sonigurra), Prithwi Raj of Sanchore, and Loonkurn Jaitawut, repaired to Komulmeer, when all doubt was removed by the testimony of the nurse, and of her coadjutor in the preservation of the child.

A court was formed, when the faithful Assa Sah resigned his trust and placed the prince of Cheetore "in the lap of the Kotario Chohan," as the "great ancient"† among the nobles of Mewar, who was throughout acquainted with the secret, and who, to dissipate the remaining scruples which attached to the infant's preservation, "ate off the same platter with him." The Sonigurra Rao did not hesitate to affiance to him his daughter, and it was accepted by his advisers, notwithstanding the interdict of Hamir to any intermarriage with the Sonigurra, since the insult of giving the widow to his bed. Oody received the teeka of Cheetore in the castle of Koombho, and the homage of nearly all the chiefs of Mewar.

The tidings soon reached the usurper, who had not borne his faculties meekly since his advancement ; but having seized on the dignity, he wished to ape all the customs, of the legitimate monarchs of Cheetore, and even had the effrontery to punish as an insult the refusal of one of the proud sons of Chonda to take the *doonah* from his bastard hand.

The *doonah*, or *dooh*, is a portion of the dish of which the prince partakes, sent by his own hand to whomsoever he honours at the banquet. At the *russoora*, or refectory, the chiefs who are admitted to dine in the presence of their sovereign are seated according to their rank. The repast is one of those occasions when an easy familiarity is permitted, which, though unrestrained, never exceeds the bounds of etiquette, and the habitual reverence due to their father and prince. When he sends, by the steward of the kitchen, a portion of the dish before him, or a little from his own *khansa*, or plate, all eyes are guided to the favoured mortal, whose good fortune is the subject of subsequent conversation. Though, with the diminished lustre of this house, *doonah* may have lost its former estimation, it is yet received with reverence ; but the extent of this feeling, even so late as the reign of Ursi Rana, the father of the reigning prince, the following anecdote will testify. In the rebellion during this prince's

* The laity of the Jain persuasion are so called.

† *Burra*, 'great,' *boora*, 'aged' : 'the wise elder' of Rajasthan, where old age and dignity are synonymous.

reign, amongst the ancient customs which became relaxed, that of bestowing the *doonah* was included; and the Rana conferring it on the Rahtore prince of Kishengurh the Bijolli chief, one of the sixteen superior nobles of Mewar, rose and left the presence, observing, "neither the Kutchwaha or the Rahtore has a right to this honour, nor can we, who regard as sanctified even the leavings of your repast, witness this degradation; for the Thakoor of Kishengurh is far beneath me." To such extent is this privilege even yet carried, and such importance is attached from habit to the personal character of the princes of Mewar, that the test of regal legitimacy in Rajasthan is admission to eat from the same plate (*khansa*) with the Rana: and to the refusal of this honour to the great Maun Singh of Ambar, may be indirectly ascribed the ruin of Mewar.

It may, therefore, be conceived with what contempt the haughty nobility of Cheetore received the mockery of honour from the hand of this "fifth son of Mewar;" and the Chondawut chief had the boldness to add to his refusal, "that an honour from the hand of a true son of Bappa Rawul, became a disgrace when proffered by the offspring of the handmaid Seetulseni." The defection soon became general, and all repaired to the valley of Komulmeer to hail the legitimate son of Mewar. A caravan of five hundred horses and ten thousand oxen, laden with merchandise from Kutch, the dower of Bunbeer's daughter, guarded by one thousand Gherwal Rajpoots, was plundered in the passes; a signal intimation of the decay of his authority, and a timely supply to the celebration of the nuptials of Oody Rana with the daughter of the Rao of Jhalore. Though the interdict of Hamir was not forgotten, it was deemed that the insult given by Bunbeer *Sonigurra*, was amply effaced by his successor's redemption of the usurpation of Bunbeer *Seesodia*. The marriage was solemnized at Balhi, within the limits of Jhalore, and the customary offerings were sent or given by all the princes of Rajasthan. Two chiefs only, of any consequence, abstained from attending on their lawful prince on this occasion, the Solanki of Maholi and Maloji of Tanah. In attacking them, the bastard was brought into conflict; but Maloji was slain and the Solanki surrendered. Deserted by all, Bunbeer held out in the capital: but his minister admitted, under the garb of a reinforcement with supplies, a thousand resolute adherents of the prince: the keepers of the gates were surprised and slain, and the *an* of Oody Singh was proclaimed. Bunbeer was even permitted to retire with his family and his wealth. He sought refuge in the Dekhan, and the Bhonslas of Nagpur are said to derive their origin from this spurious branch of Cheetore.

RANA OODY SING ascended the throne in S. 1597 (A.D. 1541-2). Great were the rejoicings on the restoration of this prince. 'The song of joy,* which was composed on the occasion, is yet a favourite at Oodipur, and on the festival of Isani (the Ceres of Rajasthan) the females still chant in chorus the 'farewell to Komulmeer.† But the evil days of Mewar which set in with Sanga's death, and were accelerated by the fiery valour of Rutna and the capricious conduct of Bikramajeet, were completed by an anomaly in her annals: a coward succeeding a bastard to guide the destinies of the Seesodias. The vices of Rutna and his brother were virtues compared to this physical defect, the consequences of which destroyed a great national feeling, the opinion of its invincibility.

* Sohuloh.

† Komulmeer Ciddaona.

"Woe to the land where a minor rules or a woman bears sway!" exclaims the last of the great bards* of Rajasthan: but where both were united, as in Mewar, the measure of her griefs was full. Oody Singh had not one quality of a sovereign; and wanting martial virtue, the common heritage of his race, he was destitute of all. Yet he might have slumbered life away in inglorious repose during the reign of Hemavoon or the contentions of the Pathan usurpation; but, unhappily for Rajasthan, a prince was then rearing, who forged fetters for the Hindu race which enthralled them for ages; and though the corroding hand of time left but their fragments, yet even now, though emancipated, they bear the indelible marks of the manacle; not like the galley slave's, physical and exterior, but deep mental, scars, never to be effaced. Can a nation which has run its long career of glory be regenerated? Can the soul of the Greek or the Rajpoot be reanimated with the spark divine which defended the kangrast† of Cheetore or the pass of Thermopylæ? Let history answer the question.

In the same year that the song of joy was raised in the cloudcapped‡ palace of Komulmeer for the deliverance of Oody Singh, the note of woe was pealed through the walls of Amerkote, and given to the winds of the desert, to proclaim the birth§ of an infant destined to be the greatest monarch who ever swayed sceptre of Hindusthan. In an oasis of the Indian desert, amidst the descendants of the ancient Sogdi|| of Alexander, Akbar first saw the light; his father a fugitive, the diadem torn from his brows, its recovery more improbable than was its acquisition by Baber. The ten years which had elapsed since Hemavoon's accession were passed in perpetual strife with his brothers, placed according to custom in subordinate governments. Their selfish ambition met its reward; for with the fall of Hemavoon their own was insured, when Shere Shah displaced the dynasty of Chagitai for his own the Pathan.

From the field of the battle of Kanouj, where Hemavoon left his crown, his energetic opponent gave him no respite, driving him before him from Agra to Lahore. Thence, with his family and a small band of adherents, alternately protected and repelled by Hindu chieftains, he reached the valley of Sind, where he struggled to maintain himself amidst the greatest privations, attempting in succession each stronghold on the Indus, from Mooltan to the ocean. Foiled in every object, his associates made rebels by distress, he abandoned them for the more dubious shelter of the foes of his race. Vain was his solicitation to Jessulmeer and Jodhpur; and though it can not be matter of wonder that he found no commiseration from either Bhatti or Rahtore, we must reprobate, the unnational conduct of Maldeo, who, the Mogul historian says, attempted to make him captive. From such inhospitable treatment the royal exile escaped by again plunging into the desert, where he encountered, along with the tender objects of his solicitude, hardships of the most appalling description, until sheltered by the Soda prince of Amerkote. The high courage and the virtues of this monarch increase that interest in his sufferings, which royalty in distress never fails to awaken by its irresistible influence upon our sympathies; and they form an affecting episode in the history of

* Chund, the heroic bard of the last Hindu emperor.

† Battlements.

‡ 'Badul Mahl.'

§ A. D. 1542.

|| The Sodas, a branch of the Pramars.

Perishta.* Hemayoon, though more deeply skilled in the mysteries of astrology than any professed seer of his empire, appears never to have

* "Hemayoon mounted his horse at midnight and fled towards Amercote which is about one hundred cross from Tatta. His horse, on the way, falling down dead with fatigue, he desired Tridi Beg, who was well mounted, to let him have his; but so ungenerous was this man, and so low was royalty fallen, that he refused to comply with his request. The troops of the raja being close to his heels, he was necessitated to mount a camel, till one Nidim Koka, dismounting his own mother, gave the king her horse, and placing her on the camel ran himself on foot by her side.

"The country through which they fled being an entire sandy desert, the troops began to be in the utmost distress for water. Some ran mad, others fell down dead; nothing was heard but dreadful screams and lamentations. To add, if possible, to this calamity, news arrived of the enemy's near approach. Hemayoon ordered all those who could fight to halt, and let the women and baggage move forward. The enemy not making their appearance, the king rode on in front to see how it fared with his family.

"Night, in the meantime, coming on, the rear lost their way, and in the morning were attacked by a party of the enemy. Shech Ali, with about twenty brave men, resolved to sell his life dear. Having repeated the creed of martyrdom, he rushed upon the enemy, and the first arrow having reached the heart of the chief of the party, the rest were by valour of this handful put to flight. The other Moguls joined in the pursuit, and took many of their camels and horses. They then continued their march, found the king sitting by a well which he had fortunately found, and gave him an account of their adventure.

"Marching forward the next day from this well, they were more distressed than before, there being no water for two days' journey. On the fourth day of their retreat they fell in with another well, which was so deep, that the only bucket they had took a great deal of time in being wound up, and therefore a drum was beat to give notice to the cassilas when the bucket appeared, that they might repair by turns to drink. The people were so impatient for the water, that as soon as the first bucket appeared, ten or twelve of them threw themselves upon it before it quite reached the brim of the well, by which means the rope broke, and the bucket was lost, and several fell headlong after it. When this fatal accident happened, the screams and lamentations of all became loud and dreadful. Some lolling out their tongues, rolled themselves in agony on the hot sand; while others, precipitating themselves into the well, met with an immediate, and consequently an easier death. What did not the unhappy king feel, when he saw this terrible situation of his few faithful friends!

"The next day, though they reached water, was not less fatal than the former. The camels, who had not tasted water, for several days, now drank so much that the greatest part of them died. The people, also, after drinking, complained of an oppression of the heart, and in about half an hour a great part of them expired.

"A few, with the king, after this unheard-of distress, reached Amercote. The raja being a humane man, took compassion on their misfortunes: he spared nothing that could alleviate their miseries, or express his fidelity to the king.

"At Amercot, upon Sunday the fifth of Rigib, in the year nine hundred and forty-nine, the prince Akbar was brought forth by Hamida

enjoyed that prescience which, according to the initiated in the science, is to be obtained from accurate observation :

"And coming events cast their shadows before ;"

for, could he, by any prophetic power, have foreseen that the cloud which then shaded his fortunes, was but the precursor of glory to his race, he would have continued his retreat from the sheltering sandhills of Amerkote with very different sentiments from those which accompanied his flight into Persia.

Hemayoon educated the young Akbar in the same school of adversity in which he had studied under Baber. Between the Persian court and his ancient patrimony in Transoxiana, Candahar, and Cashmere, twelve years were passed in every trial of fortune. During this short period, India, always the prize of valour, had witnessed in succession six kings descended from the Pathan 'Lion' (*Shere*), of whom the last, Secunder, was involved in the same civil broils which brought the crown to his family. Hemayoon, then near Cashmere, no sooner observed the tide of events set counter to his foe, than he crossed the Indus and advanced upon Sirhind, where the Pathan soon appeared with a tumultuous array. The impetuosity of young Akbar brought on a general engagement, which the veterans deemed madness. Not so Hemayoon, who gave the command to his boy, whose heroism so excited all ranks, that they despised the numbers of the enemy, and gained a glorious victory. This was the presage of his future fame; for Akbar was then but twelve years of age,* the same period of life at which his grandfather Baber, maintained himself on the throne of Ferghana. Hemayoon, worthy of such a son and such a sire, entered Delhi in triumph; but he did not long enjoy his recovered crown. His death will appear extraordinary, according to the erroneous estimate formed of Eastern princes:—its cause was a fall from the terrace of his library; for, like every individual of his race, he was not merely a patron of literature, but himself a scholar. Were we to contrast the literary acquirements of the Chagitai princes with those of their contemporaries of Europe, the balance of lore would be found on the side of the Asiatics, even though Elizabeth and Henry IV. of France were in the scale. Amongst the princes from the Jaxartes are historians, poets, astronomers, founders of system of government and religion, warriors, and great captains, who claim our respect and admiration.

Scarcely had Akbar been seated on the throne, when Dehli and Agra were wrested from him, and a nook of the Punjab constituted all his empire: but by the energetic valour of the great Byram Khan, his lost sovereignty was regained with equal rapidity, and established by the wisdom of his Sully† of Hindusthan on a rock. Calpee, Chandri, Callinger, all Boondelkhund and Malwa, were soon attached to the empire,

Banu Begum. The king, after returning thanks to God, left his family under the protection of Raja Rana, and, by the aid of that prince, marched against Bicker."—Dow's *Ferishta*.

* A. D. 1554.

† There are excellent grounds for a parallel between Akbar and Henry IV. and between Byram and Sully, who were, moreover, almost contemporaries. The haughty and upright Byram was at length goaded from rebellion to exile, and died by assassination only four years after Akbar's accession. The story is one of the most useful lessons of history.

and at the early age of eighteen Akbar assumed the uncontrolled direction of the state. He soon turned his attention towards the Rajpoots ; and whether it was to revenge the inhospitality of Maldeo towards his father, he advanced against the Rathores, and stormed and took Mairtea, the second city in Marwar. Raja Bharmul of Ambar anticipated the king, enrolled himself and son Bhagwandas amongst his vassals, gave the Chagitai a daughter to wife, and held his country as a fief of the empire. But the rebellions of the Usbec nobles, and the attempts of the former princes to regain their lost power, checked for a time his designs upon Rajasthan. These matters adjusted, and the petty sovereigns in the East (to whom the present monarch of Oude is as Alexander) subjected to authority, he readily seized upon the provocation which the sanctuary given to the Baz Bahadoor of Malwa and the ex-prince of Nirwur afforded, to turn his arms against Cheetore.*

Happy the country where the sovereignty is in the laws, and where the monarch is but the chief magistrate of the state, unsubjected to those vicissitudes, which make the sceptre in Asia unstable as a pendulum, kept in perpetual oscillation by the individual passions of her princes ; where the virtues of one will exalt her to the summit of prosperity, as the vices of a successor will plunge her into the abyss of degradation. Akbar, and Oody Sing furnish the corollary to this self-evident truth.

The Rana was old enough to philosophize on " the use of adversity ; " and though the best of the " great ancients " had fallen in defence of Cheetore, there was not wanting individuals capable of instilling just and noble sentiments into his mind : but it was of that common character which is formed to be controlled by others ; and an artful and daring concubine stepped in, to govern Oody Sing and Mewar.

Akbar was not older when he came to the throne† of Delhi than Oody Sing when he ascended that of Mewar. Nor were his hopes much brighter ; but the star which beamed upon his cradle in the desert, conducted to his aid such counsellors as the magnanimous Byram, and the wise and virtuous Abal Fuzil. Yet it may be deemed hardly fair to contrast the Rajpoot with the Mogul : the one disciplined into an accurate knowledge of the human nature, by experience of the mutability of fortune ; the other cooped up from infancy in a valley of his native hills, his birth concealed, and his education restricted.‡

Akbar was the real founder of the empire of the Moguls, the first successful conqueror of Rajpoot independence : to this end his virtues were powerful auxiliaries, as by his skill in the analysis of the mind and its readiest stimulant to action, he was enabled to gild the chains with which he bound them. To these they became familiarized by habit, especially when the throne exerted its power in acts gratifying to national vanity, or even in ministering to the more ignoble passions. But generations of the martial races were cut off by his sword, and lustres rolled away ere his conquests were sufficiently confirmed to permit him to exercise the beneficence of his nature, and obtain by the universal acclaim of the conquered,

* A.H. 975, or A.D. 1567.

† A.D. 1555 ; both were under thirteen years of age.

‡ If we argue this according to a Rajpoot's notion, he will reject the compromise, and say that the son of Sanga should have evinced himself worthy of his descent, under whatever circumstances fortune might have placed him.

the proud epithet of *Fuggat Goor*, or '*guardian of mankind*.' He was long ranked with Shabudin, Alla, and other instruments of destruction, and with every just claim; and, all these, he constructed Mumba,* for the Koran from the altars of Eklinga. Yet he finally succeeded in healing the wounds his ambition had inflicted; and received from millions that meed of praise, which no other of his race ever obtained.

The absence of the kingly virtues in the sovereign of Mewar filled to the brim the bitter cup of her destiny. The guardian goddess of the Seesodias had promised never to abandon the rock of her pride while a descendant of Bappa Rawul devoted himself to her service. In the first assault by Alla, twelve crowned heads defended the 'crimson banner' to the death. In the second, when conquest led by Bajazet† came from the south, the chieftain of Deola, a noble scion of Mewar, 'though severed from her stem,' claimed the crown of glory and of martyrdom. But on this the third and grandest struggle, no regal victim appeared to appease the Cybele of Cheetore, and win her to retain its 'kangras,'‡ as her coronet. She felt the charm was broken; the mysterious tie was severed for ever which connected Cheetore with perpetuity of sway to the race of Ghelote. With Oody Sing fled the "fair race" which in the dead of night unsealed the eyes of Samarsi, and told him "the glory of the Hindu was departing:"§ with him, that opinion, which for ages esteemed her walls the sanctuary of the race, which encircled her with a halo of glory, as the palladium of the religion and the liberties of the Rajpoots.

To traditions such as these, history is indebted for the noblest deeds recorded in her page; and in Mewar they were the covert impulse to national glory and independence. For this the philosopher will value the relation; and the philanthropist as being the germ or nucleus of resistance against tyrannical domination. Enveloped in a wild fable, we see the springs of their prejudices and their action: batter down these adamantine walls of national opinion, and all others are but glass. The once invincible Cheetore is now pronounced indefensible. "The abode of regality, which "for a thousand years reared her head above all the cities of Hindusthan," is become the refuge of wild beasts, which seek cover in her temples; and this erst sanctified capital is now desecrated as the dwelling of evil fortune, into which the entrance of her princes is solemnly interdicted.

Ferishta mentions but one enterprize against Cheetore, that of its capture; but the annals record another, when Akbar was compelled to relinquish the undertaking. The successful defence is attributed to the masculine courage of the Rana's concubine queen, who headed the sallies into the heart of the Mogul camp, and on one occasion to the emperor's head-quarters. The imbecile Rana proclaimed that he owed his deliverance to her; when the chiefs, indignant at this imputation on their courage, conspired and put her to death. Internal discord invited Akbar to re-invest Cheetore; he had just attained his twenty-fifth year, and was desir-

* The pulpit or platform of the Islamite preachers.

† Bayazeed was the name of the Malwa sovereign ere he came to the throne, corrupted by Europeans to Bajazet. He is always styled "Baz Bahador" in the annals of Mewar.

‡ Battlements.

§ The last book of *Chund* opens with this vision.

buis of the renown of capturing it. The site of the royal Oordoo,* or camp, is still pointed out. It extended from the village of Pandowly† along the high road to Bussie, a distance of ten miles. The head-quarters of Akbar are yet marked by a pyramidal column of marble, to which tradition has assigned the title of *Akbar ca dewani*, or 'Akbar's lamp.‡ Scarcely had Akbar sat down before Cheetore, when the Rana was compelled (say the annals) to quit it; but the necessity and his wishes were in unison. It lacked not, however, brave defenders. Sahidas, at the head of a numerous band of the descendants of Chonda, was at his post, 'the gate of the sun;' there he fell resisting the entrance of the foe, and there his altar stands, on the brow of the rock which was moistened with his blood. Rawut Dooda of Madaria led "the sons of Sanga."§ The feudatory chiefs of Baidla and Kotario, descended from Prithwiraj of Delhi,—the Pramari of Bijolli,—the Jhala of Sadri,—inspired their contingents with their brave example: these were all home chieftains. Another son of Deola, again combatted for Cheetore, with the Sonigurra Rao of Jhalore,—Esuridas Rahtore, Kuramchand Cutchwaha,|| With Dooda Sadani,¶ and the Tuar prince of Gwalior, were distinguished amongst the foreign auxiliaries on this occasion.

But the names which shine brightest in this gloomy page of the annals of Mewar, which are still held sacred by the bard and the true Rajpoot, and immortalized by Akbar's own pen, are Jeimul of Bednore and Putta of Kailwa, both of the sixteen superior vassals of Mewar. The first was a Rahtore of the Mairtea house, the bravest of the brave clans of Marwar; the other was head of the Jugawuts, another grand shoot from Chonda. The names of 'Jeimul and Putta' are 'as household words,' inseparable in Mewar, and will be honoured while the Rajpoot

* Of which *horde* is a corruption.

† There are two villages of this name. This is on the lake called "Mansurwur," on whose bank I obtained that invaluable inscription in the nail-headed character, which settled the establishment of the Ghelotes in Cheetore, at a little more than (as Orme has remarked) one thousand years. To the eternal regret of my Yati Guru and myself a barbarian Brahmin servant, instead of having it copied, broke the venerable column to bring the inscription of Oodipur.

‡ It is as perfect as when constructed, being of immense blocks of compact white limestone, closely fitted to each other; its height thirty feet, the base a square of twelve, and summit four feet, to which a staircase conducts. A huge concave vessels was then filled with fire, which served as a night beacon to this ambulatory city, where all nations and tongues were assembled, or to guide the foragers. Akbar, who was ambitious of being the founder of the new faith as well as kingdom, had tried every creed, Jewish, Hindu, and even made some progress in the doctrines of Christianity, and may have in turn affected those of Zerdusht, and assuredly this pyramid possesses more of the appearance of a pyreum than a "dewa;" though either would have fulfilled the purport of a beacon.

§ The Sangawuts, not the sons of Rana Sanga, but of a chieftain of Chonda's kin, whose name is the patronymic of one of its principal subdivisions, of whom the chief of Deogurh is now head.

|| Of the Punchænote branch.

¶ One of the Shekhavaṭ subdivisions.

retains a shred of his inheritance or a spark of his ancient recollections. Though deprived of the stimulus which would have been given had their prince been a witness of their deeds, heroic achievements such as those already recorded were conspicuous on this occasion; and many a fair form threw the buckler over the scarf, and led the most desperate sorties.

When Saloombra* fell at the gate of the sun, the command devolved on Putta of Kailwa. He was only sixteen: his father had fallen in the last shock, and his mother had survived but to rear this the sole heir of their house. Like the Spartan mother of old, she commanded him to put on the 'saffron robe,' and to die for Cheetore: but surpassing the Grecian dame, she illustrated her precept by example; and lest any soft 'compunctious visitings' for one dearer than herself might dim the lustre of Kailwa, she armed the young bride with a lance, with her descended the rock, and the defenders of Cheetore saw her fall, fighting by the side of her Amazonian mother. When their wives and daughters performed such deeds, the Rajpoots became reckless of life. They had maintained a protracted defence, but had no thoughts of surrender, when a ball struck Jeimul, who took the lead on the fall of the kin of Mewar. His soul revolted at the idea of ingloriously perishing by a distant blow. He saw there was no ultimate hope of salvation, the northern defences being entirely destroyed, and he resolved to signalize the end of his career. The fatal Johar was commanded, while eight thousand Rajpoots ate the last 'beera'† together, and put on their 'saffron robes;' the gates were thrown open, the work of destruction commenced, and few survived 'to stain the yellow mantle' by inglorious surrender. Akbar entered Cheetore, when thirty thousand of its inhabitants became victims to the ambitious thirst of conquest of this 'guardian of mankind.' All the heads of clans, both home and foreign, fell, and seventeen hundred of the immediate kin of the prince sealed their duty to their country with their lives. The Tutar chief of Gwalior appears to have been the only one of note who was reserved for another day of glory. Nine queens, five princesses (their daughters), with two infant sons, and the families of all the chieftains not at their estates, perished in the flames or in the assault of this ever memorable day. Their divinity had indeed deserted them; for it was an 'Aditwar,' the day of the sun,‡ he shed for the last time a ray of glory on Cheetore. The rock of their strength was despoiled; the temples, the palaces dilapidated: and, to complete her humiliation and his triumph, Akbar bereft her of all the symbols of regality; the nakaras, § whose reverberations proclaimed, for miles around, the entrance and exit of her princes; the candelabras from the shrine of the 'great mother,' who girt Bappa Rawul with the sword with which he conquered Cheetore; and in mockery of her misery, her portals, to adorn his projected capital, Akberabad.||

* The abode of the Chondwut leader. It is common to call them by the name of their estates.

† The *beera*, or *pan*, the aromatic leaf so called, enveloping spices, terra japonica, calcined shell-lime, and pieces of the areca nut, is always presented on taking leave.

‡ "Cheit sood egarus, S. 1624," 11th Cheit, or May, A. D. 1568.

§ Grand kettle-drums, about eight or ten feet in diameter.

|| The *teejo saca Cheetore ra*, or 'third sack of Cheetore,' was marked by the most illiterate atrocity, for every monument spared by Alla or

Akbar claimed the honour of the death of Jeimul by his own hand: the fact is recorded by Abul Fuzil, and by the emperor Jehangir, who conferred on the matchlock which aided him to this distinction the title of *Singram*.* But the conqueror of Cheetore evinced a more exalted sense, not only of the value of his conquest, but of the merits of his foes, in erecting statues to the names of Jeimul and Putta at the most conspicuous entrance of his palace at Delhi; and they retained that distinction even, when Bernier was in India.†

When the Carthaginian gained the battle of Cannæ, he measured his success by the bushels of rings taken from the fingers of the equestrian Romans who fell in that memorable field. Akbar estimated his, by the quantity of cordons (*sinar*) of distinction taken from the necks of the Rajpoots, and seventy-four *mans* [and a half ‡ are the recorded amount.

Bayazeed was defaced, which has left an indelible stain on Akbar's name as a lover of the arts, as well as of humanity. Alla's assault was comparatively harmless, as the care of the fortress was assigned to a Hindu prince; and Bayazeed had little time to fulfil this part of the Mosaic law, maintained with rigid severity by the followers of Islamism. Besides, at those periods, they possessed both the skill and the means to reconstruct: not so after Akbar as the subsequent portion of the annals will shew but a struggle for existence. The arts do not flourish amidst penury: the principle to construct cannot long survive, when the means to execute are fled; and in the monumental works of Cheetore we can trace the gradations of genius, its splendour and decay.

* "He (Akbar) named the matchlock with which he shot Jeimul *Singram*, "being one of great superiority and choice, and with which he had slain three or "four thousand birds and beasts."—*Jehangir-nameh*.

† "I find nothing remarkable at the entry but two great elephants of stone, which are in the two sides of one of the gates. Upon one of them is the statue of Jamel (Jeimul), that famous raja of Cheetore, and upon, the other Potter (Putta) his brother. These are two gallant men that, together with their mother, who was yet braver than they, cut out so much work for Akbar; and who in the sieges of towns which they maintained against him, gave such extraordinary proofs of their generosity, that at length they would rather be killed in the outfalls (sallies) with their mother, than submit; and for this gallantry it is, that even their enemies thought them worthy to have these statues erected to them. These two great elephants, together with the two resolute men sitting on them do at the first entry into this fortress make an impression of I know not what greatness and awful terror."—*Letter written at Delhi, July 1st, 1663, from edition printed in London in 1684, in the author's possession.*

Such is the impression made on a Parisian a century after the event: but far more powerful the charm to the author of these annals, as he pondered on the spot where Jeimul received the fatal shot from Singram, or placed flowers on the cenotaph that marks the fall of the son of Chonda and the mansion of Putta, whence issued the Seesodia matron and her daughter. Every foot of ground is hallowed by ancient recollections.

In these the reader may in some degree participate..

‡ The *man* is of four seers: the maund is forty, or seventy-five pounds. Dow, calculating all the captured wealth of India by the latter, has rendered many facts improbable.

To eternize the memory of this disaster, the numerals '74½' are *tilac*, or accursed. Marked on the banker's letter in Rajasthan it is the strongest of seals, for 'the sin of the slaughter of Cheetore'* is thereby invoked on all who violate a letter under the safeguard of this mysterious number. He would be a fastidious critic who stopped to calculate the weight of these cordons of the Rajpoot cavaliers, probably as much over-rated as the trophies of the Roman rings, which are stated at three and a half bushels. It is for the moral impression that history deigns to note such anecdotes, in themselves of trivial import. So long as '74½' shall remain recorded, some good will result from the calamity, and may survive when the event which caused it, is buried in oblivion.

When Oody Sing abandoned Cheetore, he found refuge with the Gohil in the forests of Rajpiplee. Thence he passed to the valley of the Girwo in the Aravali, in the vicinity of the retreat of his great ancestor Bappa, ere he conquered Cheetore. At the entrance of this valley, several years previous to this catastrophe, he had formed the lake, still called after him 'Oody Sagur,' and he now raised a dyke between the mountains which dammed up another mountain stream. On the cluster of hills adjoining he raised the small palace called 'Nochoki,' around which edifices soon arose and formed a city to which he gave his own name, Oodipur,† henceforth the capital of Mewar.

Four years had Oody Sing survived the loss of Cheetore, when he expired at Gogoonda, at the early age of forty-two; yet far too long for his country's honour and welfare. He left a numerous issue of twenty-five legitimate sons, whose descendants, all styled Ranawut, pushed aside the more ancient stock, and form that extensive clan distinctively termed the *Babas*, or 'infants,' of Mewar, whether Ranawuts, Poorawuts, or Kanawuts. His last act was to entail with a barren sceptre contention upon his children; for, setting aside the established laws of primogeniture, he proclaimed his favourite son Jugmul his successor. In Mewar there is no interregnum: even the ceremony of *matim* (mourning) is held at the house of the family priest while the palace is decked out for rejoicing. On the full moon of the spring month of Falgoon, while his brothers and the nobles attended the funeral pyre, Jugmul took possession of the throne in the infant capital, Oodipur: but even while the trumpets sounded, and the heralds called aloud 'may the king live for ever!' a cabal was formed round the bier of his father. It will be borne in mind, that Oody Sing espoused the Sonigurra princess; and the Jhalore Rao, desirous to see his sister's son have his right, demanded of Kistna, the 'great ancient' of Mewar and the leader of the Chondawuts, how such injustice was sanctioned by him. "When a sick man has reached the last extreme and asks for milk to drink, why refuse it?" was the reply;—with the addition: "the Sonigurra's nephew is my choice, and my stand by Pertap." Jugmul had just entered the Russora, and Pertap was saddling for his departure, when Rawut Kistna entered, accompanied by the ex-prince of Gwalior. Each chief took an arm of Jugmul, and with gentle violence removed him to a seat in front of the 'cushion' he had occupied; the hereditary premier remarking, "you had made a mistake, Maharaj; that place belongs to your brother:" and girding Pertap with the sword

* 'Cheetore *marya ra pap:*' *ra* is the sign of the genitive, in the Doric tongue of Mewar, the *ca* of the refined.

† Classically '*Udya-pura*,' the city of the East; from *udya* (*oriens*), the point of sun-rise, as *usht* (west) is of the sun-set.

(the privilege of this house), thrice touching the ground, hailed him king of Mewar. All followed the example of Saloombra. Scarcely was the ceremony over, when the young prince remarked, it was the festival of the Ahairea, nor must ancient customs be forgotten : 'therefore to horse, and slay a boar to Gouri,* and take the omen for the ensuing year.' They slew abundance of game, and in the mimic field of war, the nobles who surrounded the gallant Pertap anticipated happier days for Mewar.

CHAPTER XI.

PERTAP succeeded to the titles and renown of an illustrious house, but without a capital, without resources, his kindred and clans dissipated by reverses : yet possessed of the noble spirit of his race, he meditated the recovery of Cheetore, the vindication of the honour of his house, and the restoration of its power. Elevated with this design, he hurried into conflict with his powerful antagonist, nor stooped to calculate the means which were opposed to him. Accustomed to read in his country's annals the splendid deeds of his forefathers, and that Cheetore had more than once been the prison of their foes, he trusted that the revolutions of fortune might co-operate with his own efforts to overturn the unstable throne of Delhi. The reasoning was as just as it was noble ; but whilst he gave a loose to those lofty aspirations which meditated liberty to Mewar, his crafty opponent was counteracting his views by a scheme of policy, which when disclosed, filled his heart with anguish. The wily Mogul arrayed against Pertap his kindred in faith as well as blood. The princes of Marwar, Ambar, Bikaner, and even Boondi, late his firm ally, took part with Akbar and upheld despotism. Nay, even his own brother, Sagarji,† deserted him, and received, as the price of his treachery, the ancient capital of his race, and the title which that possession conferred.

But the magnitude of the peril confirmed the fortitude of Pertap, who vowed, in the words of the bard, 'to make his mother's milk resplendent ;' and he amply redeemed his pledge. Single-handed, for a quarter of a century did he withstand the combined efforts of the empire ; at one time carrying destruction into the plains, at another flying from rock to rock, feeding his family from the fruits of his native hills and rearing the nursing hero Umra, amidst savage beasts and scarce less savage men, a fit heir to his prowess and revenge. The bare idea that 'the son of Bappa Rawul should bow the head to mortal man,' was insupportable ; and he spurned every overture which had submission for its basis, or the degradation of

* Ceres—The Ahairea, or *Muhoorut ca Sikar*.

† Sagarji held the fortress and lands of Kandhar. His descendants formed an extensive clan called Sagarawuts, who continued to hold Kandhar till the time of Sowaie Jey Sing of Ambar, whose situation as one of the great satraps of the Mogul court enabled him to wrest it from Sagarji's issue, upon their refusal to intermarry with the house of Ambar. The great Mohabet Khan, the most intrepid of Jehangir's generals, was an apostate Sagarawut. They established many chieftainships in Central India, as Omri Bhadora, Gunesgunge, Digdolli ; places better known to Sindia's officers than to the British.

uniting his family by marriage with the Tater, though lord of countless multitudes.

The brilliant acts he achieved during that period live in every valley; they are enshrined in the heart of every true Rajpoot, and many are recorded in the annals of the conquerors. To recount them all, or relate the hardships he sustained, would be to pen what they would pronounce a romance who had not traversed the country where tradition is yet eloquent with his exploits, or conversed with the descendants of his chiefs, who cherish a recollection of the deeds of their forefathers, and melt, as they recite them, into manly tears.*

Pertap was nobly supported; and though wealth and fortune tempted the fidelity of his chiefs, not one was found base enough to abandon him. The sons of Jeimul shed their blood in his cause, along with the successors of Putta—the house of Saloombra redoubled the claims of Chonda to fidelity; and these five lustrres of adversity are the brightest in the chequered page of the history of Mewar. Nay, some chiefs, attracted by the very desperation of his fortunes, pressed to his standard to combat and die with Pertap. Amongst these was the Dailwarra chief, whose devotion gained him the prince's 'right hand.'

To commemorate the desolation of Cheetore, which the bardic historian represents as a 'widow' despoiled of the ornaments to her loveliness, Pertap interdicted to himself and his successors every article of luxury or pomp, until the insignia of her glory should be redeemed. The gold and silver dishes were laid aside for *pateras*† of leaves; their beds henceforth of straw, and their beards left untouched. But in order more distinctly to mark their fallen fortune and stimulate to its recovery, he commanded that the martial *nakaras*, which always sounded in the van of battle or processions, should follow in the rear. This last sign of the depression of Mewar still survives; the beard is yet untouched by the shears; and even in the subterfuge by which the patriot king's behest is set aside, we have a tribute to his memory: for though his descendant eats off gold and silver, and sleeps upon a bed, he places the leaves beneath the one and straw under the other.

Often was Pertap heard to exclaim "had Oody Sing never been, or none intervened between him and Sanga Rana, no Toork should ever have given laws to Rajasthan." Hindu society had assumed a new form within the century preceding: the wrecks of dominion from the Jumna and Ganges had been silently growing into importance; and Ambar and Marwar had attained such power, that the latter single-handed coped with the imperial Shere Shah; while numerous minor chieftainships were attaining shape and strength on both sides the Chumbul. A prince of commanding genius alone was wanting, to snatch the sceptre of dominion from the Islamite. Such a leader they found in Sanga, who possessed

* I have climbed the rocks, crossed the streams, and traversed the plains which was the theatre of Pertap's glory, and conversed with the lineal descendants of Jeimul and Putta on the deeds of their forefathers, and many a time has the tear started in their eye at the tale they recited.

† The first invented drinking cup or eating vessel being made from the leaf (*put*) of particular trees, especially the *palasa* (*butea frondosa*) and *burr* (*ficus religiosa*). The cups of a beautiful brown earthenware, made at Kotario, are chiefly *pateras*, of a perfectly classical shape. Query the Roman *patera*, or the Greek *poter*, or Saxon *pat*!

every quality which extorts spontaneous obedience, and the superiority of whose birth, as well as dignity, were admitted without cavil, from the Himalaya to Rameswar.* These states had powerful motives to obey such a leader, in the absence of whom their ancient patrimony was lost; and such they would have found renewed in Sanga's grandson, Pertap, had Oody Sing not existed, or had a less gifted sovereign than Akbar been his contemporary.

With the aid of some chiefs of judgment and experience, Pertap remodelled his government, adapting it to the exigencies of the times and to his slender resources. New grants were issued, with regulation defining the service required. Komulmeer, now the seat of government, was strengthened, as well as Gogoonda and other mountain fortresses; and, being unable to keep the field in the plains of Mewar, he followed the system of his ancestors, and commanded his subjects, on pain of death, to retire into the mountains. During the protracted contest, the fertile tracts watered by the Bunas and the Beris, from the Aravali chain west to the eastern table-land, was *be-cheragh*, 'without a lamp.'

Many tales are related of the unrelenting severity with which Pertap enforced obedience to this stern policy. Frequently, with a few horse, he issued forth to see that his commands were obeyed. The silence of the desert prevailed in the plains; grass had usurped the place of the waving corn; the highways were choked with the thorny babool,† and beasts of prey made their abode in the habitation of his subjects. In the midst of this desolation, a single goatherd, trusting to elude observation, disobeyed his prince's injunction, and pastured his flock in the luxuriant meadows of Ontalla, on the banks of the Bunas. After a few questions, he was killed and hung up *in terrorem*. By such patriotic severity, Pertap rendered 'the garden of Rajasthan' of no value to the conqueror, and the commerce already established between the Mogul court and Europe, conveyed through Mewar from Surat and other ports, was intercepted and plundered.

Akbar took the field against the Rajpoot prince, establishing his headquarters at Ajmeer. This celebrated fortress, destined ultimately to be one of the twenty-two soubahs of his empire and an imperial residence, had admitted for some time a royal garrison. Maldeo of Marwar, who had so ably opposed the usurper Shere Shah, was compelled to follow the example of his brother prince, Bagwandas of Ambar, and to place himself at the footstool of Akbar: only two years subsequent to Pertap's accession, after a brave but fruitless resistance in Mairta and Jodhpur, he sent his son, Oody Sing, to pay homage to the king.‡ Akbar received him at Nagore, on his route to Ajmeer, on which occasion the Raos of Mundore were made Rajas; and as the heir of Marwar was of uncommon bulk, the title by which he was afterwards known in Rajasthan was 'Moota Rajah,'§ and henceforth the descendants of the kings of Canouj had the 'right hand' of the emperor of the Moguls. But the Rahtore was greater in his native pride than with all the accession of dignity or power which accrued on his sacrifice of Rajpoot principles. Oody 'le gros' was the first of his race who gave a daughter in marriage to a Tatar.

* The bridge of Ram, the southern point of the peninsula.

† *Mimosa Arabica*.

‡ A. H. 977, A. D. 1569.

§ There is less euphony in the English than in the French designation, Oody "le Gros."

The bribe for which he bartered his honour was splendid ; for four provinces* yielding £1,200,000 of annual revenue, were given in exchange for Jod Bae,† at once doubling the fisc of Marwar. With such examples as Ambar and Marwar, and with less power to resist the temptation, the minor chiefs of Rajasthan, with a brave and numerous vassalage, were transformed into satraps of Delhi, and the importance of most of them was increased by the change. Truly did the Mogul historian designate them 'at once the props and the ornaments of the throne.'

But these were fearful odds against Pertap : the arms of his countrymen thus turned upon him, derived additional weight from their self-degradation, which kindled into jealousy and hatred against the magnanimous resolution they wanted the virtue to imitate. When Hindu prejudice was thus violated by every prince in Rajasthan, (that of Boodi alone excepted,‡ the Rana renounced all alliance with those who were thus degraded ; and in order to carry on the line, he sought out and incorporated with the first class of nobles of his own kin, the descendants of the ancient princes of Delhi, of Puttun, of Marwar, and of Dhar. To the eternal honour of Pertap and his issue be it told, that to the very close of the monarchy of the Moguls, they not only refused such alliance with the throne, but even with their brother princes of Marwar and Ambar. It is a proud triumph of virtue to record from the autograph letters of the most powerful of their princes, Bukhet Sing and Jey Sing that whilst they had risen to greatness from the surrender of principle, as 'Mewar had decayed from her adherence to it, they should, even while basking in court favour, solicit, and that humbly, to be re-admitted to the honour of matrimonial intercourse—'to be purified,' 'to be regenerated,' 'to be made Rajpoots :—and that this was granted only on condition of their adjuring the contaminating practice which had disunited them for more than a century ; with the additional stipulation, that the issue of marriage with the house of Mewar should be the heirs to those they entered ; conditions which the decline of the empire prevented from being broken.

An anecdote illustrative of the settled repugnance of this noble family to sully the purity of its blood may here be related, as its result had a material influence on its subsequent condition. Raja Maun, who had succeeded to the throne of Ambar, was the most celebrated of his race, and from him may be dated the rise of his country. This prince exemplified the wisdom of that policy which Baber adopted to strengthen his conquest ; that of connecting his family by ties of marriage with the Hindus. It has been already related that Hemayoon espoused a daughter of Bagwandas, consequently Raja Maun was brother-in-law to Akbar. His courage and talents well seconded this natural advantage, and he became the most conspicuous of all the generals of the empire. To him Akbar was indebted for half his triumphs. The Cutchwaha bards find a delightful theme in recounting his exploits, from the snow-clad Caucasus to the

* Godwar, Rs. 9,00,000 ; Oojein, 2,49,914 ; Debalpur, 1, 82,500 ; Budnawur, 2,50,000.

† The magnificent tomb of Jod Bae, the mother of Shah Jehan, is at Secundra, near Agra, and not far from that in which Akbar's remains are deposited.

‡ The causes of exemption are curious, and are preserved in a regular treaty with the emperor, a copy of which the author possesses which will be given in 'the Annals of Boondi.'

shore of the 'golden Chersonese.* Let the eye embrace these extremes of his conquests, Cabul and the Paropamisana of Alexander, and Arracan (a name now well known) on the Indian ocean; the former re-united, the latter subjugated, to the empire by a Rajpoot prince and a Rajpoot army. But Akbar knew the master-key to Hindu feeling, and by his skill overcame prejudices deemed insurmountable, and many are the tales yet told of their blind devotion to their favourite emperor.

Raja Maun was returning from the conquest of Sholapur to Hindustan when he invited himself to an interview with Pertap, then at Komulmeer, who advanced to the Oody-Sagur to receive him. On the mound which embanks this lake a feast was prepared for the prince of Ambar. The board was spread, the Raja summoned, and prince Umra appointed to wait upon him; but no Rana appeared, for whose absence apologies alleging head-ache were urged by his son, with the request that Raja Maun would waive all ceremony, receive his welcome, and commence. The prince in a tone at once dignified and respectful, replied: "Tell the Rana I can divine the cause of his head-ache; but the error is irremediable, and if he refuses to put a plate (*khansa*) before me, who will?" Further subterfuge was useless. The Rana expressed his regret; but added, that "he could not eat with a Rajpoot who gave his sister to a Toork, and who probably ate with him." Raja Maun was unwise to have risked this disgrace: and if the invitation went from Pertap, the insult was ungenerous as well as impolitic; but of this he is acquitted. Raja Maun left the feast untouched, *save the few grains of rice he offered to Undeva,† which he placed in his turban*, observing as he withdrew: "it was for the preservation of your honour that we sacrificed our own, and gave our sisters and our daughters to the Toork; but abide in peril, if such be your resolve, for this country shall not hold you;" and mounting his horse he turned to the Rana, who appeared at this abrupt termination of his visit, "if I do not humble your pride, my name is not Maun:" to which Pertap replied, "he should always be happy to meet him;" while some one in less dignified terms, desired he would not forget to bring his '*Phoopa*,' Akbar. The ground was deemed impure where the feast was spread: it was broken up and lustrated with the water of the Ganges, and the chiefs who witnessed the humiliation of one they deemed apostate, bathed and changed their vestments, as if polluted by his presence. Every act was reported to the emperor, who was exasperated at the insult thus offered to himself, and who justly dreaded the revival of those prejudices he had hoped were vanquished; and it hastened the first of those

* When Raja Maun was commanded to reduce the revolted province of Cabul, he hesitated to cross the Indus, the Rubicon of the Hindu, and which they term *Uttuc*, or 'the barrier,' as being the limit between their faith and the 'barbarian.' On the Hindu Prince assigning this as his reason for not leading the Rajputs to the snowy Caucasus, the accomplished Akbar sent him a couplet in the dialect of Rajasthan:

"Sub-hyn bhumi Gopal ca
Jis mi Uttuc katha
Jis ca mun myn Uttuc hy
So een Uttuc katha

"The whole earth is of God,
In which he has placed the Uttuc.
The mind that admits *impediments*
Will also find an Uttuc."

This delicate irony succeeded when stronger language would have failed.

† The Hindus, as did the Greeks and other nations of antiquity, always made offering of the first portion of each meal to the gods. Undeva, 'the god of food.'

sanguinary battles which have immortalised the name of Pertap : nor 'will Huldighat be forgotten while a Seesodia occupies Mewar, or a bard survives to relate the tale.'

Prince Selim, the heir of Delhi, led the war, guided by the councils of Raja Maun and the distinguished apostate son of Sagurji, Mohabet Khan. Pertap trusted to his native hills and the valour of twenty-two thousand Rajpoots to withstand the son of Akbar. The divisions of the royal army encountered little opposition at the exterior defiles by which they penetrated the western side of the Aravali, concentrating as they approached the chief pass which conducted to the vulnerable part of this intricate country.

The range to which Pertap was restricted was the mountainous region around though chiefly to the west of the new capital. From north to south, Komulmeer to Ricumnath, about eighty miles in length; and in breadth from Meerpur west to Satolla east, about the same. The whole of this space is mountain and forest, valley and stream. The approaches to the capital from every point to the north, west, and south, are so narrow as to merit the term of defile; on each side lofty perpendicular rocks, with scarcely breadth for two carriages abreast, across which are those ramparts of nature termed *Col* in the mountain scenery of Europe, which occasionally open into spaces sufficiently capacious to encamp a large force. Such was the plain of Huldighat, at the base of a neck of mountain which shut up the valley and rendered it almost inaccessible.* Above and below the Rajpoots were posted, and on the cliffs and pinacles overlooking the field of battle, the faithful aborigines, the Bhi, with his natural weapon the bow and arrow, and huge stones ready to roll upon the combatant enemy.

At this pass Pertap was posted with the flower of Mewar, and glorious was the struggle for its maintenance. Clan after clan followed with desperate intrepidity, emulating the daring of their prince, who led the crimson banner into the hottest part of the field. In vain he strained every nerve to encounter Raja Maun; but though denied the luxury of revenge on his Rajpoot foe, he made good a passage to where Selim commanded. His guards fell before Pertap, and but for the steel plates which defended his howda, (the lance of the Rajpoot would have deprived Akbar of his heir. His steed, the gallant Chytuc, nobly seconded his lord, and is represented in all the historical drawings of this battle with one foot raised upon the elephant of the Mogul, while his rider has his lance propelled against his foe. The conductor, destitute of the means of defence, was slain, when the infuriated animal, now without control, carried off Selim. On this spot the carnage was immense: the Moguls eager to defend Selim; the heroes of Mewar to second their prince, who had already received seven wounds.† Marked by the royal 'umbrella,' which he would not lay aside, and which collected the might of the enemy against him, Pertap was thrice rescued from amidst the foe, and was at length nearly overwhelmed, when the Jhala chief gave a signal instance of fidelity, and extricated him with

* Whoever has travelled through the Oberland of Mayrungen, in the Oberland Bernois, requires no description of the alpine Aravali. The *Col de Balme*, in the vale of Chamouni, is, on a larger scale, the Huldighat of Mewar.

† Three from the spear, one shot, and three by the sword.

the loss of his own life. Manah seized upon the insignia of Mewar, and rearing the 'gold sun' over his own head, made good his way to an intricate position, drawing after him the brunt of the battle, while his prince was forced from the field. With all his brave vassals the noble Jhala fell; and in remembrance of the deed his descendants have, since the day of Huldighat, borne the regal ensigns of Mewar, and enjoyed 'the right-hand of her princes.* But this desperate valour was unavailing against such a force, with a numerous field artillery and a dromedary corps mounting swivels; and of twenty-two thousand Rajpoots assembled on that day for the defence of Huldighat, only eight thousand quitted the field alive.

Pertap, unattended, fled on the gallant Chytuc, who had borne him through the day, and who saved him now by leaping a mountain stream when closely pursued by two Mogul chiefs, whom this impediment momentarily checked. But Chytuc, like his master, was wounded; his pursuers gained upon Pertap, and the flash from the flinty rock announced them at his heels, when, in the broad accents of his native tongue, the salutation *ho! nila ghora ra aswar* 'ho! rider of the blue horse,' made him look back, and he beheld but a single horseman: that horseman his brother.

Sukta, whose personal enmity to Pertap had made him a traitor to Mewar, beheld from the ranks of Akbar the 'blue horse' flying unattended. Resentment was extinguished, and a feeling of affection, mingling with sad and humiliating recollections, took possession of his bosom. He joined in the pursuit, but only to slay the pursuers who fell beneath his lance; and now, for the first time in their lives, the brothers embraced in friendship. Here Chytuc fell, and as the Rana unbuckled his caparison to place it upon Unkarro, presented to him by his brother, the noble steed expired. An altar was raised, and yet marks the spot where Chytuc† died; and the entire scene may be seen painted on the walls of half the houses of the capital.

The greeting between the brothers was necessarily short; but the merry Sukta, who was attached to Selim's personal force, could not let it pass without a joke; and inquiring "how a man felt when flying for his life?" he quitted Pertap with the assurance of reunion at the first safe opportunity. On rejoining Selim, the truth of Sukta was greatly doubted when he related that Pertap had not only slain his pursuers, but his own steed, which obliged him to return on that of the Khorasani. Prince Selim pledged his word to pardon him if he related the truth; when Sukta replied, "the burthen of a kingdom is on my brother's shoulders, nor could I witness his danger without defending him from it." Selim kept his word, but dismissed the future head of the Suktawuts. Determined to make a suitable 'nuzzur' on his introduction, he redeemed Phynsr by a *coup de main*, and joined Pertap at Oodipur, who made him a grant of the conquest, which long remained the chief abode of the Suktawuts;‡ and since the day when this, their founder, preserved

* The descendants of Manah yet hold Sadri and all the privileges obtained on this occasion. Their Kettle-drums beat to the gate of the palace, a privilege allowed to none besides, and they are addressed by the title of *Raj*, or royal.

† Chytuc ca Chabootra, is near to Jarrole.

‡ The mother of Sukta was the *Bae-ji Raj*, 'Royal Mother' (Queen

the life of his brother and prince against his Mogul pursuers, the byrd of the bard to all of his race is *Khorasani Mooltani ca Aggul*, 'the barrier to Khorasan and Mooltan,' from which countries were the chiefs he slew.

On the 7th of Sawun, S. 1632 (July A.D. 1576), a day ever memorable in her annals, the best blood of Mewar irrigated the pass of Huldighat. Of the nearest kin of the prince five hundred were slain: the exiled prince of Gwalior, Ramsah, his son Khandirao, with three hundred and fifty of his brave Tuar clan, paid the debt of gratitude with their lives. Since their expulsion by Baber they had found sanctuary in Mewar, whose princes diminished their feeble revenues to maintain inviolable the rites of hospitality.* Manah, the devoted Jhala, lost one hundred and fifty of his vassals, and every house of Mewar mourned its chief support.

Elate with victory, Selim left the hills. The rainy season had set in, which impeded operations, and obtained for Pertap a few months of repose; but with the spring the foe returned, when he was again defeated† and took post in Komulmeer, which was invested by the Koka, Shabaz Khan. He here made a gallant and protracted resistance, and did not retire till insects rendered the water of the 'Nogun' well, their sole resource, impure. To the treachery of the Deora chief of Aboo, who was now with Akbar, this deed is imputed. Pertap thence withdrew to Chaond,‡ while Bhan, the Sonigurra chief, defended the place to the last, and was slain in the assault. On this occasion also fell the chief bard of Mewar, who inspired by his deeds, as well as by his song, the spirit of resistance to the 'ruthless king,' and whose laudatory couplets on the deeds of his lord are still in every mouth. But the spirit of poesy died not with him, for princes and nobles, Hindu and Toork, vied with each other in exalting the patriot Pertap, in strains replete with those sentiments which elevated the mind of the martial Rajpoot, who is inflamed into action by this national excitement.

On the fall of Komulmeer, the castles of Dhurmeti and Gogoonda were invested by Raja Maun. Mohabet Khan took possession of Oodipur; and while a prince of the blood§ cut off the resources furnished by the inhabitants of Oguna Panora, Khan Ferid invaded Chuppun, and approached Chaond from the south. Thus beset on every side, dislodged from the most secret retreats, and hunted from glen to glen, there appeared no hope for Pertap: yet, even while his pursuers deemed him panting in some obscure lurking-place, he would by mountain signals reassemble his bands, and assail them unawares and often unguarded. By a skilful manœuver, Ferid, who dreamed of nothing less than making the Rajpoot prince his prisoner, was blocked up in a defile and his force

Dowager) of Mewar. She loved this son, and left Oodipur to superintend his household at Bhynsrar: since which renunciation of rank to affection, the mothers of the senior branch of Suktawut are addressed 'Bae-ji Raj.'

* 800 rupees, or £100 daily, is the sum recorded for the support of this prince.

† The date of this battle is Maug Sood 7, S. 1633, A.D. 1577.

‡ A town in the heart of the mountainous track on the south-west of Mewar, called Chuppun, containing about three hundred and fifty towns and villages, peopled chiefly by the aboriginal Bhils.

Called Ami Shah in the Annals.

cut off to a man. Unaccustomed to such welfare, the mercenary Moguls became disgusted in combating a foe seldom tangible; while the monsoon swelled the mountain streams, filling the reservoirs with mineral poisons and the air with pestilential exhalation. The periodical rains accordingly always brought some respite to Pertap.

Years thus rolled away, each ending with a diminution of his means and an increase to his misfortunes. His family was his chief source of anxiety: he dreaded their captivity, an apprehension often on the point of being realised. On one occasion they were saved by the faithful Bhils of Cavah, who carried them in wicker baskets and concealed them in the tin mines of Jawura, where they guarded and fed them. Bolts and rings are still preserved in the trees about Jawura and Chaond, to which baskets were suspended, the only cradles of the royal children of Mewar, in order to preserve them from the tiger and the wolf. Yet amidst such complicated evils the fortitude of Pertap remained unshaken, and a spy sent by Akbar represented the Rajpoot and his chiefs seated at a scanty meal, maintaining all the etiquette observed in prosperity, the Rana bestowing the *doonah* to the most deserving, and which, though only of the wild fruit of the country, was received with all the reverence of better days. Such inflexible magnanimity, touched the soul of Akbar, and extorted the homage of every chief in Rajasthan; nor could those who swelled the gorgeous train of the emperor withhold their admiration. Nay, these annals have preserved some stanzas addressed by the Khankhanan, the first of the satraps of Delhi, to the noble Rajpoot, in his native tongue, applauding his valour and stimulating his perseverance: "all is unstable in this world: land and wealth will disappear, but the virtue of a great name lives for ever. Pertap* abandoned wealth and land, but never bowed the head: alone, of all the princes of Hind, he preserved the honour of his race."

But there were moments when the wants of those dearer than his own life almost excited him to frenzy. The wife of his bosom was insecure, even in the rock or the cave; and his infants, heirs to every luxury, were weeping around him for food: for with such pertinacity did the Mogul myrmidons pursue them, that "five meals have been prepared and abandoned for want of opportunity to eat them." On one occasion his queen and his son's wife were preparing a few cakes from the flour of the meadow grass,† of which one was given to each; half for the present, the rest for a future meal. Pertap was stretched beside them pondering on his misfortunes, when a piercing cry from his daughter roused him from reflection: a wild cat had darted on the reserved portion of food and the agony of hunger made her shrieks insupportable. Until that moment his fortitude had been unsubdued. He had beheld his sons and his kindred fall around him on the field without emotion—"for this the Rajpoot was born," but the lamentation of his children for food "unmanned him." He cursed the name of royalty, if only to be enjoyed on such conditions, and he demanded of Akbar a mitigation of his hardships.

Overjoyed at this indication of submission, the emperor commanded public rejoicings, and exultingly shewed the letter to Prithwi Raj, a Rajpoot compelled to follow the victorious car of Akbar. Prithwi Raj, was the younger brother of the prince of Bikaneer, a state recently

* A colloquial contraction for Pertap.

† Called *Mol*.

grown out of the Rahtores of Marwar, and which, being exposed in the flats of the desert, had no power to resist the example of its elder, Maldeo. Prithwi Raj was one of the most gallant chieftains of the age, and like the Troubadour princes of the west, could grace a cause with the soul-inspiring effusions of the muse, "as well as aid it with his sword: nay, in an assembly of the bards of Rajasthan, the palm of merit was unanimously awarded to the Rahtore cavalier. He adored the very name of Pertap, and the intelligence filled him with grief. With all the warmth and frankness of his nature, he told the king it was a forgery of some foe to the fame of the Rajpoot prince. "I know him well," said he: for your crown he would not submit to your terms." He requested and obtained permission from the king to transmit by his courier a letter to Pertap, ostensibly to ascertain the fact of his submission, but really with the view to prevent it. On this occasion he composed those couplets, still admired, and which for the effect they produced will stand comparison with any of the *serventes* of the Troubadours of the west.*

"The hopes of the Hindu rest on the Hindu; yet the Rana forsakes them. But for Pertap, all would be placed on the same level by Akbar; for our chiefs have lost their valour and our females their honor. Akbar is the broker in the market of our race: all has he purchased but the son of "Oodoh; he is beyond his price. What true Rajpoot would part with honour for nine days (*Noroza*): yet how many have bartered it away? Will Cheetore come to this market, when all have disposed of the chief article of the Khetri? Though Putto has squandered away wealth, yet this treasure has he preserved. Despair has driven many to this mart, to witness their dishonour: from such infamy the descendant of Hamir alone has been preserved. The world asks, whence the concealed aid of Pertap? None but the soul of manliness and his sword: with it, well has he maintained the Khetri's pride. This broker in the market of men will one day be overreached; he cannot live for ever: then will our race come to Pertap, for the seed of the Rajpoot to sow in our desolate lands. To him all look for its preservation, that its purity may again become resplendent."

This effusion of the Rahtore was equal to ten thousand men; it nerved the drooping mind of Pertap, and roused him into action: for it was a noble incentive to find every eye of his race fixed upon him.

The allusion of the princely poet in the phrase, "bartering their honour on the 'Noroza,'" requires some explanation. The *Noroza*, or New Year's Day, when the sun enters Aries, is one of great festivity among the Mahomedan prince of the East; but of that alluded to by Prithwi Raj we can form an adequate idea from the historian Abul Fuzil.

It is not New Year's Day, but a festival especially instituted by Akbar, and to which he gave the epithet *Khooshroz*, 'day of pleasure,' held on the ninth day (*no-rosa*), following the chief festival of each month. The court assembled, and was attended by all ranks. The queen also had her court, when the wives of the nobles and of the Rajpoot vassal princes were congregated. But the *Khooshroz* was chiefly marked by a fair held within the precincts of the court, attended only by females. The merchants' wives exposed the manufactures of every clime, and the ladies

* It is no affectation to say that the spirit evaporates in the lameness of the translation. The author could feel the force, though he failed to imitate the strength, of the original.

of the court were the purchasers.* "His majesty is also there in disguise by which means he learns the value of merchandize, and hears what is said of the state of the empire and the character of the officers of government." The ingenuous Abul Fuzil thus softens down the unhallowed purpose of this day; but posterity cannot admit that the great Akbar was to obtain these results amidst the *Pushto* jargon of the dames of Islam, or the mixed *Bhaka* of the fair of Rajasthan. These 'ninth day fairs' are the markets in which Rajpoot honour was bartered, and to which the brave Prithwi Raj makes allusion.

It is scarcely to be credited that a statesman like Akbar should have hazarded his popularity or his power, by the introduction of a custom alike appertaining to the Celtic races of Europe as to these the Goths of Asia,† and that he should seek to degrade those whom the chances of war

* At these royal fairs were also sold the productions of princely artisans, male and female and which, out of compliment to majesty, made a bounteous return for their industry. It is a fact but little known, that most Asiatic princes profess a trade: the great Arungzebe was a cap-maker, and sold them to such advantage on these 'ninth day fairs,' that his funeral expenses were by his own express command defrayed from the privy purse, the accumulation of his personal labour. A delightful anecdote is recorded of the Ghilji king Mahmood, whose profession was literary, and who obtained good prices from his Omrahs for his specimens of calligraphy. While engaged in transcribing one of the Persian poets, a professed scholar, who with others attended the *conversazione*, suggested an emendation, which was instantly attended to, and the supposed error remedied. When the Moolah was gone, the monarch erased the emendation and re-inserted the passage. An Omrah had observed and questioned the actions, to which the king replied: "it was better to make a blot in the manuscript than wound the vanity of a humble scholar."

† This laxity, as regards female delicacy, must have been a remnant of Scythic barbarism, brought from the banks of the Jaxartes, the land of the Gete, where now, as in the days of Tomyris, a shoe at the door is a sufficient barrier to the entrance of many Tatar husbands. It is a well-known fact, also, that the younger son in these regions inherited a greater share than the elder, which is attributed to their pastoral habits, which invited early emigration in the elder sons. This habit prevailed with the Rajpoot tribes of very early times, and the annals of the Yadus, a race allied to the Yuti-Gete, or Jit, afford many instances of it. Modified it yet exists amongst the Jarejas (of the same stock) with whom the sons divided equally; which custom was transmitted to Europe by these Getic hordes and brought into England by the *Jut* brothers, who founded the kingdom of Kent, (a) where it is yet known as *Gavelkind*. In English law it is termed *borough English*. In Scotland it existed in barbarous times, analogous to those when the Noroza was sanctioned; and the lord of the manor had privileges which rendered it more than doubtful whether the firstborn was natural heir: hence, the youngest was the heir. So in France, in ancient times; and though the '*droit de fambage*, no longer exists, the term sufficiently denotes the extent of privilege, in comparison with which the other rights of '*Nocages*,' the seigneur's feeding his greyhounds with which the blushes with ribald songs, were innocent.

(a) *Canthi*, a coast in Gothic and Sanscrit.

had made his vassals, by conduct so nefarious and repugnant to the keenly cherished feelings of the Rajpoot. Yet there is not a shadow of doubt that many of the noblest of the race were dishonoured on the 'Noroz'; and the chivalrous Prithwi Raj was only preserved from being of the number by the high courage and virtue of his wife, a princess of Mewar, and daughter of the founder of the Suktawuts. On one of these celebrations of the Khooshroz, the monarch of the Moguls was struck with the beauty of the daughter of Mewar, and he singled her out from amidst the united fair of Hind as the object of his passion. It is not improbable that an ungenerous feeling united with that already impure, to dispoil the Seesodias of their honour, through a princess of their house under the protection of the sovereign. On retiring from the fair, she found herself entangled amidst the labyrinth of apartments by which egress was purposely ordained, when Akbar stood before her; but instead of acquiescence, she drew a poniard from her corset, and held it to his breast, dictating and making him repeat, the oath of renunciation of the infamy to all her race. The anecdote is accompanied in the original with many dramatic circumstances. The guardian goddess of Mewar, the terrific '*Mata*,' appears on her tiger in the subterranean passage of this palace of pollution, to strengthen her mind by a solemn denunciation, and her hand with a weapon to protect her honour. Rae Sing, the elder brother of the princely bard, had not been so fortunate; his wife wanted either courage or virtue to withstand the regal tempter, and she returned to their dwelling in the desert despoiled of her chastity, but loaded with jewels; or as Prithwi Raj expresses it: "she returned to her abode, tramping to the tinkling sound of the ornaments of gold and gems on her persons; but where, brother, is the moustach-* on thy lip?"

It is time to return to the Aravali, and to the patriot prince Pertap. Unable to stem the torrent, he had formed a resolution worthy of his character; he determined to abandon Mewar and the blood-stained Cheetore (no longer the stay of his race), and to lead his Seesodias to the Indus, plant 'the crimson banner' on the insular capital of the Sagdi, and leave a desert despoiled of her chastity, but loaded with jewels; or as Prithwi Raj expresses it: "she returned to her abode, tramping to the tinkling sound of the ornaments of gold and gems on her persons; but where, brother, is the moustach-* on thy lip?"

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all that was yet noble in Mewar, his chiefs and vassals a firm and intrepid band, who preferred exile to degradation, he descended the Aravali, and had reached the confines of the desert, when an incident occurred which made him change his measures, and still remain a dweller in the land of his forefathers. If the historic annals of Mewar record acts of unexampled severity, they are not without instances of unparalleled devotion. The minister of Pertap, whose ancestors had for ages held the office, placed at his prince's disposal their accumulated wealth, which, with other resources, is stated to have been equivalent to the maintenance of twenty-five thousand men for twelve years. The name of Bhama Sah is preserved as the saviour of Mewar. With this splendid proof of gratitude, and the *servente* of Prithwi Raj as incitements, he again "screwed his courage to the sticking-place," collected his bands, and while his foes imagined that he was endeavouring to effect a retreat through the desert, surprised Shabaz in his camp at Deweir, whose troops were cut in pieces. The fugitives were pursued to Amait, the garrison of which shared the same fate. Ere they could recover from their consternation, Komulmeer was assaulted and taken; Abdoola and his garrison were put to the sword, and thirty-two fortified posts in like manner carried by surprise, the troops being put to death without mercy. To

* The loss of this is the sign of mourning.

use, the words of the annals: Pertap made a "desert of Mewar; he made an offering to the sword of whatever dwelt in its plains" an appalling but indispensable sacrifice. In one short campaign (S. 1636, A. D. 1580), he had recovered all Mewar, except Cheetore, Ajmeer, and Mandelgurh; and determining to have a slight ovation in return for the triumph Raja Maun had enjoyed (who had fulfilled to the letter his threat, that Pertap should "live in peril,") he invaded Ambar, and sacked its chief mart of commerce, Malpura.

Oodipur was also regained; though this acquisition was so unimportant as scarcely to merit remark. In all likelihood it was abandoned from the difficulty of defending it, when all around had submitted to Pertap; though the annals ascribe it to a generous sentiment of Akbar, prompted by the great Khankhana, whose mind appears to have been captivated by the actions of the Rajpoot prince. An anecdote is appended to account for Akbar's relaxation of severity, but it is of too romantic a nature even for this part of their annals. Pertap was indebted to a combination of causes for the repose he enjoyed during the latter years of his life; and though this may be ascribed principally to the new fields of ambition which occupied the Mogul arms, we are authorized also to admit the full weight of the influence that the conduct of the Hindu prince exerted upon Akbar, together with the general sympathy of his fellow princes, who swelled the train of the conqueror, and who were too powerful to be regarded with indifference.

Repose was, however, no boon to the noblest of his race. A mind like Pertap's could enjoy no tranquillity, while from the summit of the pass which guarded Oodipur, his eye embraced the Kangras of Cheetore, to which he must ever be a stranger. To a soul like his, burning for the redemption of the glory of his race, the mercy thus shewn him, in placing a limit to his hopes, was more difficult of endurance than the pangs of fabled Tantalus. Imagine the warrior, yet in manhood's prime, broken with fatigues and covered with scars, from amidst the fragments of basaltic ruin* (fit emblem of his own condition!), casting a wistful eye to the rock stained with the blood of his fathers; whilst in the 'dark chamber' of his mind the scenes of glory enacted there appeared with unearthly lustre. First, the youthful Bappa, on whose head was the 'mor he had won from the Mori:' the warlike Samarsi, arming for the last day of Rajpoot independence, to die with Prithwi Raj on the banks of the Caggar: again, descending the steep of Cheetore, the twelve sons of Ursi, the crimson banner floating around each, while from the

* These mountains are of granite and close-grained quartz; but on the summit of the pass there is a mass of columnar rocks, which, though the author never examined them very closely, he has little hesitation in calling basaltic. Were it permitted to intrude his own feelings on his reader, he would say, he never passed the portals of Dubari, which close the pass leading from Cheetore to Oodipur, without throwing his eye on this fantastic pinnacle and imagining the picture he has drawn. Whoever, in rambling through the 'eternal city,' has had his sympathy awakened in beholding at the *Porta Salaria* the stone seat where the conqueror of the Persians and the Goths, the blind Belisarius, begged his daily dole,—or pondered at the unsculptured tomb of Napoleon upon the vicissitudes of greatness, will appreciate the feeling of one who, in sentiment, had identified himself with the Rajpoots, of whom Pertap was justly the model.

embattled rock the guardian goddess looked down on the carnage which secured a perpetuity of sway. Again, in all the pomp of sacrifice, the Deola chief, Jeimul and Putta; and like the Pallas of Rajasthan, the Chondawut dame, leading her daughter into the ranks of destruction: examples for their sons' and husbands' imitation. At length clouds of darkness dimmed the walls of Cheetore: from her battlements 'Kangra Ranee'* had fled; the tints of dishonour began to blend with the visions of glory; and lo! Oody Sing appeared flying from the rock to which the honour of his house was united. Aghast at the picture his fancy had portrayed, imagine him turning to the contemplation of his own desolate condition, indebted for a cessation of persecution to the most revolting sentiment that can assail an heroic mind—compassion; compared with which scorn is endurable, contempt even enviable: these he could retaliate; but for the high-minded, the generous Rajpoot, to be the object of that sickly sentiment, pity, was more oppressive than the arms of his foe.

A premature decay assailed the pride of Rajasthan; a mind diseased preyed on an exhausted frame, and prostrated him in the very summer of his days. The last moments of Pertap were an appropriate commentary on his life, which he terminated, like the Carthaginian, swearing his successor to eternal conflict against his foes of his country's independence. But the Rajpoot prince had not the same joyful assurance that inspired the Numidian Hamilcar; for his end was clouded with the presentiment that his son Umra would abandon his fame for inglorious repose. A powerful sympathy is excited by the picture which is drawn of this final scene. The dying hero is represented in a lowly dwelling; his chiefs, the faithful companions of many a glorious day, awaiting round his pallet the dissolution of their prince, when a groan of mental anguish made Saloombra inquire, "what afflicted his soul that it would not depart in peace?" He rallied: "it lingered," he said, "for some consolatory pledge that his country should not be abandoned to the Toork; and with the death-pang upon him, he related an incident which had guided his estimate of his son's disposition, and now tortured him with the reflection, that for personal ease he would forego the remembrance of his own and his country's wrongs.

On the banks of the Peshola, Pertap and his chiefs had constructed a few huts† (the site of the future palace of Oodipur), to protect them during the inclemency of the rains in the day of their distress. Prince Umra, forgetting the lowliness of the dwelling, a projecting bamboo of the roop caught the folds of his turban and dragged it off as he retired. A hasty emotion, which disclosed a varied feeling, was observed with pain by Pertap, who thence adopted the opinion that his son would never withstand the hardships necessary to be endured in such a cause, "These sheds," said the dying prince, "will give way to sumptuous dwellings, thus generating the love of ease; and luxury with its concomitants will ensue, to which the independence of Mewar, which we have bled to maintain, will be sacrificed: and you, my chiefs, will follow the pernicious example." They pledged themselves, and became guarantees for the prince, "by the throne of Bappa Rawul," that they would not permit mansions to be raised till Mewar had recovered her independence. The soul of Pertap was satisfied and with joy he expired.

* 'The queen of battlements,' the turreted Cybele of Rajasthan.

† This magnificent lake is now adorned with marble palaces. Such was the wealth of Mewar even in her decline.

Thus closed the life of a Rajpoot whose memory is even now idolized by every Seesodia, and will continue to be so, till renewed oppression shall extinguish the remaining sparks of patriotic feeling. May that day never arrive ! yet it such be her destiny, may it, at least, not be hastened by the arms of Britain !

It is worthy the attention of those who influence the destinies of states in more favoured climes, to estimate the intensity of feeling which could arm this prince to oppose the resources of a small principality against the then most powerful empire of the world, whose armies were more numerous and far more efficient than any ever led by the Persian against the liberties of Greece. Had Mewar possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon, neither the wars of the Peloponnesus nor the retreat of the 'ten thousand' would have yielded more diversified incidents for the historic muse, than the deeds of this brilliant reign amid the many vicissitudes of Mewar. Undaunted heroism, inflexible fortitude, that which "keeps honour bright," perseverance,—with fidelity such as no nation can boast, were the materials opposed to a soaring ambition, commanding talents, unlimited means, and the fervour of religious zeal ; all however, in sufficient to contend with one unconquerable mind. There is not a pass in the alpine Aravali that is not sanctified by some deed of Pertap,—some brilliant victory, or oftener, more glorious defeat. Huldighat is the Thermopylæ of Mewar ; the field of Deweir her Marathon.

CHAPTER XII.

OF the seventeen sons of Pertap, Umra, who succeeded him, was the eldest. From the early age of eight to the hour of his parent's death, he had been his constant companion and the partner of his toils and dangers. Initiated by his noble sire in every act of mountain strife, familiar with its perils, he entered on his career* in the very flower of manhood, already attended by sons able to maintain whatever his sword might recover of his partimony.

Akbar, the greatest foe of Mewar, survived Pertap, nearly eight years. The vast field in which he had to exert the resources of his mind, necessarily withdrew him from a scene where even success ill repaid the sacrifices made to attain it. Umra was left in perfect repose during the remainder of this monarch's life, which it was not wisdom to disturb by the renewal of a contest against the colossal power of the Mogul. An extended reign of more than half a century permitted Akbar to consolidate the vast empire he had erected, and to model the form of his government, which displays, as handed down by Abul Fuzil, an incontestable proof of his genius as well as of his natural beneficence. Nor would the Mogul lose, on being contrasted with the contemporary princes of Europe ; with Henry IV. of France, who, like himself, ascended a throne weakened by dissension ; with Charles V. alike aspiring to universal sway ; or the glorious queen of our own isle, who made advances to Akbar and sent him an embassy.† Akbar was fortunate as either Henry or Elizabeth in the

* S. 1653, A.D. 1597.

† The embassy under Sir Thomas Roe was prepared by Elizabeth but did not proceed till the accession of James. He arrived just as Mewar

choice of his ministers. The lofty integrity, military genius, and habit of civil industry, for which Snly was distinguished found their parallel in Byram; and if Burleigh equalled in wisdom, he was not superior in virtue to Abul Fuzil, nor possessed of his excessive benevolence. Unhappily for Mewar, all this genius and power combined to overwhelm her. It is, however, a proud tribute to the memory of the Mogul, that his name is united with that of his rival Pertap in numerous traditionary couplets honourable to both; and if the Rajpoot bard naturally emblazons first on his page that of his own hero, he admits that none other but Akbar can stand a comparison with him; thereby confirming the eulogy of the historian of his race, who, in summing up his character, observes that, "if he sometimes did things beneath the dignity of a great king, he never did any thing unworthy of a good man." But if the annalist of the Boondi state can be relied upon, the very act which caused Akbar's death will make us pause ere we subscribe to these testimonies to the worth of departed greatness; and, disregarding the adage of only speaking good of the dead, compel us to institute, in imitation of the ancient Egyptians, a posthumous inquest on the character of the monarch of the Moguls. The Boondi records are well worthy of belief, as diaries of events were kept by her princes, who were of the first importance in this and the succeeding reigns: and they may be more likely to throw a light upon points of character of a tendency to disgrace the Mogul king, than the historians of his court, who had every reason to withhold such. A desire to be rid of the great Raja Maun of Ambar, to whom he was so much indebted, made the emperor descend to act the part of the assassin. He prepared a *majoom*, or confection, a part of which contained poison; but caught in his own snare, he presented the innoxious portion to the Rajpoot and ate that drugged with death himself. We have a sufficient clue to the motives which influenced Akbar to a deed so unworthy of him, and which were more fully developed in the reign of his successor; namely, a design on the part of Raja Maun to alter the succession, and that Khoosru, his nephew, should succeed instead of Selim. With such a motive, the aged emperor might have admitted with less scruple the advice which prompted an act he dared not openly undertake, without exposing the throne in his latter days to the dangers of civil contention, as Raja Maun was too powerful to be openly assaulted.

Let us return to Mewar. Umra remodelled the institutions of his country, made a new assessment of the lands and distribution of the fiefs, apportioning the service to the times. He also established the gradation of ranks such as yet exists, and regulated the sumptuary laws even to the tie of a turban,* and many of these are to be seen engraved on pillars of stone in various parts of the country.

The repose thus enjoyed realized the prophetic fears of Pertap, whose admonitions were forgotten. Umra constructed a small palace on the banks of the lake, named after himself "the abode of immortality,"† still remarkable for its Gothic contrast to the splendid marble

had bent her head to the Mogul yoke, and speaks of the Rajpoot prince Kurrum, whom he saw at court as a hostage for the treaty, with admiration.

* The '*Umarasahi pagri*,' or turban, is still used by the Rana and some nobles on court days, but the foreign nobility have the privilege, in this respect, of conforming to their own tribes.

† *Umra mahl*.

edifice erected by his successors, now the abode of the princes of Mewar. Jehangir had been four years on the throne, and having overcome all internal dissension, resolved to signalize his reign by the subjugation of the only prince who had disdained to acknowledge the paramount power of the Moguls; and assembling the royal forces, he put them in motion for Mewar.

Umra, between the love of ease and reputation, wavered as to the conduct he should adopt; nor were sycophants wanting who

"Counselled ignoble ease and peaceful sloth,

"Not peace:"

and dared to prompt his following the universal contagion, by accepting the imperial firman. In such a state of mind the chiefs found their prince, when they repaired to the new abode to warn him, and prepare him for the emergency. But the gallant Chondawut, recalling to their remembrance the dying behest of their late glorious head, demanded its fulfilment. All resolved to imitate the noble Pertap,

"———preferring

"Hard liberty before the easy yoke

"Of servile pomp."

A magnificent mirror of European fabrication adorned the embryo palace. Animated with a noble resentment at the inefficacy of his appeal to the better feelings of his prince, the chieftain of Saloombra hurled 'the slave of the carpet'* against the splendid bauble, and starting up, seized his sovereign by the arm and moved him from the throne. "To horse, chiefs!" he exclaimed, "and preserve from infamy the son of Pertap." A burst of passion followed the seeming indignity, and the patriot chief was branded with the harsh name of traitor; but with his sacred duty in view, and supported by every vassal of note, he calmly disregarded the insult. Compelled to mount his steed, and surrounded by the veterans and all the chivalry of Mewar, Umra's passion vented itself in tears of indignation. In such a mood the cavalcade descended the ridge, since studded with palaces, and had reached the spot where the temple of Juggernath now stands, when he recovered from this fit of passion; the tear ceased to flow, and passing his hand over his moustache,† he made a courteous salutation to all, entreating their forgiveness for this omission of respect; but more especially expressing his gratitude to Saloombra, he said, "lead on, nor shall you ever have to regret your late sovereign." Elevated with every sentiment of generosity and valour, they passed on to Dewier, where they encountered the royal army led by the brother of the Khankhanan, as it entered the pass, and which, after a long and sanguinary combat, they entirely defeated.‡

The honours of the day are chiefly attributed to the brave Kana, uncle to the Rana, and ancestor of that numerous clan called after him Kana-wuts. A truce followed this battle, but it was of short duration; for another and yet more murderous conflict took place in the spring of 1666, in the pass of the sacred Ranpur, where the imperial army, under its

* A small brass ornament placed at the corners of the carpet to keep it steady.

† This is signal both of defiance and self-gratulation.

‡ S. 1664, A.D. 1608.

leader Abdoolla, was almost exterminated;* though with the loss of the best and bravest chiefs of Mewar, whose names, however harsh, deserve preservation.† A feverish exultation was the fruit of this victory, which shed a hectic flush of glory over the declining days of Mewar, when the crimson banner once more floated throughout the province of Godwar.

Alarmed at these successive defeats, Jehangir, preparatory to equipping a fresh army against Mewar, determined to establish a new Rana, and to instal him in the ancient seat of power, Cheetore, thus hoping to withdraw from the standard of Umra many of his adherents. The experiment evinced at least a knowledge of their prejudices; but, to the honour of Rajpoot fidelity, it failed. Sugra, who abandoned Pertap and went over to Akbar, was selected; the sword of investiture was girded on him by the emperor's own hands, and under the escort of a Mogul force he went to reign amidst the ruins of Cheetore. Her grandeur, even in desolation, is beautifully depicted at this very period by the chaplain to the embassy from Elizabeth to Jehangir, the members composing which visited the capital of the Seesodias in their route to Ajmeer.‡

For seven years Sugra had a spurious homage paid to him amidst this desolation, the ruined pride of his ancestors. But it is gratifying to record, that not even by this recreant son of Cheetore could the impression formed in contemplating such scenes be resisted; and Sugra, though flinty as the rock to a brother and nephew, could not support the silent admonition of the altars of the heroes who had fallen in her defence. The triumphal column raised for victory over a combination of kings, was a perpetual memento of his infamy; nor could he pass over one finger's breadth of her ample surface, without treading on some fragment which reminded him of their great deeds and his own unworthiness. We

* Falgoun 7th S. 1666, the spring of A. D. 1610. Ferishta misplaces this battle, making it immediately precede the invasion under Khoorum. The defeats of the Mogul forces are generally styled, 'recalls of the commander.'

† Doodo Sangawut of Deoghur, Narayn-das, Soorajmul, Aiskurn, all Seesodias of the first rank; Poorun Mull, son of Bhan, the chief of the Suktawuts; Hurridas Rahtore, Ehoput, the Jhala of Sadri, Kahirdas Cutchwaha. Kesoodas Chohan of Baidla, Mukund-das Rahtore, Jeimulote, or of the blood of Jeimul.

‡ "Chitor, an ancient great kingdom, the chief city so called, which standeth upon a mighty hill flat on the top, walled about at the least ten English miles. There appear to this day above a hundred ruined churches and divers fair palaces, which are lodged in like manner among their ruins, besides many exquisites pillars of carved stone; and the ruins likewise of one hundred thousand stone houses, as many English by the observation have guessed. There is but one ascent to it, cut out of a firm rock, to which a man must pass through four (sometime very magnificent) gates. Its chief inhabitants at this day are Zum and Ohim, birds and wild beasts; but the stately ruins thereof give a shadow of its beauty while it flourished in its pride. It was won from Ranas, an ancient Indian prince, who was forced to live himself ever after on high mountainous places adjoining to that province, and his posterity to live there ever since. Taken from him it was by Achabar Podsha (the father of that king who lived and reigned when I was in these parts) after a very long siege, which famished the besieged, without which it could never have been gotten."

would be desirous of recording, that a noble remembrancer than 'coward conscience,' animated the brother of Pertap to an act of remedying virtue; but when the annals tell us, that "the terrific Bhiroo (the god of battle) openly manifested his displeasure," it is decisive that it was not less the wish for greatness, than the desire to be "without the illness should attend it;" and sending for his nephew, he restored to him Cheetore, retiring to the isolated Kandhar.* Some time after, upon going to court, and being upbraided by Jehangir, he drew his dagger and slew himself in the emperor's presence: an end worthy of such a traitor.†

Umra took possession of the seat of his ancestors; but wanting the means to put it in defence, an acquisition only served to increase the temporary exultation. The evil resulting from attaching so much consequence to a capital had been often signally manifested; as to harrass the enemy from their mountains and thereby render his conquests unavailing, was the only policy which could afford the chance of independence. With Cheetore the Rana acquired, by surrender or assault, possession of no less than eighty of the chief towns and fortresses of Mewar: amongst them Ontalla, at whose capture occurred the patriotic struggle between the clans of Chondawut and Suktawut for the leading of the vanguard, elsewhere related. On this memorable storm, besides the leader of the rival bands, five of the infant clan Suktawut, consisting but of sixteen brave brothers, with three of the house of Saloombra, perished, struggling for the immortality promised by the bard. We may here relate the rise of the Suktawuts, with which is materially connected the future history of Mewar.

Sukta was the second of the twenty-four sons of Oody Sing. When only five years of age, he discovered that fearless temperament which marked his manhood. The armourer having brought a new dagger to try its edge by the usual proof on thinly spread cotton, the child asked the Rana "if it was not intended to cut bones and flesh," and seizing it, tried it on his own little hand. The blood gushed on the carpet, but he betrayed no symptom of pain or surprise. Whether his father admitted the tacit reproof of his own want of nerve, or that it recalled the prediction of the astrologers, who, in casting Sukta's horoscope, had announced that he was to be "the bane of Mewar," he was incontinently commanded to be put to death, and was carried off for this purpose, when saved by the Saloombra chief, who arrested the fiat, sped to the Rana, and begged his life as a boon, promising, having no heirs, to educate him as the future head of the Chondawuts. The Saloombra chief had children in his old age, and while wavering between his own issue and the son of his adoption, the young Sukta was sent for to court by his brother, Pertap. The brothers for a considerable time lived on the most amicable footing, unhappily interrupted by a dispute while hunting, which in time engendered mutual dislike. While riding in the ring, Pertap suddenly

* An isolated rock in the plain between the confluence of the Parbaty and Chumbul, and the famous Rinthumbor. The author has twice passed it in his travels in these regions.

† It was one of his sons who apostatized from his faith, who is well known in the imperial history as Mohabet Khan, beyond doubt the most daring chief in Jehangir's reign. This is the secret of his bond of union with prince Koorum (Shah Jehan), himself half a Rajpoot. It was with his Rajpoots Mohabet did that daring deed, making Jehangir prisoner in his own camp, in the zenith of his power."

proposed to decide their quarrel by single combat, "to see who was the best lancer." Not backward, Sukta replied, "do you begin?" and some little time was lost in a courteous struggle for the first spear, when, as they took their ground and agreed to charge together, the Purohit* rushed between the combatants and implored them not to ruin the house. His appeal, however, being vain, there was but one way left to prevent the unnatural strife: the priest drew his dagger, and plunging it in his breast, fell a lifeless corpse between the combatants. Appalled at the horrid deed, "the blood of the priest on their head," they desisted from their infatuated aim. Pertap waving his hand, commanded Sukta to quit his dominions, who bowing retired, and carried his resentments to Akbar. Pertap performed with the obsequies of this faithful servant many expiatory rites, and made an irrevocable grant of Salaira to his son, still enjoyed by his descendants, while a small column yet identifies the spot of sacrifice to fidelity. From that hour to the memorable day when the founder of the Suktawuts gained the byrd of the race '*Khorasan Mooltan ca Aggul*,' on the occasion of his saving his sovereign flying from the field, the brothers had never beheld each other's face.

Sukta had seventeen sons, all of whom, excepting the heir of Bhynsrer,† attended his obsequies. On return from this rite they found the gates barred against them by Bhanji now chief of the Suktawuts, who told them "there were too many mouths," and that they must push their fortunes elsewhere while he attended his sovereign with the quota of Bhynsrer. They demanded their horses and their arms, if such were his pleasure; and electing Achil as their head (whose wife was then pregnant), they took the route to Edur, which had recently been acquired by a junior branch of the Rahtores of Marwar. They had reached Palode when the pangs of childbirth seized the wife of Achil; and being rudely repulsed by the Sonigurra vassal of Palode, who refused her shelter at such a moment, they sought refuge amidst the ruins of a temple.‡ It was the shrine of *Mata Januvi*, 'the mother of births,' the *Juno Lucina* of the Rajpoots. In a corner of the sanctuary they placed the mother of a future race; but the rain, which fell in torrents, visibly affected the ruin. A beam of stone gave way, which but for Ballo would have crushed her: he supported the sinking roof on his head till the brothers cut down a babool tree, with which they propped it and relieved him. In this retreat Assa (*Hope*) was born, who became the parent of an extensive branch known as the Achiles Suktawnts.

The 'Great Mother' was propitious. The parent of '*Hope*' was soon enabled to resume her journey for Edur, whose chief received them with open arms, and assigned lands for their support. Here they had been some time when the Rana's prime minister passed through Edur from a pilgrimage to Satrunja§ A violent storm would have thrown down the

* Family priest.

† I have visited the cenotaphs of Sukta and his successors at the almost insulated Bhynsrer on the Chumbul. The castle is on a rock at the confluence of the *black Bamuni* and the Chumbul.

‡ Probably the identical temple to the *Mother*, in which I found a valuable inscription of Komarpal of Anhulwarra Puttun, dated S. 1207. Palode is in the district of Neemahaira, now alienated from Mewar, and under that upstart Pathan, Meer Khan.

§ One of *five sacred mounts* of the Jains, of whose faith was the minister.

tent in which was his wife, but for the exertion of some of the brothers ; and the minister, on learning that it was to the near kin of his sovereign he was indebted for this kindness, invited them to Oodipur, taking upon him to provide for them with their own proper head, which they declined without a special invitation. This was not long wanting ; for Umra was then collecting the strength of his hills against the king, and the services of the band of brothers, his kinsmen, were peculiarly acceptable. The first act of duty, though humble, is properly recorded, as ennobled by the sentiment which inspired it, and the pictured scene is yet preserved of Ballo and Joda collecting logs of wood for a night-fire in the mountain bivouac for their kinsman and sovereign. In the more brilliant exploit which followed Ballo took the lead, and though the lord of Bhynsrar was in the camp, it was Ballo who obtained the leading of the vanguard : the commencement of that rivalry of clanship from whence have resulted some of the most daring, and many of the most merciless deeds in the history of Mewar. The right to lead in battle belonged to the Chondawuts, and the first intimation the chieftain had of his prince's inconsiderate insult was from the bard incessantly repeating the '*byrd*' of the clan, until "the portal of the ten thousand" of Mewar deemed him mad. "Not so," replied he ; "but it is, perhaps, the last time your ears may be gratified with the watch-word of Chonda, which may to-morrow be given as well as the Herole to the Sukhawuts." An explanation followed, and the assault of Ontalla ensued, which preserved the rights of the Chondawuts, though nobly contested by their rivals. The vassal of Bakrole carried the tidings of the successful assault to the Rana, who arrived in time to receive the last obeisance of Ballo, whose parting words to his prince were seized on by the bard and added to the *byrd* of the clan : and although, in sloth and opium, they now "lose and neglect the creeping hours of time," yet whenever a Sukhawut chief enters the court of his sovereign, or takes his seat amongst his brother chiefs, the bards still salute him with the dying words of Balloo :

*" Doonoh datar,
Chaagoona joojar,
Khorasan Mooltan ca aggul."**

Then passing the hand over his moustache, for a moment the escalade of Ontalla flits before his vision, where Ballo Achilles, Joda, Dilla, and Chutharbhan, five of the seventeen sons of Sukta, fell for the maintenance of the post of the honour. Bhanji soon after performed a service which obtained him the entire favour of his prince, who, returning from Rutlam, was insulted by the Rathores of Bheendir, which was punished by the Sukhawut, who took the town by assault, expelling the aggressors. Umra added it to his fief of Bhynsrar, and since the latter was bestowed on the rival clan, Bheendir has continued the chief residence of the leader of the

* "Double gifts, fourfold sacrifice." Meaning, with increase of their prince's favour the sacrifice of their lives would progress ; and which for the sake of euphony probably, preceded the *byrd* won by the founder, "*the barrier to Khorasan and Mooltan.*"

The *Byrd* of the Chondawuts is : "*Dos sehes Mewar ca bur Kewar,*" "the portal of the ten thousand [towns] of Mewar." It is related that Sukta, jealous of so sweeping a *byrd*, complained that nothing was left for him : when the master bard replied, he was "*Kewar ca Aggul,*" the bar which secures the door (*Kewar*).

Suktawuts. Ten chiefs* have followed in regular succession, whose issue spread over Mewar, so that in a few generations after Sukta, their prince could muster the swords of ten thousand Suktawuts; but internal feuds and interminable spoliation have checked the progress of population, and it might be difficult now to assemble half that number of the 'children of Sukta' fit to bear his arms.

To return. These defeats alarmed Jehangir, who determined to equip an overwhelming force to cursh the Rana. To this end he raised the imperial standard at Ajmeer, and assembled the expedition under his immediate inspection, of which he appointed his son Purvez commander, with instructions on departure "that if the Rana or his elder son Kurrun should repair to him, to receive them with becoming attention, and to offer no molestation to the country."† But the Seesodia prince little thought of submission: on the contrary, flushed with success, he gave the royal army the meeting at a spot of moistened with blood, the pass of Khamnor,‡ leading into the heart of the hills. The imperial army was disgracefully beaten, and fled, pursued with great havoc, towards Ajmeer. The Mogul historian admits it to have been a glorious day for Mewar. He describes Purvez entangled in the passes, dissensions in his camp, his supplies cut off, and under all these disadvantages attacked; his precipitate flight and pursuit, in which the royal army lost vast numbers of men.§ But Jehangir in his diary slurs it over, and simply remarks: "I

* Sukta—17 sons.

Bhan.

Dyal.	Ber.	Maun.	Goculdas.	..	Pooro.
					Subbul.
					Mokhum.
					Umra.
					Pirthi.
					Jeit.
					Omed.
					Khoshial.
					Zoorawur,
					present chief of the clan.

† A.D. 1611.

‡ Translated 'Brampur' in Dow's Ferishta, and transferred to the Deccan; and the *pass* (*bala-ghat* rendered the Balaghat mountains of the south. There are numerous simililar errors.

§ The details of battles, unless accompanied by exploits of individuals, are very uninteresting. Under this impression, I have suppressed whatever could impair the current of action by amplification, otherwise

recalled Purvez to join me at [Lahore, and directed his son with some chiefs to be left to watch the Rana."

This son, tutored by the great Mohabet Khan, fared no better than Purvez; he was routed and slain. But the Hydra was indestructible; for every victory, while it cost the best blood of Mewar, only multiplied the number of her foes. Seventeen pitched battles had the illustrious Rajpoot fought since the death of his father: but the loss of his experienced veterans withered the laurels of victory, nor had he sufficient repose either to husband his resources, or to rear his young heroes to replace them. Another, and yet more mighty army, was assembled under prince Khoorum, ablest of the sons of Jehangir, and better known in history as Shah Jehan, when emperor of the Moguls.

Again did the Rana with his son Kurrum collect the might of their hills; but a handful of warriors was all their muster to meet the host of Delhi, and 'the crimson banner,' which for more than eight hundred years had waved in proud independence over the heads of the Gehlotes, was now to be abased to the son of Jehangir. The Emperor's own pen shall narrate the termination of this strife.

"Eighth year of my reign, A. H. 1022,* I determined to move to Ajmeer and send my fortunate son Khoorum before me; and having fixed the moment of departure, I dismissed him with magnificent khelats an elephant, horse, sword, shield, and dagger, and besides his usual, force added twelve thousand horse under Azim Khan, presented to all the officers of his army suitable gratifications.

"On the commencement of the ninth year (A. D. 1614), while seated on my throne, in an auspicious moment, the elephant Alum Goman,† with seventeen others, male and female, captured from the Rana, were sent by my son Khoorum and presented before me. The next day I went abroad mounted on Alum Goman, to my great satisfaction, and distributed gold in great quantity.

"Pleasing intelligence arrived of the intention of Rana Umra Sing to repair and make his obedience to me. My fortunate son Khoorum had established my authority and garrisons in divers strong-holds of the Rana's country, *which owing to the malign influence of the air and water, its barrenness and inaccessibility, it was deemed impossible to bring under subjection*; yet, from the perpetual over-running of the country, without regard to the heats or the rains, by my armies, the capture and imprisonment of the wives and children of many of the men of rank of the country, the Rana was at length reduced to acknowledge the despair to which he was driven, and that a farther continuance of such distress

not only the Rajpoot bard, but the contemporary Mogul historian, would have afforded abundant matter; but I have deemed both worthy of neglect in such cases. Ferishta's history is throughout most faulty in its geographical details, rendered still more obscure from the erroneous orthography (often arising from mistaken punctuation) of the only translation of this valuable work yet before the public. There is one gentleman (Lieut. Col. Briggs) well qualified to remedy these defects, and who, with a laudable industry, has made an entire translation of the works of Ferishta, besides collating the best MSS. of the original text. It is to be hoped he will present his performance to the public.

* A. D. 1613.

† 'The Arrogant of the earth.'

would be attended with utter ruin, with the choice of captivity or being forced to abandon the country. He therefore determined to make his submission, and sent two of his chiefs, Soopkurrin, and Heridas Jhala, to my son Khoorum, to represent that if he would forgive and take him by the hand, he would pay his respects to him, and would send his eldest son Kurrin to attend and to serve the emperor, as did other Hindu princes; but that, *on account of his years, he would hold himself* excused from attending in person.* Of these events my son sent a full relation by Shukur Oolla Afzul Khanee.

"I was greatly rejoiced at this event happening under my own reign, and I commanded that these the ancient possessors of the country should not be driven from it. The fact is, Rana Umra Sing and his ancestors were proud, and confident in the strength and inaccessibility of their mountainous country and its strongholds, and had never beheld a king of Hindustan, nor made submission to any one. I was desirous, in my own fortunate time, the opportunity should not slip my hands; instantly, therefore, on the representation of my son, I forgave the Rana, and sent a friendly firmaun that he might rest assured of my protection and care, and imprinted thereon, as a solemn testimony of my sincerity, my 'five fingers' (punja);† I also wrote my son, that by any means by which it could be brought about, to treat this illustrious one according to his own heart's wishes.

"My son despatched the letter and firmaun by the chiefs Soopkurrin and Heridas Jhala, accompanied by Shukra Oolla and Soonderdas with assurances to the Rana that he might rely on my generosity and esteem, to receive my firmaun and impress of my hand: and it was agreed that on the 26th of the month he should repair to my son.

"Having gone out of Ajmeer to hunt, Mahmood Beg, a servant of my son Khoorum, arrived, and presented a letter from him, and stated to me verbally the Rana having met my son.

"On receiving this news, I presented Mahmood Beg with an elephant, horse, and dagger, and gave him the title of Zoolfecar Khan.

"*Account of the meeting of Rana Umra Sing with Sooltan Khoorum and of Khoorum's visit to prince Kurrin, with all the Omras and of the rank bestowed on prince Kurrin in the household of the emperor, on the part of the empress Noor Jehan.*"

* "He would hold himself excused." In these few words, to which the emperor has nobly given a place in his diary, we have the Rajpoot prince's feelings depicted on this painful occasion.

† The giving the hand amongst all nations has been considered as a pledge for the performance or ratification of some act of importance, and the custom amongst the Scythic or Tatar nations, of transmitting its impress as a substitute, is here practically described. I have seen the identical Firman in the Rana's archives. The hand being immersed in a compost of sandal-wood, is applied to the paper, and the palm and five fingers (punja) are yet distinct. In a masterly delineation of Oriental manners (*Carn's Letters from the East*) is given an anecdote of Mahomed, who unable to sign his name to a convention, dipped his hand in ink, and made an impression therewith. It is evident the prophet of Islam only followed an ancient solemnity, of the same import as that practised by Jehangir.

"On Sunday the 26th the Rana, with respect and due attention to etiquette, as other vassals of the empire, paid his respects to my son, and presented a celebrated ruby, well known in possession of this house, and various arms inlaid with gold; with seven elephants of great price, which alone remained after those formerly captured; and also nine horses as tribute. My son received him with princely generosity and courtesy; when the Rana taking my son by the knee, requested to be forgiven. He raised his head, and gave him every kind assurance of countenance and protection, and presented him with suitable khelats, an elephant, horses, and a sword. Though he had not above one hundred persons in his train worthy to be dignified with khelats, yet one hundred and twenty khelats, fifty horses and twelve jewelled agirettes, were bestowed on them. The custom, however, of these princes being that the heir and the father never visit together,* he observed this usage, and Kurrun, his declared successor, did not accompany the Rana. Sultan Khoorum, the same day, gave Umra Sing his leave, promising forthwith to send his son Kurrun, who was introduced, and khelats, with elephant, sword, and dagger, were bestowed; and that same day he repaired with him to me.

"In my interview with Sultan Khoorum on his arrival at Ajmeer, he represented that if it was my pleasure he would present the prince Kurrun, whom I accordingly desired him to bring. He arrived, paid his respects, *and his rank was commanded to be, at the request of my son, immediately on my right hand,* and I rewarded him with suitable khelats. As Kurrun, owing to the rude life he had led in his native hills, was extremely shy, and unused to the pageantry and experience of a court, in order to reconcile and give him confidence I daily gave him some testimonies of my regard and protection, and in the second day of his service I gave him a jewelled dagger, and on the third a choice steed of Irak with rich caparisons; and on the same day, I took him with me to the queen's court, when the queen Noor Jehan, made him splendid khelats, elephant and horse caparisoned, sword, etc. The same day I gave him a rich necklace of pearls, another day an elephant, and it was my wish to give him rarities and choice things of every kind. I gave him three royal hawks and three gentle falcons trained to the hand,† a coat of mail, chain and plate armour, and two rings of value; and, on the last day of the month, carpets, state cushions, perfumes, vessels of gold, and a pair of the bullocks of Guzerat.

"10th year.‡ At this time I gave prince Kurrun leave to return to his jagheer;§ when I bestowed on him an elephant, horse, and a pearl necklace valued at 50,000, rupees (£5,000); and from the day of his repairing to my court to that of his departure, the value of the various gifts I presented him exceeded ten lakhs of rupees (£125,000) exclusive of one hundred and ten horses, five elephants, or what my son Khoorum gave him. I sent Mabarick Khan along with him, by whom I sent an elephant, horse, etc., and various confidential messages to the Rana.

"On the 8th Suffer of the 10th year of the H. 1024, Kurrun was

* This was to avoid treachery. I have often had the honour to receive the descendant princes, father and son, "of these illustrious ones" together.

† Baz and Toora.

‡ Of his reign.

§ Such was now the degraded title of the ancient, independent, sovereign Mewar, Happy Pertap, whose ashes being mingled with his parent earth, was spared his country's humiliation!

elevated to the dignity of a Munsubdar* of five thousand, when I presented him with a bracelet of pearls, in which was a ruby of great price.

"24th Mohurram, 10th year (A.D. 1615), Juggut Sing, son of Kurrun, aged twelve years, arrived at court and paid his respects, and presented the arzees of his father and grandfather, Rana Umra Sing. *His countenance carried the impression of his illustrious extraction.† and I delighted his heart with presents and kindness.*

"On the 10th Shaban, Juggut Sing had permission to return to his house. At his departure I presented him with 20,000 rupees, a horse, elephant, and khelats; and to Heridas Jhala, preceptor of prince Kurrun, 5,000 rupees, a horse, and khelat; and I sent by him six golden images‡ to the Rana.

"28th Rubee-ool-Akbar, 11th year. *The statues of the Rana and Kurrun, sculptured in white marble, I desired should have inscribed the date in which they were prepared and presented, and commanded they should be placed in the gardens at Agra.*

"In the 11th year of my reign, an arzee from Etimad Khan acquainted me that Sultan Khoorum had entered the Rana's country, and that prince and his son had both exchanged visits with my son; and that from the tribute, consisting of seven elephants, twenty-seven saddle horses, trays of jewels, and ornament of gold, my son took three horses and returned all the rest, and engaged that prince Kurrun and fifteen hundred Rajpoot horse should remain with him in the wars.

"In the 13 year prince Kurrun repaired to my court, then at Sindla, to congratulate me on my victories and conquest of the Dukhum, and presented 100 mohors,§ 1,000 rupees, nuzzerana, and effects in gold and jewels to the amount of 21,000 rupees, hardy elephants and horses; the last I returned, but kept the rest, and next day presented him a dress of honour; and from Futehpur gave him his leave, with elephant, horse, sword, and dagger, and a horse for his father.

"14th year of my reign. On the 17th Rubbee-ool-awal, 1029 H., I received intelligence of the death of Rana Umra Sing. To Juggut Sing, his grandson, and Bheem Sing, his son, in attendance, I gave khelats, and despatched Raja Kishoredas|| with the firman conferring benefits and

* With this the annals state the restoration of many districts: the Kheirar, Phoolia, Bednore, Mundelgurh, Geerun, Neemutch, and Bhynsrar, with supremacy over Deola and Dongerpur.

† It must have been this grandson of Umra of whom Sir Thomas Roe thus writes: "the right issue of Porus is here a king in the midst of the Mogul's dominions, never subdued till last year; and, to say the truth, he is rather bought than conquered: won to own a superior by gifts and not by arms. The pillar erected by Alexander is yet standing at Delhi the ancient seat of Rama, the successor of Porus."—*Extract of a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury dated at Ajmere, January 29th, 1615.*

‡ There are frequent mention of such images (*pootlis*), but I know not which they are.

§ Golden suns, value £1. 12s.

|| Increasing the respect to the Ranas by making a prince the bearer of the firman.

with the dignity of Rana, the *khelat* of investiture, choice horses, and a letter of condolence suitable to the occasion to prince Kurrun. 7th Shuval. Beharri das Bramin I despatched with the *firman* to Rana Kurrun, desiring that his son with his contingent should attend me."

To have generalised this detail of the royal historian would have been to lessen the interest of this important period in the annals of Mewar.

Jehangir merits to have his exultation, his noble and unostentatious conduct, described by his own pen, and extreme minuteness of which description cut the gallant and long protected resistance of the Rajpoots; and while he impartially, though rather erroneously, estimates their motives and means of opposition, he does Umra ample justice in the declaration, that he did not yield until he had but the alternative of captivity or exile; and with a magnanimity above all praise, he records the Rajpoot prince's salvo for his dignity, "that he would hold himself excused from attending in person." The simple and *naïve* declaration of his joy, "his going abroad on Alum Goman," the favourite elephant of the Rana which had been captured, on learning his submission, is far stronger than the most pompous testimony of public rejoicing. But there is a heart-stirring philanthropy in the conduct of the Mogul which does him immortal honour; and in commanding his son "to treat the illustrious one according to his heart's wishes," though he so long and so signally had foiled the royal armies, he proved himself worthy of the good fortune he acknowledges, and well shews his sense of the superiority of the chief of all the Rajpoots, by placing the heir of Mewar, even above all the princes of his own house, "immediately on *his right hand*." Whether he attempts to relieve the shyness of Kurrun, or sets forth the princely appearance of Juggut Sing, we see the same amiable feeling operating to lighten the chains of the conquered. But the shyness of Kurrun deserved a worthier term: he felt the degradation which neither the statues raised to them, the right hand of the monarch, the dignity of a 'commander of five thousand,' or even the restoration of the long alienated territory could neutralize, when the kingdom to which he was heir was called a *fief* (*jagheer*), and himself, 'the descendant of a hundred kings,' a vassal (*jagheerदार*) of the empire, under whose banner, which his ancestors had so signally opposed, he was now to follow with a contingent of fifteen hundred Rajpoot horse.

Seldom has subjugated royalty met with such consideration; yet, to a lofty mind like Umra's this courteous condescension but increased the severity of endurance. In the bitterness of his heart, he cursed the magnanimity of Khoorum, himself of Rajpoot blood* and an admirer of Rajpoot valour, which circumstance more than the force of his arms had induced him to surrender; for Khoorum demanded but the friendship of the Rajpoot as the price of peace, and to withdraw every Mahomedan from Mewar if the Rana would but receive the emperor's *firman* outside of his capital. This his proud soul rejected; and though he visited prince Khoorum as a friend, he spurned the proposition of acknowledging a superior, or receiving the rank and titles awaiting such an admission. The noble Umra, who,—

"Rather than be less, /

Cared not to be at all,"—

* Khoorum was son of a Rajpoot princess of Ambar, of the *Cutchwaha* tribe, and hence his name was probably *Koorm*, synonymous to *cutchwa*, a *tortoise*. The bards are always punning upon it.

took the resolution to abdicate* the throne he could no longer hold but at the will of another. Assembling his chiefs, and disclosing his determination, he made the *teska* on his son's forehead; and observing, that the honour of Mewar was now in his hands, forthwith left the capital and secluded himself in the *No-chouki*: † nor did he from that hour cross its threshold, but to have his ashes deposited with those of his fathers.

All comment is superfluous on such a character as Rana Umra. He was worthy of Pertap and his race. He possessed all the physical as well as mental qualities of a hero, and was the tallest and strongest of all the princes of Mewar. He was not so fair as they usually are, and he had a reserve bordering upon gloominess, doubtless occasioned by his reverses, for it was not natural to him; he was beloved by his chiefs for the qualities they most esteem, generosity and valour, and by his subjects for his justice and kindness, of which we can judge from his edicts, many of which yet live on the column or the rock.

CHAPTER XIII.

KURRUN, or Kurna, (*the radiant*), succeeded to the last independent king of Mewar, S. 1677 A.D. 1621. Henceforth we shall have to exhibit these princely 'children of the son' with diminished lustre, moving as satellites round the primary planet; but, unaccustomed to the laws of its attraction, they soon deviated from the orbit prescribed, and in the eccentricity of their movements occasionally displayed their unborrowed effulgence. For fifteen hundred years we have traced each alternation of the fortune of this family, from their establishment in the second, to their expulsion in the fifth century from Saurashtra by the Parthians; the acquisition and loss of Edur; the conquest and surrender of Cheetore; the rise of Oodipur and abasement of the red flag to Jehangir; and we shall conclude with not the least striking portion of their history, their unity of interests with Britain.

Kurrun was deficient neither in courage nor conduct; of both he had given a decided proof, when, to relieve the pecuniary difficulties of his father, with a rapidity unparalleled, he passed through the midst of his foes, surprised and plundered Surat, and carried off a booty which was the means of protracting the evil days of his country. But for the exercise of the chief virtue of the Rajpoot, he had little scope throughout his reign, and fortunately for his country the powerful esteem and friendship which Jehangir and prince Khoorum evinced for his house, enabled him to put forth the talents he possessed to repair past disasters. He fortified the heights round the capital, which he strengthened with a wall and ditch, partly enlarged the noble dam which retains the waters of the Peshola,

* Surrendered S. 1672, A.D. 1616; (according to Dow, S. 1669, A.D. 1613) died 1621.

† It must have been here that Sultan Khoorum visited the Rana. The remains of this palace, about half a mile without the city wall (north), on a cluster of hills, are yet in existence. It was built by Oodj Sing on the banks of a lake, under which are gardens and groves, where the author had the Rana's permission to pitch his tents in the hottest months.

and built that entire portion of the palace called the Rawula, still set apart for the ladies of the court.

When Rana Umra made terms with Jehangir, he stipulated, as a salvo for his dignity and that of his successors, exemption from all personal attendance; and confined the extent of homage to his successors receiving, on each lapse of the crown, the firman or imperial decree in token of subordination, which, more strongly to mark their dependent condition, the Rana was to accept without the walls of his capital; accordingly, though the heirs-apparent of Mewar* attended the court, they never did as Rana. Partly to lessen the weight of this sacrifice to independence, and partly to exalt the higher grade of nobles, the princes of the blood-royal of Mewar were made to rank below the *sixteen*, a fictitious diminution of dignity, which, with similar acts peculiar to this house, enhanced the self estimation of the nobles, and made them brave every danger to obtain such sacrifices to the ruling passion of the Rajpoot, a love of distinction.† It is mentioned by the emperor that he placed the heir-apparent of Mewar immediately on his right hand, over all the princes of Hindusthan; consequently the superior nobles of Mewar, who were all men of royal descent, deemed themselves, and had their claims admitted, to rank above their peers at other courts, and to be seated almost on an equality with their princes.‡

The Seesodia chieftains were soon distinguished amongst the Rajpoot vassals of the Mogul, and had a full share of power. Of these

* The contingent of Mewar was one thousand horse.

† During the progress of my mediation between the Rana and his nobles, in 1818, the conduct of the lineal representative of Jeimul, the defender of Cheetore against Akbar was striking. Instead of surrendering the lands which he was accused of usurping, he placed himself at the door of the threshold of the palace, whence he was immovable. His claims were left to my adjudication: but he complained with great heat of the omission of ceremonials, and especially of the prostration of honours by the prince. I incautiously remarked that these were trivial compared with the other objects in view, and begged him to disregard it. "Disregard it? why, it was for these things, my ancestors sacrificed their lives; when such a band (*a*) as this on my turban was deemed ample reward for the most distinguished service, and made them laugh at wounds and hardships!" Abashed at the inconsiderate remark which provoked this lofty reproof, I used my influence to have the omission rectified: the lands were restored, and the enthusiastic reverence with which I spoke of Jeimul would have obtained even greater proof of the Bednore chief's regard for the fame of his ancestors than the surrender of them implied. Who would not honour this attachment to such emblems in the days of adversity?

(*a*) *Bala-bund* a fillet or band, sometimes embroidered; often, as in the present case, of silk or gold thread knotted, and tassels tied round the turban. *Bala-bund* is synonymous with *diadem*.

‡ This was conceded, as the following anecdote will attest. When the first Peshwa appeared at the Jeipur court he was accompanied by the Saloombra chieftain. The Jeipur prince divided his gadi (*cushion*) with the Peshwa, and the latter made room for the Saloombra chief upon it, observing that their privileges and rank were similar. The same Peshwa had the address to avoid all discussion of rank at Oodipur, by alleging the prerogative of his order to '*spread his cloth in front of the throne*,' a distinction to which every priest is entitled.

Bheem, the younger brother of Kurrun, who headed the quota of Mewar, was conspicuous, and became the chief adviser and friend of Sultan Khoorum, who well knew his intrepidity. At his son's solicitation, the emperor conferred upon him the title of Raja, and assigned a small principality on the Bunas for his residence, of which Thoda was the capital. Ambitious of perpetuating a name, he erected a new city and palace on the banks of the river, which he called Rajmahl, and which his descendants held till about forty years ago. The ruins of Rajmahl* bear testimony to the architectural taste of this son of Mewar, as do the fallen fortunes of his descendant to the instability of power: the lineal heir of Raja Bheem serves the chief of Shaphura on half-a-crown a day!

Jehangir, notwithstanding his favours, soon had a specimen of the insubordinate spirit of Bheem. Being desirous to separate him from Sultan Khoorum, who aspired to the crown in prejudice to his elder brother Purvez, he appointed Bheem to the government of Guzerat, which was distinctly refused. Detesting Purvez, who, it will be recollected, invaded Mewar, and was foiled for his cruelty on this occasion, Bheem advised his friend at once to throw off the mask, if he aspired to reign. Purvez was slain, and Khoorum manifested his guilt by flying to arms. He was secretly supported by a strong party of the Rajpoot interest, at the head of which was Guj Sing of Marwar, his maternal grandfather, who cautiously desired to remain neutral. Jehangir advanced to crush the incipient revolt; but dubious of the Rahtore (Guj Sing,) he gave the van to Jeypur, upon which the prince furled his banners and determined to be a spectator. The armies approached and were joining action, when the impetuous Bheem sent a message to the Rahtore, either to aid or oppose them. The insult provoked him to the latter course, and Bheem's party was destroyed, himself slain,† and Khoorum and Mohabet

* Rajmahl, now in the fief of Rao Chund Sing, one of the Jeipur nobles, whose castle of Doonee is in the distance. There are many picturesque scenes on the Bunas. Doonee made a celebrated defence against Sindia's army in 1808, and held out several months, though the Mahratta prince had an army of forty thousand men and a park of eighty pieces of cannon to oppose two hundred Rajpoots. They made sorties, captured his foragers, cut his batteries to pieces, and carried off his guns (of which they had none) and placing them on their walls, with his own shot made the whole army change position, beyond matchlock-range. At last their inexpertness rendered them useless, and they obtained honourable terms. On one occasion the foragers of our escort were returning, and met Sindia's coming away without their guns and cattle, which had just been taken from them. Our lads, from fellowship, volunteered to recover them, and returned on the captors, who gave them up (if my memory deceive me not) without a struggle, and from respect to the *red coat*!

† Maun Sing, chief of the Suktawuts, and his brother Gokuldas, were Bheem's advisers, and formed with Mohabet Khan the junta who ruled the Mogul heir-apparent. Maun held Sanwar in the Khairar, and was celebrated in Umra's wars as the great champion of the Seesodias. He counted above eighty wounds and had at various times "sent a *seer* (two pounds) of exfoliated bone to the Ganges." Such was the affection between Maun and Bheem that they concealed the death of the latter, sending him food in Bheem's name; but he no sooner learned the truth than he tore away the bandages and expired. Of Gokuldas the bard

Khān compelled to seek refuge in Oodipur. In this asylum he remained undisturbed: apartments in the palace were assigned to him: but his followers little respecting Rajpoot prejudices, the island became his residence, on which a sumptuous edifice was raised, adorned with a lofty dome crowned with the crescent. The interior was decorated with mosaic, in onyx, corralain, jaspers, and agates, rich Turkey carpets, etc.; and that nothing of state might be wanting to the royal refugee, a throne was sculptured from a single block of serpentine, supported by quadriform female Caryatidæ. In the court a little chapel was erected to the Mahomedan saint Madar, and here the prince with his court resided, every wish anticipated, till a short time before his father's death, when he retired into Persia.*

Such was Rajpoot gratitude to a prince, who, when the chances of war made him victor over them, had sought unceasingly to mitigate the misery attendant on the loss of independence! It is pleasing to record to the honour of this calumniated race, that these feelings on the part of Kurrūn were not transient; and that so far from expiring with the object, "the debt immense of endless gratitude"

was transmitted as an heir-loom to his issue; and though two centuries have fled, during which Mewar has suffered every variety of woe, pillaged by Mogul, Pathan, and Mahratta, yet the turban of prince Khoorūm, the symbol of fraternity,† has been preserved, and remains in the same folds as when transferred from the head of the Mogul to that of the Rajpoot prince. The shield is yet held as the most sacred of relics, nor will the lamp which illumines the chapel of Madar want oil while the princes of Oodipur have wherewithal to supply it.‡

Rana Kurrūn had enjoyed eight years of perfect tranquillity when he was gathered to his fathers. The sanctuary he gave prince Khoorūm had no apparent effect on Jehangir, who doubtless believed that the Rana did not sanction the conduct of his brother Bheem. He was succeeded by his son Juggut Sing, 'the lion of the world,' in S. 1684 (A. D. 1628).

says, in allusion to the peaceful reign of Kurrūn, "the wreath of Kurrūn's renown was fading, but Gokul revived it with his blood." It was with the Seesodia Rajpoots and the Suktawuts that Mohabet performed the most daring exploits in Mogul history, making Jehangir prisoner in his own camp: but it is too long for insertion in a note.

* Contemporary historians say to Golconda.

† An exchange of turbans is the symbol of fraternal adoption.

‡ It is an affecting proof of the perpetuity of true gratitude, "which owing, owes not,"

as well as of religious toleration, to find the shrine of the Mahomedan saint maintained in this retreat of the Seesodias, and the priest and establishment kept up, though the sons of their benefactor persecuted them with unrelenting barbarity. Are these people worth conciliating? or does the mist of ignorance and egotism so blind us, that we are to despise the minds hidden under the cloak of poverty and long oppression? The orange-coloured turban, and the shield of Shah Jehan, have been brought from their sacred niche for my view: that I looked on them with sentiments of reverence, as relics consecrated by the noblest feeling of the mind, will be credited. I bowed to the turban with an irresistible impulse, and a fervor as deep as ever did pilgrim before the most hallowed shrine.

The emperor Jehangir died shortly after his accession, and while Khoorum was in exile. This event, which gave the throne to the friend of his house, was announced to him by the Rana, who sent his brother and a band of Rajpoots to Surat, to form the *cortege* of the emperor, who repaired directly to Oodipur; and it was in the Badul Mahl ('the cloud saloon') of his palace that he was first saluted by the title of 'Shah Jehan' by the satraps and tributary princes of the empire.* On taking leave, the new monarch restored five alienated districts, and presented the Rana with a ruby of inestimable value, giving him also permission to reconstruct the fortifications of Cheetore.

The twenty-six years during which Juggut Sing occupied the throne passed in uninterrupted tranquillity: a state unfruitful to the bard, who flourishes only amidst agitation and strife. This period was devoted to the cultivation of the peaceful arts, especially architecture; and to Juggut Sing Oodipur is indebted for those magnificent works which bear his name, and excite our astonishment, after all the disasters we have related, at the resources he found to accomplish them.

The palace on the lake (covering about four acres), called the Jugne-was, is entirely his work, as well as many additions to its sister isle on which is the Jugmunder.† Nothing but marble enters into their composition; columns, baths, reservoirs, fountains, all are of this material, often inlaid with mosaics, and the uniformity pleasingly diversified by the light passing through glass of every hue. The apartments are decorated with historical paintings in water-colours, almost meriting the term *fresco* from their deep absorption in the wall; though the darker tints have blended with, and in part obscured the more delicate shades, from atmospheric causes. The walls, both here and in the grand palace, contain many medallions, in considerable relief, in gypsum, portraying the principal historical events of the family, from early periods even to the marriage pomp of the present Rana. Parterres of flowers, orange and lemon groves, intervene to dispel the monotony of the buildings, shaded by the widespreading tamarind and magnificent ever-green kheenee; while the graceful palmyra and cocoa wave their plume-like branches over the dark cypress or cooling plantain. Detached colonaded refectories are placed on the water's edge for the chiefs, and extensive baths for their use. Here they listened to the tale of the bard, and slept off their noon-day opiate amidst the cool breezes of the lake, wafting delicious odours from myriads of the lotus-flower which covered the surface of the waters; and as the fumes of the portion evaporated, they opened their eyes on a landscape to which not even its inspirations could frame an equal: the broad waters of the Peshola, with its indented an well-wooded margin receding to the terminating point of sight, which the temple of Brimpoori opened on the pass of the gigantic Aravali, the field of the exploits of their forefathers. Amid such scenes did the Seesodia princes and chieftains recreate during two generations, exchanging the din of arms for voluptuous inactivity.

Juggut Sing was a highly respected prince, and did much to efface the remembrance of the rude visitations of the Moguls. The dignity of

* Ferishta, whose geography is often quite unintelligible, omits this in his history, and passes the king direct to Ajmeer: but the annals are fuller, and describe the royal insignia conveyed by Mohabet, Abdoola, Khan Jehan, and his secretary Sadoola.

† 'The minister of the world.'

his character, his benevolence of address, and personal demeanour, secured the homage of all who had access to him, and are alike attested by the pen of the emperor, the ambassador of England, and the chroniclers of Mewar. He had the proud satisfaction of redeeming the ancient capital from ruin; rebuilding the "chaplet bastion,* restoring the portals, and replacing the pinnacles on the temples of Chutterkote." By a princess of Marwar he left two sons, the eldest of whom succeeded.

Raj Sing (the royal lion) mounted the throne in S. 1710 (A. D. 1654). Various causes over which he had no control, combined, together with his personal character, to break the long repose his country had enjoyed. The emperor of the Moguls had reached extreme old age, and the ambition of his sons to usurp his authority, involved every Rajpoot in support of their individual pretensions. The Rana inclined to Dara,† the legitimate heir to the throne, as did nearly the whole Rajpoot race; but the battle of Futehabad silenced every pretention, and gave the lead to Arungzebe, which he maintained by the sacrifice of whatever opposed his ambition. His father, brothers, nay his own offspring, were in turn victims to that thirst for power, which eventually destroyed the monarchy of the Moguls.

The policy introduced by their founder, from which Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jehan had reaped so many benefits, was unwisely abandoned by the latter, who of all had the most powerful reasons for maintaining those ties which connected the Rajpoot princes with his house. Historians have neglected to notice the great moral strength derived from this unity of the indigenous races with their conquerors; for during no similar period was the empire so secure, nor the Hindu race so cherished, as during the reigns of Jehangir and Shah Jehan: the former born from a Rajpoot princess of Ambar and the latter from the house of Marwar. Arungzebe's unmixed Tatar blood brought no Rajpoot sympathies to his aid; on the contrary, every noble family shed their best blood in withstanding his accession, and in the defence of Shah Jehan's rights, while there was a hope of success. The politic Arungzebe was not blind to this defect, and he tried to remedy it in his successor, for both his declared heir, Shah Allum and Azim, as well as his favourite grandson,‡ were the offspring of Rajpootnis; but, uninfluenced himself by such predilections, his bigotry outweighed his policy, and he visited the Rajpoots with an unrelenting and unwise persecution.

We shall pass the twice-told tale of the struggle for power, which ended in the destructions of the brothers, competitors with Arungzebe: this belongs to general history, not to the annals of Mewar; and that history is in every hand,§ in which the magnanimity of Dara the impetuosity of Morad, and the activity of Sujah, met the same tragical end.

It has seldom occurred that so many distinguished princes were contemporary as during the reign of Arungzebe. Every Rajpoot principality

* The *Mala Boorj*, a 'chaplet bastion' blown up by Akbar, is a small fortress of itself.

† I have copies of (the original letters written by Dara, Sujah, Morad and Arungzebe, on this occasion, each soliciting the Rana's aid.

‡ Kam-buksh, (son of Jodpoori, not Udipoori) the gift of Cupid. Of this the Greeks made Cambyses.

§ Bernier, who was an eye-witness of these transactions, describes them far better than the Mogul historians, and his accounts tally admirably with the Rajpoot annals.

had a head above mediocrity in conduct as in courage. Jey Sing of Ambar, surnamed 'the Mirza Raja,' Jesswunt Sing of Marwar, with the Haras of Boondi and Kotah; the Rahtores of Bikaner, and Boondelas of Orcha and Duttea, were men whose prejudices, properly consulted, would have rendered the Mogul power indissoluble; but he had but one measure of contumely for all, which inspired Sevaji with designs of freedom to Maharashtra, and withdrew every sentiment of support from the princes of Rajasthan. In subtlety and the most spacious hypocrisy, in that concentration of resolve which confides its deep purpose to none, in every qualification of the warrior or scholar, Arungzebe had no superior amongst the many distinguished of his race; but that sin by which 'angels fell' had steeped him in an ocean of guilt, and not only neutralized his natural capacities, but converted the means for unlimited power into an engine of self-destruction. "This hypocrisy," says the eloquent Orme, "increased with his power, and in order to palliate to his Mahomedan subjects the crimes by which he had become their sovereign, he determined to enforce the conversion of the Hindus by the severest penalties, and even by the sword: as if the blood of his subjects were to wash away the stains from his hands, already encrimsoned with that of his family. Labour left the field and industry the loom, until the decrease of the revenues induced Arungzebe to substitute a capitation tax* as the balance of account between the two religions." The same historian justly characterizes this enactment as one so contrary to all notions of sound policy, as well as of the feelings of humanity, that "reflection seeks the motive with amazement." In this amazement we might remain, nor seek to develop the motive, did not the ample page of history in all nations disclose, that in the name of religion more blood has been shed, and more atrocity committed, than by the united action of the whole catalogue of the passions. Mahomed's creed was based on conversion, which, by whatever means effected, was a plenary atonement for every crime. In obedience thereto Arungzebe acted; but though myriads of victims who clung to their faith were sacrificed by him at the fiat of this gladiatorial prophet, yet nor these, nor the scrupulous fulfilment of fanatic observances could soothe at the dread hour the perturbations of the 'still small voice, which whispered the names of father, brother, son, bereft by him of life. Eloquently does he pourtray these terrors in his letters to his grandson on his death-bed, wherein he says, 'whichever way I look, I see only the divinity,'—and that an offended 'divinity.

Raj Sing had signalized his accession by the revival of the warlike *Teeka-dowr*, and plundered Malpoora, which though on the Ajmeer frontier, Shah Jehan, when advised to vengeance, replied "it was only a folly of his nephew."† An appeal to his gallantry made him throw down the gauntlet to Arungzebe in the plenitude of his power, when the valour of the Seesodias again burst forth in all the splendour of the days of Pertap; nor did the contest close till after a series of brilliant victories, and with the narrow escape from captivity of the Xerxes of Hindustan. The Mogul demanded the hand of the princess of Roopnagurh, a junior branch of the Marwar house and sent with the demand (a compliance with which was contemplated as certain) a *cortege* of two thousand horse to escort the fair to court. But the haughty Rajpootni, either indignant at such precipitation or charmed with the gallantry of the Rana, who had evinced his devotion to the fair by measuring his sword with the head of her house,

* The Jezeya.

† The emperor was the adopted brother of Rana Kurrum.

rejected with disdain the proffered alliance, and, justified by brilliant precedents in the romantic history of her nation, she entrusted her cause to the arm of the chief of the Rajpoot race, offering herself as the reward of protection. The family priest (her preceptor) deemed his office honoured by being the messenger of her wishes, and the billet he conveyed is incorporated in the memorial of this reign. "Is the swan to be the mate of the stork: a Rajpootni, pure in blood, to be wife to the monkey-faced barbarian!" concluding with a threat of self-destruction if not saved from dishonour. This appeal, with other powerful motives, was seized on with avidity by the Rana as a pretext to throw away the scabbard, in order to illustrate the opening of a warfare, in which he determined to put all to the hazard in defence of his country and his faith. The issue was an omen of success to his warlike and superstitious vassalage. With a chosen band he rapidly passed the foot of the Aravali and appeared before Roopnagurh, cut up the imperial guards, and bore off the prize to his capital. The daring act was applauded by all who bore the name of Rajpoot, and his chiefs with joy gathered their retainers around the 'red standard,' to protect the queen so gallantly achieved.

The annalist of Rajpootana is but an indifferent chronologist, and leaves us doubtful of the exact succession of events at this period. It was not, however, till the death of those two powerful princes, Jesswunt Sing of Marwar and Jey Sing of Ambar, both poisoned by command of the tyrant, the one at his distant government of Cabul, the other in the Dekhan, that he deemed himself free to put forth the full extent of his long-concealed design, the imposition of the *jeseya* or capitation-tax, on the whole Hindu race. But he miscalculated his measures, and the murder of these princes, far from advancing his aim, recoiled with vengeance on his head. Foiled in his plot to entrap the infant sons of the Rahtore by the self-devotion of his vassals,* the compound treachery evinced that their only hope lay in a deadly resistance. The mother of Ajit, the infant heir of Marwar, a woman of the most determined character, was a princess of Mewar; and she threw herself upon the Rana as the natural guardian of his rights, for sanctuary (*sirna*) during the dangers of his minority. This was readily yielded, and Kailwa assigned as his residence, where under the immediate safeguard of the brave Doorgadass, Ajit resided,† while she nursed the spirit of resistance at home. An union of interests was cemented between these the chief states of Rajpootana, for which they never before had such motive, and but for repeated instances of an ill-judged humanity, the throne of the Moguls might have been completely overturned.

On the promulgation of that barbarous edict, the *jeseya*, the Rana remonstrated by letter, in the name of the nation of which he was the head, in a style of such uncompromising dignity, such lofty yet temperate resolve, so much of soul-stirring rebuke mingled with a boundless and tolerating benevolence, such elevated ideas of the Divinity with such pure philanthropy, that it may challenge competition with any epistolary production of any age, clime, or condition. In this are contained the true principles of Christianity, and to the illustrious Gentile, and such as

* Two hundred and fifty Rajpoots opposed five thousand of the Imperialists at a pass, till the family of Jesswunt escaped.

† The Rana received the young Rahtore with the most princely hospitality, and among other gifts a diamond worth ten thousand dinars is enumerated.

acted as he did, was pointed that golden sentence of toleration, "those who have not the law, yet do by nature the things contained in the law, shall be a law unto themselves."

This letter, the sanctuary afforded Ajit, and (what the historical parasite of the Mogul's life dared not indite), the carrying off of his betrothed, made him pore out all the phials of his wrath against the devoted Mewar, and his preparations more resembled those for the conquest of a potent kingdom than the subjugation of Rajpoot *Zemindar*, a vassal of that colossal empire, on whose surface his domain was but a speck. In the very magnitude of these, the Suzerain of Hindusthan paid the highest tribute of praise to the tributary Rajpoot, for he denuded the very extremities of his empire to assemble a host which he deemed must prove irresistible. Akbar was recalled from his province, Bengal; Azim from the distant Cabul; and even Mauzum (the Mogul's heir) from the war in the Dekhan. With this formidable array, the emperor entered Mewar, and soon reduced the low countries, which experience, had taught them were indefensible, the inhabitants previously retiring with their effects to the hills. Cheetore, Mandelgurrh, Mundisor, Jeerun and many other strongholds were obtained after the usual form of opposition, and garrisoned by the Moguls. Meanwhile the Rana was animating the spirit of the Aravali, where he meditated a resistance proportioned to the peril which threatened every cherished prejudice of his race: not the mere defence of dominion or dignity, but a struggle, *pro aris et focis*, around which rallied every Rajpoot with the most deadly determination. Even the primitive races of the western wilds, "the Palindas* and Palipats* (*lord of the passes*), with thousands of bows, and hearts devoted in the cause of Hinduput,† assembled round the red banner of Mewar. The Rana divided his forces into three bodies. His eldest son, Jey Sing, was posted on the crest of the Aravali, ready to act on the invaders from either side of the mountains. Prince Bheem was to the west, to keep up the communications with the outlets to Guzerat; while the Rana, with the main body, took post in the Naen defile, unassailable by the enemy, and hanging on his left flank, ready to turn it, and cut off all retreat: the moment the imperialists entered the mountains. Arungzebe advanced to Dobarri; but instead of entering the valley of which it was the gorge, he halted, and by the advice of Tyber Knan sent on prince Akbar with fifty thousand men to the capital. This caution of the wily monarch saved him from the ably planned scheme of the Rajpoot prince, who evinced a thorough knowledge ‡ of the topography of this intricate and romantic portion of his domain. The *Girwo*, emphatically '*the circle*,' from which the valley of the capital is named, has this form to the eye when viewing it from thence as a centre. It is, however, an irregular ellipse of about fourteen miles in length from south to north, and about eleven in breadth from east to west, the capital being situated towards the extremity of the trans-

* *Pal* is the local term for those long defiles, the residence of the mountaineers: their chiefs a recalled *Indras*, *Pats*, in Bhaka, *Put*.

† Chief of the Hindus.

‡ The Suktawut leader, Gureeb Das, has the merit of having prompted this plan. His speech on the advance of Aurangzebe is given in the Annals: and his advice, 'let the King have free entrance through the passes, shut him in, and make famine his foe,' was literally followed, with the hard knocks, which being a matter-of-course accompaniment, the gallant Suktawut deemed it unnecessary to specify,

verse axis, having only the lake Peshola between it and the base of the Aravali. The mountains of this circular (*Girwa*) valley ranging from eight to twelve hundred feet in height, are of primitive formation, and raise their fantastic pinnacles in every diversity of shape over each other. To the west-ward the grand chain rises two thousand feet above the plains, and might be termed the chord, of which the *Girwa* is an irregular segment of a circle, less in height, and far less compound in character. Towards the plains east, it has three particable passes; one, the more northern, by Dailwara; the other (central), by Dobbarri; a third, leading to the intricacies of Chuppun, that of Naen. Of these three passes the emperor chose the most practicable, and encamped near the Oody-sagur lake, on the left of its entrance.

Prince Akbar advanced. "Not a soul interrupted his progress to the city. Palaces, gardens, lakes and isles, met his eye, but no living thing; all was silence." Akbar encamped. Accustomed to this desertion from the desire of the people to avoid a licentious soldiery, and lulled into a hasty security, he was surprised by the heir of Mewar. "Some were praying, some feasting, some at chess: they came to steal and yet fell asleep," says the annalist, and were dispersed with terrific and unrelenting slaughter. Cut off from the possibility of a junction with the emperor by a movement of a part of Rana's personal force, Akbar attempted a retreat to the plains of Marwar by the route of Gogoonda. It was a choice of evils, and he took the worst. The allodial vassals of the mountains, with the Bhil auxiliaries, outstripped his retreat, and blocked up further egress in one of those long-extended valleys, termed *Nal*, closed by a natural rampart or *Col*, on which they formed *abbaties* of trees, and manning the crests on each side, hurled destruction on the foe; while the prince, in like manner, blocked up the entrance and barred retrogression. Death menaced them in every form. For several days they had only the prospect of surrender to save them from famine and a justly incensed foe, when an ill-judged humanity on the part of Jey Sing saved them from annihilation. He admitted overtures, confined in protestations to renounce the origin of the war, and gave them guides to conduct them by the defile of Jilwarra, nor did they halt till protected by the walls of Cheetore.*

* Orme, who has many valuable historical details of this period, makes Arungzebe in person to have been in the predicament assigned by the Annals to his son, and to have escaped, from the operation of those high and gallant sentiments of the Rajpoot, which make him no match for a wily adversary.

"In the meantime Arungzebe was carrying on the war against the Rana of Cheetore, and the Raja of Marwar, who on the approach of his army at the end of his preceding year, 1678, had abandoned the accessible country, and drew their herds and inhabitants into the valleys, within the mountains; the army advanced amongst the defiles with incredible labour, and with so little intelligence, that the division which moved with Arungzebe himself, was unexpectedly stopped by insuperable defences and precipices in front; whilst the Rajpoots one night closed the streights in his rear, by felling the overhanging trees, and from their stations above prevented all endeavours of the troops, either within or without, from removing the obstacle. Udeperri, the favourite and Circassian wife of Aurengzebe, accompanied him in this arduous war, and with her retinue and escort was enclosed in another part of the mountains; her conductors, dreading to expose her person to danger or public view, surrendered. She was carried

Another body of the imperialists, under the celebrated Delhire Khan, who entered by the Daisoori Pass from Marwar (probably with a view of extricating Prince Akbar), were allowed to advance unopposed, and when in the long intricate gorge were assailed by Bikram Solanki* and Gopinath Rathore† (both nobles of Mewar), and after a desperate conflict entirely destroyed. On each occasion a vast booty fell into the hands of the Rajpoots.

So ably concerted was this mountain warfare, that these defeats were the signal for a simultaneous attack by the Rana on Arungzebe, who, with his son Azim watched at Dobarri the result of the operations under Akbar and Delhire. The great home-clans had more than their wonted rivalry to sustain them, for the gallant Doorga-das with the Rathore swords (*tulwar Rahtoran*) whetted by an accumulation of wrongs, were to combat with them against their common oppressor; and nobly did they contest the palm of glory. The tyrant could not withstand them; his guns, though manned by *Franks*, could not protect him against the just cause and avenging steel of the Rajpoot, and he was beaten and compelled to disgraceful flight, with an immense loss in men and equipment. The Rana had to lament many brave leaders, home and auxiliary; and the imperial standard, elephants, and state equipage fell into his hands, the acquisition of Mohkim and the Suktawuts. This glorious encounter occurred in the spring month of Falgoon, S. 1737.‡

The discomfited forces formed a junction under the walls of Cheetore, whence the emperor dictated the recall of his son, Prince Mauzum, from the Dekhan, deeming it of greater moment to regain lost importance in the north than to prevent the independence of Sevaji. Meanwhile the activity of Sawuldas (descended from the illustrious Jeimul) cut off the communications between Cheetore and Ajmeer, and alarmed the tyrant

to the Rana, who received her with homage and every attention. Meanwhile the emperor himself might have perished by famine, of which the Rana let him see the risque, by a confinement of two days; when he ordered his Rajpoots to withdraw from their stations, and suffer the way to be cleared. As soon as Aurengzebe was out of danger, the Rana sent back his wife, accompanied by a chosen escort, who only requested in return, that he would refrain from destroying the sacred animals of their religion which might still be left in the plains; but Aurengzebe, who believed in no-virtue but self-interest, imputed the generosity and forbearance of the Rana to fear the future vengeance, and continued the war. Soon after, he was again well high enclosed in the mountains. The second experience of difficulties beyond his age and constitution; and the arrival of his son Azim and Akbar, determined him not to expose himself any longer in the field; but to leave its operations to their conduct, superintended by his own instructions from Azmir; to which city he retired with the households of his family, the officers of his court, and his body-guard of four thousand men, dividing the army between his two sons, who each had brought a considerable body of troops from their respective governments. They continued the war each in a different part of the country, and neither at the end of the year had forced the ultimate passes of the mountains."

* Chief of Roopnagurh.

† Chief of Ganora, in Godwar, now alienated from Mewar.

‡ March 1680-1.

for his personal safety. Leaving, therefore, this perilous warfare to his son Azim and Akbar, with instructions how to act till reinforced,—foiled in his vengeance and personally disgraced, he abandoned Mewar, and at the head of his guards repaired to Ajmeer. Thence he detached Khan Rohilla, with twelve thousand men, against Sawuldas, with supplies and equipments for his sons. The Rathore, joined by the troops of Marwar, gave him the meeting at Poor Mandol, and defeated the imperialists with great loss, driving them back on Ajmeer.

While the Rana, his heir and auxiliaries, were thus triumphant in all their operations, Prince Bheem with the left division, was not idle, but made a powerful diversion by the invasion of Guzerat, captured Edur expelling Hussun and his garrison, and proceeding by Birnuggur, suddenly appeared before Puttun, the residence of the provincial satrap, which he plundered. Sidpur, Mhourasso and other towns, shared the same fate; and he was in full march to Surat, when the benevolence of the Rana, touched at the woes of the fugitives, who came to demand his forbearance, caused him to recall Bheem in the midst of his career.

Contrary to the Rajpoot character, who maxim is *parcere subjectis*, they were compelled by the utter faithlessness of Arungzebe (chiefly vulnerable through his resources) to retaliate, his excesses; and Dyal Sah, the civil minister, a man of high courage and activity, headed another flying force, which ravaged Malwa to the Nurbudda and Betwa. Sarangpur, Dewas, Saronj, Mandoo, Oojein, and Chanderi were plundered, and numerous garrisons put to the sword; and, to use the words of the chronicle, "husbands abandoned their wives and children, and whatever could not be carried off was given to the flames." For once, they avenged themselves, in imitation of the tyrant, even on the religion of their enemies: "the Kazees were bound and shaved, and the Korans thrown into wells." The minister was unrelenting and made Malwa a desert, and from the fruits of his incursions repaired the resources of his master. Flushed with success, he formed a junction with the heir of Mewar, and gave battle to Azim near Cheetore. On this occasion the flower of Mewar, with the Rahtore and Kheechee auxiliaries,* were engaged, and obtained a glorious victory, the Mogul prince being defeated and pursued with great slaughter to Rinthumbor, which he entered. This was a just revenge, for it was Azim who surprised Cheetore the year preceding. In Mewar the contest terminated with the expulsion of the imperialists from the country; when the Rana, in support of the rights of the minor prince of Marwar, united his arms to the forces of that state, and opened the campaign at Ganora, the chief town of Godwar. The heroic mother of the infant Rahtore prince, a daughter of Mewar, had, since the death of her husband, well supported his rights, having resisted every aggression and regained many lost advantages over their antagonist. Prince Bheem commanded the Seesodias, who formed a junction with the Rahtores, and gave battle to the royal forces led by Akbar and Tyber Khan, whom he entirely defeated. The victory is chiefly attributed to a stratagem of a Rajpoot chief, who, having carried off five hundred camels from the imperialists, conceived the idea of fixing torches to them and letting them lose in the royal camp; and, in the

* Mokhim and Gunga Suktawuts, Rutten Chondawut Saloombra, Chandra sen Jhala of Sadri, Subbul Sing Chohan of Baidla, Berri-Sal Puar of Bijolli. Four of the chiefs made speeches on the eve preceding the battle, which are recorded in the Chronicle.

confusion produced by the charge of such a body, the Rajpoots assaulted them. On their continued successes, the Rana and his allies meditated the project of dethroning the tyrant, and setting up his son Akbar. The pernicious example of his father towards Shah Jehan was not lost upon Akbar, who favourably received the overture; but he wanted the circum-spection which characterized Arungzebe, whose penetration defeated the scheme when on the eve of execution. Already had the Rajpoot armies united with Akbar, and the astrologer had fixed the day which was to exalt him; but the revealer of secrets baffled his own prediction by disclosing it to the emperor. Arunzebe, attended only by his guards at Ajmeer, had recourse to the same artifice which raised him to empire, in order to ward off this danger. Akbar was but one day's march distant; his elder son, Mauzum and Azim, yet far off. Not a moment was to be lost: he penned a letter to his son, which by a spy was dropped in the tent of the Rajpoot leader Doorga-das. In this he applauded a pretended scheme by which Akbar was to fall upon them when they engaged the emperor. The same scheme had saved Shere Shah in this country from Maldeo, and has more recently been put in practice, and with like success, in the war with Sevaji. It succeeded. The Rajpoots detached themselves from the prince who had apparently betrayed them. Tyber Khan, in despair, lost his life in an attempt to assassinate the emperor, and before the artifice was discovered, the reinforcements under Mauzum and Azim arrived, and Arungzebe was saved. The Rajpoots still offered *sirna* (refuge) to Akbar; but aware of his father's vigour of character, he deemed himself unsafe in his vicinage, and accepted the escort of five hundred Rajpoots led by Doorga-das,* who cut their way through every opposition by the defiles of Mewar and Dongerpur, and across the Ner-budda, to the Mahratta leader Sambaji, 'at Palergurh) whence he was shortly after conveyed in an English ship to Persia.

"The escape of Akbar" (observes an historian.† who appreciated the importance of the transactions of this period) "to Sambaji, oppressed Aurunzebe with as much anxiety, as formerly the phantom of his brother Sujah amongst the Pathans; and the consequence of their alliance became a nearer care than the continuance of the war against the Rajpoots, whose gallant activity prevented a speedy decision by the sword; but the dignity of the throne precluded any overtures of peace to a resistance which had attempted the deposal, if not the life, of the monarch. A Rajpoot officer, who had long served with distinction under Delhir Khan,

* He was chief of Droonara, on the Loni. He saved his young sovereign's life from the tyrant, and guarded him during a long minority heading the Rahtores in all the wars for the independence of his country. A bribe, of forty thousand *gold suns* was sent to him by Azim *without stipulation*, when conveying Akbar out of danger. The object was obvious, yet the Mogul prince dared not even specify his wishes. It is needless to say that Doorga spurned the offer.

† "We are not without hopes that some of the many in India who have the means, will supply the portions of information which are deficient in these fragments, and must otherwise always continue out of our reach. The knowledge is well worth the inquiry; for besides the magnitude of the events and the energy of the characters which arise within this period, there are no states or powers on the continent of India, with whom our nation has either connection or concern, which do not owe the origin of their present condition to the reign of Arungzebe, or to its influence on the reign of his successors."—Orme's *Fragments*, p. 165.

solved the difficulty: he quitted the army under pretence of ret iring to his own country and visited the Rana as from courtesy on his journey. The conversation turned on the war, which the Rajpoot perhaps really lamented, and he persuaded the Rana that though Aurungzebe would never condescend to make, he might accept overtures of peace: upon which he was empowered by the Rana to tender them." The domestic annals confirm this account, and give the name of this mediator, Raja Shiam Sing of Bikaneri; but the negotiation was infamously protracted to the rains, the period when operations necessarily cease, and by which time Aurunzebe had recruited his broken forces, and was again enabled to take the field; and it was concluded "without assertion or release of the capitation tax, but with the surrender of the districts taken from Cheetore, and the state of Joudpur was included in the treaty." How correctly this elegant historian had obtained a knowledge of those events, a translation of the treaty evinces.* But these occurrences belong to the succeeding reign, for the Rana died about this period,† from wounds and vexation.

Once more we claim the reader's admiration on behalf of another patriot prince of Mewar, and ask him to contrast the indigenous Rajpoot

* "*Fewab-sowal*" (a) of Soor Sing (uncle of Rana Raj Sing) and Nurhur Bhut with the Emperor.

(a) Treaties or engagements are thus designated; literally stipulations and answers.

Punja or impress of the Emperor's hand, with the word '*Munsoori*,' written by himself.

Punja.

Munsoori.
('agreed.')

"Your servants, according to your royal pleasure and summons, have been sent by the Rana to represent what is written underneath. We hope you will agree to these requests, besides others which will be made by Puddum Sing.

1st. Let Cheetore with the districts adjacent appertaining thereto when it was inhabited, be restored.

2d. In such temples and places of Hindu religious resort as have been converted into mosques, the past cannot be recalled, but let this practice be abolished.

3d. The aid hitherto afforded to the empire by the Rana shall be continued, but let no additional commands be imposed.

4th. The sons and dependants of the deceased Raja Jesswunt Sing, so soon as enabled to perform their duties, we hope will have their country restored to them. (a)

Respect prevents inferior demands. May the splendour of your fortune, like the sun illuminating the world, be for ever increasing and never set.

The Arzi (requests) of your servants, Soor Sing and Nurhur Bhut."

† S. 1737, A.D. 1681.

(a) It was to defend the rights of the heir of Marwar, as well as to oppose the odious *jeseya*, that the Rana took to arms. Ajit was still under the Rana's safeguard.

with the emperor of the Moguls; though to compare them would be manifestly unjust, since in every moral virtue they were antipodes to each other. Aurungzebe accumulated on his head more crimes than any prince who ever sat on an Asiatic throne. With all the disregard of life which marks his nation, he was never betrayed, even in the fever of success, into a single generous action; and, contrary to the prevailing principle of our nature, the moment of his foe's submission was that chosen for the malignant completion of his revenge: witness his scourging the prostrate king of Golconda. How opposite to the beneficence of the Rajpoot prince, who, when the most efficient means of self-defence lay in the destruction of the resources of his enemy, feeling for the miseries of the suffering population of his persecutor, recalled his son in the midst of victory! As a skilful general and gallant soldier, in the defence of his country, he is above all praise. As a chivalrous Rajpoot, his braving all consequences when called upon to save the honour of a noble female of his race, he is without parallel. As an accomplished prince and benevolent man, his dignified letter of remonstrance to Aurungzebe on the promulgation of the capitation edict, places him high in the scale of moral as well as intellectual excellence; and an additional evidence of both, and of his taste for the arts, is furnished by the formation of the inland lake, the Rajsund, with a slight account of which, and the motives for its execution, we shall conclude the sketch of this glorious epoch in the annals of Mewar.

LAKE RAJSUND.—This great national work is twenty-five miles north of the capital, and is situated on the declivity of the plain about two miles from the base of the Aravali. A small perennial stream, called the *Gomtee* or 'serpentine' flowing from these mountains, was arrested in its course, and confined by an immense embankment, made to form the lake called after himself, *Rajsund*, or 'royal sea.' The *bund* or dam forms an irregular segment of a circle, embracing an extent of nearly three miles, and encircling the waters on every side except the space between the north-west and north-east points. This barrier, which confines a sheet of water of great depth, and about twelve miles in circumference, is entirely of white marble, with a flight of steps of the same material, throughout this extent, from the summit to the water's edge; the whole buttressed by an enormous rampart of earth, which, had the projector lived, would have been planted with trees to form a promenade. On the south side are the town and fortress built by the Rana, and bearing his name, Rajnuggur; and upon the embankment stands the temple of Kunkeraoli, the shrine of one of the seven forms (*sarop*) of Christna. The whole is ornamented with sculpture of tolerable execution for the age; and a genealogical sketch of the founder's family is inscribed in conspicuous characters. One million one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling,* contributed by the Rana, his chiefs and opulent subjects, was expended on this work, of which the material was from the adjacent quarries. But, magnificent, costly, and useful as it is, it derives its chief beauty from the benevolent motive to which it owes its birth: to alleviate the miseries of starving population, and make their employment conducive to national benefit, during one of those awful visitations of providence, famine and pestilence, with which these state are sometimes afflicted.

It was in 1717,† only seven years after the accession of Raj Sing,

* Ninety-six lacks of rupees.

† A.D. 1661.

that these combined evils reached Mewar, less subject to them, owing to its natural advantages, than any other state in India;* and on Tuesday the 8th of Pos, *Hasti Nakhetra* (constellation of the elephant), as fixed by the astrologer, the first stone was laid. "The chief of Mewar, deeply meditating on this extreme distress, determined to raise a monument, by which the wretched might be supported and his own name perpetuated. This was seven years in constructing, and at its commencement and termination all the rites of sacrifice and oblation were observed.

"The Rana went to implore favour at the temple of the '*four-armed*;'† for though Asar¹ was over, not a drop of rain fell from the heavens; and, in like manner, the months of Sawun,² and Bhadoon,³ passed away. For want of water the world was in despair, and people went mad with hunger. Things unknown as food were eaten. The husband abandoned the wife, the wife, the husband—parents sold their children—time increased the evil; it spread far and wide; even the insects died; they had nothing to feed on. Thousands of all ages became victims to hunger. Those who procured food to-day, ate twice what nature required. The wind was from the west, a pestilential vapour. The constellations were always visible at night, nor was there a cloud in the sky by day, and thunder and lightning were unknown. Such portents filled mankind with dread. Rivers, lakes, and fountains were dried up. Men of wealth meted out the portions of food. The ministers of religion forgot their duties. There was no longer distinction of caste, and the Soodra and Brahmin were undistinguishable. Strength, wisdom, caste, tribe, all were abandoned, and food alone was the object. The *charburrunt*† threw away every symbol of separation; all was lost in hunger. Fruits, flowers, every vegetable thing, even trees were stripped of their bark, to appease the carvings of hunger: nay, *man ate man*! Cities were depopulated. The seed of families was lost, the fishes were extinct, and the hope of all extinguished."‡

Such is the simple yet terrific record of this pestilence, from which Mewar was hardly freed, when Aurungzebe commenced the religious warfare narrated, with all its atrocities still further to devastate this fair region. But a just retribution resulted from this disregard to the character and prejudices of Rajpoots, which visited the emperor with shame, and his successors with the overthrow of their power.

* From all I could learn, it was the identical pestilence which has been ravaging India for the last ten years, erroneously called *cholera morbus*. About thirty-five years ago the same disease carried off multitudes in these countries. Orme gives notice of something similar in A.D. 1684, in the imperial camp near Goa when five hundred victims daily fell its prey. Mewar was not free from the last visitation of 1818 and the only son of the Rana was the first person attacked.

1, 2, 3. The three months of rain, termed the *Bursat*.

† The four castes, sacerdotal, military, mercantile, and servile.

‡ From the *Raj Vilas*, the chronicle of the reign of Raj Sing.

CHAPTER XIV.

RAJA JEY SING took possession of the *Gadi*,* in S. 1737 (A. D. 1681). A circumstance occurred at his birth, which as descriptive of manners may deserve notice. A few hours only intervened between his entrance into the world and that of another son called Bheem. It is customary for the father to bind round the arm of a new-born infant a root of that species of grass called *amirdhob*, the 'imperishable' *dhob*, well known for its nutritive properties and luxuriant vegetation under the most intense heat. The Rana first attached the ligature round the arm of the youngest, apparently an oversight, though in fact from superior affection for his mother. As the boys approached to manhood, the Rana apprehensive that this preference might create dissension, one day drew his sword, and placing it in the hand of Bheem (the elder), said, it was better to use it at once on his brother, than hereafter to endanger the safety of the state. This appeal to his generosity had an instantaneous effect, and he not only ratified, "*by his father's throne*,"† the acknowledgment of the sovereign rights of his brother, but declared, to remove all fears, "he was not his son if he again drank water within the pass of Dobari;" and, collecting his retainers, he abandoned Oodipur to court fortune where she might be kinder. The day was sultry, and on reaching the barrier he halted under the shade of a sacred fig-tree to bestow a last look upon the place of his birth. His cup-bearer (*Panairi*) brought his silver goblet filled from the cool fountain, but as he raised it to his lips, he recollected that his vow was incomplete while within the portal; he poured the libation on the earth in the name of the Supreme, and casting the cup as an offering to the diety of the fountain, the huge gates closed upon the valley. He proceeded to Buhadoor Shah, who conferred upon him, the dignity (*munsab*) of a leader of three thousand five hundred horse, with the *Bawuna*, or fifty-two districts for their support: but quarrelling with the imperial general, he was detached with his contingent west of the Indus, where he died.‡

Let us return to Jey Sing (*the lion of victory*). He concluded a treaty with Arungzebe, conducted by Prince Azim and Delhir Khan, who took every occasion to testify his gratitude for the clemency of Rana Raj Sing, when blockaded in the defiles of the Aravali. At this conference, the Rana was attended by ten thousand horse and forty thousand foot, besides the multitude collected from the mountains to view the ceremony, above one hundred thousand souls who set up a shout of joy at the

* "*The Cushion*," by which a Rajpoot throne is designated.

† *Gadi ca An*.

‡ I give these anecdotes as related to me by his descendant and representative the Raja of Bunera, while seated in a balcony of his castle overlooking the plains of Mewar. Often have I quenched my thirst at the fountain, and listened to their traditionary tales. It is a spot consecrated to recollections; every altar which rises around it is a text for the '*great ancients*' of the clans to expatiate on; and it is, moreover, a grand place of rendezvous, whether for the traveller or sportsman.

Bheem dislocated his spine in a feat of strength. He was celebrated for activity, and could, while his steed was urged to his speed, disengage and suspend himself by the arms from the bough of a tree; and to one of these experiments he owed his death.

prospect of revisiting the plains, which disconcerted Azim, while Delhir expatiated on the perils from which the Rana's generosity had liberated him. Azim, who said he was no stranger to the Rana's illustrious house, concluded a treaty on the spot, in which, as a salvo for the imperial dignity, a nominal fine and surrender of three districts were inserted for aiding Akbar's rebellion, and a hint that the regal colour (*crimson*) of his tents and umbrella should be discontinued. That advantages were gained by the Rana, we may infer from Delhir's sons being left as hostages for Azim's good faith; a fact we learn from his farewell address to the Rana: "your nobles are rude, and my children are the hostages of your safety; but if at the expense of their lives, I can obtain the entire restoration of your country, keep your mind at ease, for there was friendship between your father and me."

But all other protection than what his sword afforded was futile; and though Delhir's intentions were noble, he had little control over events; in less than five years after his accession, the Rana was again forced to fly the plains for the inaccessible haunts of Kamori. Yet, in spite of these untoward circumstances and uninterrupted warfare, such were the resources of this little state, that the Rana completed a work which perpetuates his name. He threw a dam across a break in the mountains, the channel of an everflowing stream, by which he formed the largest lake in India, giving it his own name, the Jeysumund, or *sea of victory*. Nature had furnished the hint for this undertaking, for there had always existed a considerable volume of water; but the Rana had the merit of uniting these natural buttresses and creating a little sea from the *Dheybur pool*, its ancient appellation. The circumference cannot be less than thirty miles, and the benefits to cultivation, especially in respect to the article of rice, which requires perpetual irrigation, were great. On this huge rampart he erected a place for his favourite queen, Camala-devi, a princess of the Pramara race, familiarly known as the *Roota Ranee*, or "testy queen."

Domestic unhappiness appears to have generated in the Rana inaptitude to state affairs; and, unluckily, the favoured queen estranged him from his son. Umra, a name venerated in Mewar, was that of the heir of Jey Sing. His mother was of the Boondi house, a family which has performed great services to, and brought great calamities upon the ancient sovereigns of Mewar. To the jealousies of the rival queens, one of them mother to the heir, the other the favourite of the sovereign, are attributed dissensions, which at such a juncture were a greater detriment than the loss of a battle, and which afford another illustration, if any were wanting, of the impolicy of polygamy. The annals of Mewar seldom exhibit those unnatural contentions for power, from which no other Hindu state was exempt; this was owing to the wholesome regulation of not investing the princes of blood with any political authority; and establishing as a counterpoise to natural advantages, an artificial degradation of their rank which placed them beneath the sixteen chief nobles of the state; which, while it exalted these in their own estimation, lessened the national humiliation, when the heirs-apparent were compelled to lead their quota in the *arriere-ban* of the empire.

Rana Jey Sing, who had evinced such gallantry and activity in the wars of Aurungzebe, now secluded himself with Comala in the retreat at Jeysumund, leaving Umra under the guidance of the Pancholi minister, at the capital. But he having personally insulted this chief officer of the state, in consequence of receiving a rebuke for turning loose an

infuriated elephant in the town, the Rana left his retreat, and visiting Cheetore in his tour, arrived at Oodipur. Umra awaited not his father's arrival, but adding his mother's resentments to a feeling of patriotic indignation at the abasement his indolence produced, fled to Boondi, took up arms, and joined by many of his own nobles and Hara auxiliaries, returned at the head of ten thousand men. Desirous of averting civil war, the Rana retired to Godwar beyond the Aravali, whence he sent the Ganora chieftain, the first feudatory of that department, to expostulate with his son. But Umra, supported by three-fourths of the nobles, made direct for Komulmeer to secure the state treasure, saved by the Uepra the governor for his sovereign. A failure in this project, the knowledge that the Rahtores fostered the quarrel with a view to obtain Godwar, and the determination of the few chiefs yet faithful to the Rana, to defend the Jilwarra pass to the last, made the prince listen to terms, which were ratified at the shrine of Eklinga, whereby the Rana was to return to the capital, and the prince to abide in exile at the new palace during the life of his father, which closed twenty years after his accession. Had he maintained the reputation he established in his early years, the times were well calculated for the redemption of his country's independence; but documents which yet exist afford little reason to doubt that in his latter years a state of indolence, having all the effects of imbecility, supervened, and but for the formation of 'the victorious sea,' would have left his name a blank in the traditional history of Mewar.

Umra II., who succeeded in S. 1756 (A. D. 1700) had much of the gallantry and active turn of mind of his illustrious namesake; but the degrading conflict with his father had much impaired the moral strength of the country, and counteracted the advantages which might have resulted from the decline of the Mogul power. The reigns of Raj Sing and Jey Sing illustrate the obvious truth, that on the personal character of the chief of a feudal government every thing depends. The former, infusing by his talent and energy patriotic sentiments into all his subordinates, banquished in a series of conflicts the vast military resources of the empire, ved by the emperor, his sons, and chosen generals; while his successor, heir to this moral strength, and with every collateral aid, lowered her to a stage of contempt from which no talent could subsequently raise her.

Umra early availed himself of the contentions amongst the sons of Arungzebe to anticipate events, and formed a private treaty† with the

*. Beri Sal of Bijolli, Kandul of Saloombra, Gopinath of Ganora, and the Solanki of Daisoori.

† *"Private Treaty between the Rana and Shah Alum Buhadoor Shah, and bearing his sign-manual."*

Six articles of engagement, just, and tending to the happiness of the people, have been submitted by you and by me accepted, and with God's blessing shall be executed without deviation:

- 1st. The re-establishment of Cheetore as in the time of Shah Jehan.
- 2d. Prohibition of kine-killing. (a)

(a) From the second of these articles, which alternate between stipulations of a temporal and spiritual nature, we may draw a lesson of great political importance. In all the treaties which have come under my observation, the insertion of an article against the slaughter of kine was prominent. This sacrifice to their national prejudices was the subject of discussion with every ambassador when the states of Rajasthan formed

Mogul heir-apparent, Shah Alum, when commanded to the countries west of the Indus, on which occasion the Mewar contingent* accompanied him, and fought several gallant actions under a Sukhawut chieftain.

It is important to study the events of this period, which involved the overthrow of the Mogul power, and originated that form of society which paved the way to the dominion of Britain in these distant regions. From such a review a political lesson of great value may be learned, which will shew a beacon warning us against the danger of trusting to mere physical power, unaided by the latent, but more durable support of moral influence. When Arungzebe neglected the indigenous Rajpoots, he endangered the key-stone of his power; and in despising opinion, though his energetic

3d. The restoration of all the districts held in the reign of Shah Jehan.

4th. Freedom of faith and religious worship, as during the government of him whose *nest is Paradise* (Akbar).

5th. Whoever shall be dismissed by you shall receive no countenance from the king.

6th. The abrogation of the contingent for the service of the Dekhan." (b)

* It consisted of twenty-two *Nagarbund* chiefs, *i. e.* each entitled to a kettle-drum, and fifteen *Tooraes*, or chiefs, entitled to brass trumpets.

engagements with the British government in 1817-18, 'the prohibition of kine-killing within their respective limits.' From the construction of our armies we could not guarantee this article, but assurances were given that every practical attention would be paid to their wishes: and kine are not absolutely slain within the jurisdiction of any of these Rajpoot princes. But even long habit, though it has familiarized, has not reconciled them to this revolting sacrifice; nor would the kine-killer in Mewar be looked upon with less detestation than was Cambyzes by the Egyptians, when he thrust his lance into the flank of Apis. But in time this will be overlooked, and the verbal assurance will become a dead letter; men of good intention will be lulled into the belief that, because not openly combated, the prejudice is extinct, and that homage to our power has obliterated this article of their creed. Thus Aurungzebe thought, but he avowedly and boldly opposed the religious opinions of his tributaries; we only hold them in contempt, and even protect them when productive of no sacrifice. Yet if we look back on the early page of history, we shall find both policy and benevolence combined to form this legislative protection to one of the most useful of domestic animals, and which would tempt the belief that Triptolemus, the lawgiver of Sparta, had borrowed from Menu or rather from the still greater friends of dumb creatures, the Jains, in the law which exempted not only the lordly bull from the knife, but 'every living thing.'

(b) The Mewar contingent had been serving under Azim in the south, as the following letter from him to the Rana discloses:

"Be it known to Rana Umra Sing, your arzee arrived, and the accounts of your mother gave me great grief, but against the decrees of God there is no struggling. Pray for my welfare. Raja Rae Sing made a request for you; you are my own: rest in full confidence and continue in your obedience. The lands of your illustrious ancestors shall all be yours—but this is the time to evince your duty—the rest learn from your own servants—continue to think of me.

"Your Rajpoots have behaved well."

mind might for a time render him independent of it, yet long before his death the enormous fabric reared by Akbar was tottering to its foundation: demonstrating to conviction that the highest order of talent, either for government or war, though aided by unlimited resources, will not suffice for the maintenance of power, unsupported by the affections of the governed. The empire of Arungzebe was more extensive than that of Britain at this day—the elements of stability were incomparably more tenacious: he was associated with the Rajpoots by blood, which seemed to guarantee a respect for their opinions; he possessed the power of distributing the honors and emoluments of the state, when a service could be rewarded by a province,* drawing at will supplies of warriors from the mountains of the west, as a check on his indigenous subjects, while these left the plains of India to control the Afghan amidst the snows of Caucasus. But the most devoted attachment and most faithful service were repaid by insult to their habits, and the imposition of an obnoxious tax; and to the *jeseya*, and the unwise pertinacity with which his successors adhered to it, must be directly ascribed the overthrow of the monarchy. No condition was exempted from this odious and impolitic assessment, which was deemed by the tyrant a mild substitute for the conversion he once meditated of the entire Hindu race to the creed of Islam.

An abandonment of their faith was the Rajpoot's surest road to the tyrant's favour, and an instance of this dereliction in its consequences powerfully contributed to the annihilation of the empire. Rao Gopal, a branch of the Rana's family, held the fief of Rampura, on the Chumbul,† and was serving with a select quota of his clan in the wars of the Dekhan, when his son, who had been left at home, withheld the revenues, which he applied to his own use instead of remitting them to his father. Rao Gopal complained to the emperor; but the son discovered that he could by a sacrifice not only appease Arungzebe, but attain the object of his wishes: he apostatized from his faith, and obtained the emperor's forgiveness, with the domain of Rampura. Disgusted and provoked at such injurious conduct, Rao Gopal fled the camp, made an unsuccessful attempt to redeem his estate, and took refuge with Rana Umra, his suzerain. This natural asylum granted to a chief of his own kin, was construed by the tyrant into a signal of revolt, and Azim was ordered to Malwa to watch the Rana's motion: conduct thus characterized in the memoirs of a Rajpoot chieftain,‡ one of the most devoted to Arungzebe, and who died fighting for his son. "The emperor shewed but little favour to his faithful and most useful subjects the Rajpoots, which greatly cooled their ardour in his service." The Rana took up

* In lieu of all, what reward does Britain hold out to the native population to be attached? Heavy duties exclude many products of their industry from the home market. The rates of pay to civil officers afford no security to integrity; and the faithful soldier cannot aspire to higher reward than £120 per annum, were his breast studded with medals. Even their prejudices are often too little considered, prejudices, the violation of which lost the throne of India, in spite of every local advantage, to the descendants of Arungzebe.

† Rampura *Bhanpura* (city of the sun) to distinguish it from Rampura *Tonk*. Rao Gopal was of the Chanderawut clan.

‡ Rao Dulput Boondela of Duttea, a portion of whose memoirs were presented to me by the reigning prince, his descendant.

arms, and Malwa joined the tumult; while the first irruption of the Mahrattas across the Nerbudda,* under Neema Sindia, compelled the emperor to detach Raja Jey Sing to join Prince Azim. Amidst these accumulated troubles, the Mahrattas rising into importance, the Rajpoot feudatories disgusted and alienated, his sons and grandsons ready to commit each individual pretension to the decision of the sword, did Arungzebe, after a reign of terror of half a century's duration, breathe his last on the 28th Zekaud A. D. 1707, at the city bearing his name—Arungabad.

At his death his second son Azim assumed the imperial dignity, and aided by the Rajput princes of Duttea and Kotah,† who had always served in his division, he marched to Agra to contest the legitimate claims of his eldest brother Mauzum, who was advancing from Cabul supported by the contingents of Mewar and Marwar, and all western Rajwarra. The battle of Jajow was fatal to Azim, who with his son Bedar-bukt and the princes of Kotah and Duttea was slain, when Mauzum ascended the throne under the title of Shah Alum Buhadoor Shah. This prince had many qualities which endeared him to the Rajpoots, to whom his sympathies were united by the ties of blood, his mother being a Rajpoot princess. Had he immediately succeeded the beneficent Shah Jehan, the race of Timoor, in all human probability, would have been still enthroned at Delhi, and might have presented a picture of one of the most powerful monarchies of Asia. But Arungzebe had inflicted an incurable wound on the mind of the Hindu race, which for ever estranged them from his successors; nor were the virtues of Buhadoor, during the short lustre of his sway, capable of healing it. The bitter fruit of a long experience had taught the Rajpoots not to hope for amelioration from any graft of that stem, which, like the deadly Upas, had stifled the vital energies of Rajasthan, whose leaders accordingly formed a league for mutual preservation, which it would have been madness to dissolve merely because a fair portion of virtue was the inheritance of the tyrant's successor. They had proved that no act or duty of subserviency could guarantee them from the infatuated abuse of power, and they were at length steeled against every appeal to their loyalty, replying with a trite adage, which we may translate "*quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*,"—of common application with the Rajpoot in such a predicament.

The emperor was soon made to perceive the little support he had in future to expect from the Rajpoots. Scarcely had he quashed the pretensions of Kambuksh, his youngest brother, who proclaimed himself emperor in the Dekhan, than he was forced to the north, in consequence of an insurrection of the Sikhs of Lahore. This singular race, the disciples (*sikhs*) of a teacher called Nanuk, were the descendants of the Scythic Gete, or Jit, of Transoxiana, who so early as the fifth century were established in the tract watered by the five arms (*Punjab*) of the Indus. Little more than a century has elapsed since their conversion from a spurious Hinduism to the doctrine of the sectarian Nanuk, and their first attempt to separate themselves, in temporal as well as spiritual matters, from all control, and they are now the sole independent power within the limits of the Mogul monarchy. On this occasion‡ the princes of Ambar and Marwar visited the emperor, but left his camp without permission,

* A. D. 1706-7.

† Rao Dulput (Boondia), and Rao Ram Sing (Hara).

‡ A.D. 1709-10.

and, as the historian adds,* manifested a design to struggle for independence. Such was the change in their mutual circumstances, that the Mogul sent the heir-apparent to conciliate and conduct them to him; but they came at the head of all their native bands when "they were gratified with whatever their insolence demanded :"[†] a splenetic effusion of the historian, which well paints their altered position. From the royal *oordoo*,[‡] or camp, they repaired to Rana Umra at Oodipur, where a triple league was formed, which once more united them to the head of their nation. This treaty of unity of interests against the common foe was solemnized by nuptial engagements, from which those princes had been excluded since the reigns of Akbar and Pertap. To be re-admitted to this honour was the basis of this triple alliance, in which they ratified on oath the renunciation of all connexion, domestic or political, with the empire. It was, moreover, stipulated that the sons of such marriage should be heirs, or if the issue were females, that they should never be dishonoured by being married to a Mogul.

But this remedy as will be seen, originated a worse disease; it was a sacrifice of the rights of primogeniture (clung to by the Rajpoots with extreme pertinacity), productive of the most injurious effects, which introduced domestic strife, and called upon the stage an umpire not less baneful than the power from whose iron grasp they were on the point of freeing themselves: for although this treaty laid prostrate the throne of Baber, it ultimately introduced the Mahrattas as partizans in their family disputes, who made the bone of contention their own.

The injudicious support afforded by the emperor to the apostate chief of Rampura, first brought the triple federation into action. The Rana, upholding the cause of Himmut made an attack on Rampura, which the apostate usurper Ruttun Sing, now *Raja Mooslim Khan*, defeated, and was rewarded for it by the emperor.§ But the same report conveyed to the king, "*that the Rana determined to lay waste his country, and retire to the hills,*"|| which was speedily confirmed by the unwelcome intelligence that Sawuldas, an officer of the Rana's, had attacked Feeroz Khan, the governor of Poorh Mandal, who was obliged to retreat with great loss to Ajmeer;¶ on which occasion this loyal descendant of the illustrious Jeimul lost his life.** The brave Doorga-das, who conveyed the rebellious Akbar through all opposition to a place of refuge, again appeared upon the stage—his own prince being unable to

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 58; also autograph letters of all those princes, with files of the regular newspapers (*akbars*) of the day, in my possession, dated, from the emperor's camp.

† Memoirs of Eradut Khan. ‡ Hence the corruption of *horde*.

§ Newspapers, dated 3d Rejib, Sun. 3—(3d year of his reign).

|| Newspapers, 10th Rejib, Sun. 3.

¶ Newspapers, 5th Shaval, Sun 3.

** The following edict, which caused this action, I translated from the archives; it is addressed to the son of Sawuldas.

"Mahirana Umra Sing to Rahtore Ræ Sing *Sawuldasote* (race of Sawuldas):

"Lay waste your villages and the country around you—your families shall have other habitations, to dwell in—for particulars consult Dowlut Sing Chondawut: obey these."—Asoj, S. 1764 (Dec. A.D. 1708-9).

protect him, he had found a safe asylum at Oodipur, and had the sum of five hundred rupees daily paid for his expenditure,—a princely liberality. But the result of this combination was reserved for the following reigns, Shah Alum being carried off by poison,* ere he could correct the disorders which were rapidly breaking up the empire from the Hindu-Koosh to the ocean. Had his life been spared, his talents for business, his experience, and courteous manners, might have retarded the ruin of the monarchy, which the utter unworthiness of his successor sunk beyond the power of man to redeem. Every subsequent succession was through blood; and the sons of Shah Alum performed the part for which they had so many great examples. Two brothers,† Syeds, from the town of Bareh in the Doab, were long the Warwicks of Hindusthan, setting up and plucking down its puppet kings at their pleasure; they had elevated Ferocksere when the triumvirs of Rajasthan commenced their operations.

Giving loose to long-suppressed resentment, the Rajpoots abandoned the spirit of toleration which it would have been criminal to preserve; and profiting by the lessons of their tyrants, they overthrew the mosques built on the sites of their altars, and treated the civil and religious officers of the government with indignity. Of these every town in Rajasthan had its *moolah* to proclaim the name of Mohammed, and its *casi* for the administration of Justice,—branches of government entirely wrested from the hands of the native princes,‡ abusing the name of independence. But for a moment it was redeemed, especially by the brave Rahtores, who had made a noble resistance, contesting every foot of land since the death of Jesswunt Sing, and now his son Ajit entirely expelled the Mogula from Marwar. On this occasion the native forces of the triple alliance met at the salt lake of Sambur, which was made the common boundary of their territory, and its revenues were equally divided amongst them.

The pageant of an emperor, guided by the Syeds, or those who intrigued to supplant their ministry, made an effort to oppose the threatening measures of the Rajpoots; and one of them, the Ameer-ool Omra,§ marched against Raja Ajit, who received private instructions from the emperor to resist his commander-in-chief, whose credit was strengthened by the means taken to weaken it, which engendered suspicions of treachery. Ajit leagued with the Syeds, who held out to the Rahtore an important share of power at court, and agreed to pay tribute and give a daughter in marriage to Ferocksere.

This marriage yielded most important results, which were not confined to the Moguls or Rajpoots, for to it may be ascribed the rise of the British power in India. A dangerous Malady,|| rendering necessary a surgical operation upon Ferocksere, to which the faculty of the court were unequal, retarded the celebration of the nuptials between the emperor and the Rajpoot princess of Marwar, and even threatened a fatal termination. A mission from the British merchants at Surat was at that time

* A. D. 1712.

† Husein Ali and Abdoolla Khan.

‡ Next to kine-killing was the article inhibiting the introduction of the *Adawlet*, or British courts of justice, into the Rajpoot states, in all their treaties with the British government in A. D. 1817-18, the very name of which is abhorrent to a native.

§ The title of Hussein Ali,—as Kootub-ool Moolk (*the axis of the state*), was that of his brother Abdoolla.

|| A white swelling or tumour on the back.

at court, and, as a last resource, the surgeon attached to it was called in, who cured the malady, and made the emperor happy in his bride.* His gratitude was displayed with oriental magnificence. The emperor desired Mr. Hamilton to name his reward, and to the disinterested patriotism of this individual did the British owe the first royal grant or *firman*, conferring territorial possession and great commercial privileges. These were the objects of the mission, which till this occurrence had proved unsuccessful.

This gorgeous court ought to have been, and probably was, impressed with a high opinion of the virtuous self-denial of the inhabitants of Britain; and if history has correctly preserved the transaction, some mark of public gratitude should have been forthcoming from those who so signally benefited thereby. But to borrow the phraseology of the Italian historian, "obligations which do not admit of being fully discharged, are often repaid with the coin of ingratitude:" the remains of this man rest in the churchyard of Calcutta, without even a stone to mark the spot!

This marriage, which promised a renewal of interests with the Rajpoots, was soon followed by the revival of the obnoxious *jeseya*. The character of this tax, though much altered from its original imposition by Arungzebe, when it was at once financial and religious, was held in unmitigated abhorrence by the Hindus from the complex association; and although it was revived chiefly to relieve pecuniary wants, it kindled a universal feeling of hatred amongst all classes, and quenched the little zeal which the recent marriage had inspired in the Rajpoots of the desert. The mode and channel of its introduction evinced to them, that there was no hope that the intolerant spirit which originally suggested it would ever be subdued. The weak Ferocksere, desirous of snapping the leading-strings of the Syeds, recalled to his court Enayet Oolla Khan, the minister of Arungzebe, and restored to him his office of *Dewan*, who, to use the words of the historian of the period, "did not consult the temper of the times, so very different from the reign of Arungzebe, and the revival of the *jeseya* came with him." Though by no means severe in its operation, not amounting to three-quarters per cent. on annual income,†—from which the lame, the blind, and very poor were exempt,—it nevertheless raised a general spirit of hostility, particularly from its retaining the insulting distinction of a *tax on infidels*." Resistance to taxation appears to be a universal feeling, in which even the Asiatic forgets the divine right of sovereignty, and which throws us back on the pervading spirit of selfishness which governs human nature. The *temgha*, or stamp tax, which preceded the *jeseya*, would appear to have been as unsatisfactory as it was

* The ceremony is described, as it was celebrated, with true Asiatic pomp. "The Ameer-ool Omra conducted the festivities on the part of the bride, and the marriage was performed with a splendour and magnificence till then unseen among the princes of Hindusthan. Many pompous insignia were added to the royal *cortege* upon this occasion. The illuminations rivalled the planets, and seemed to upbraid the faint lustre of the stars. The nuptials were performed at the palace of the Ameer-ool Omra, whence the emperor conveyed his bride with the highest splendour of imperial pomp to the citadel, amidst the resoundings of musical instruments and the acclamations of the people."—Page 132, Vol. i., Scott's History of Arungzebe's successors,

† 13 rupees on every 2,000 rupees.

general, from the solemnity of its renunciation by Baber on the field of battle after the victory over *infidels*, which gave him the crown of India ; and though we have no record of the *jezeyā* being its substitute, there are indications which authorize the inference.

Rana Umra was not an idle spectator of these occurrences ; and although the spurious thirst for distinction so early broke up the alliance by detaching Ajit, he redoubled his efforts for personal independence, and with it that the Rajpoot nation. An important document attests his solicitude, namely, a treaty* with the emperor, in which the second article stipulates emancipation from the galling *jezeyā*. It may be well to analyze this

* "*Memorandum of Requests.*"

1st. The *Munsub* (a) of 7,000.

2nd. Firman of engagement under the *punja* private seal and sign that the *jezeyā* shall be abolished—that it shall no longer be imposed on the Hindu nation ; at all events, that none of the Chagitai race shall authorize it in Mewar. Let it be annulled.

3d. The contingent of one thousand horse for service in the Dekhan to be excused.

4th. All places of Hindu faith to be re-built, with perfect freedom of religious worship.

5th. If my uncles, brothers, or chiefs, repair to the presence, to meet no encouragement.

6th. The Bhomias of Deola, Banswarra, Dongerpur, and Sirohi, besides other zemindars over whom I am to have control, they shall not be admitted to the presence.

7th. The forces I possess are my chiefs—what troops you may require for a given period, you must furnish with rations (*paitsi*) and when the service is over, their accounts will be settled.

8th. Of the Hukdars, Zemindars, Munsubdars, who serve you with zeal and from the heart, let me have a list—and those who are not obedient I will punish ; but in effecting this no demand is to be made for *paemali*." (b)

List of the districts attached to the *punj-hazri*, (c) at present under sequestration to be restored—Phoolia, Mandelgurh, Bednore, Poorh, Basar, Ghiaspur, Purdhar, Banswarra, Dongerpur. Besides the 5,000 of old, you had on ascending the throne granted an increase of 1,000, and on account of the victory at Sinsini 1,000, more of two and the three horse." (d)

Of three crores of *dams* (e) in gift (*enam*) viz., two according to a firman, and one for the payment of the contingent in the Dekhan, and of which two are immediately required, you have given me in lieu thereof Sirohi.

Districts now desired—Eidur, Kekri, Mandel, Jehajpur, Malpur, (and another illegible)."

(a) The dignity (*munsub*) of commander of a legion of 7,000 horse, the highest grade of rank.

(b) Destruction of property, alluding to the crops which always suffered in the movements of disorderly troops.

(c) Munsub of 5,000.

(d) It was usual to allow two and three horses to each cavalier when favour was intended.

(e) 40 dams to the rupee.

Treaty, which attests the altered condition of both parties. Its very title marks the subordination of the chief of the Rajpoots; but while this is headed a "Memorandum of Requests," the eighth article discloses the effective means of the Rana, for there he assumes an air of protection towards the emperor. In the opening stipulation for the *munsab* of 7,000, the mind reverts to the great Umra, who preferred abdication to acknowledgment of a superior; but opinion had undergone a change as great as the mutual relations of the Rajpoots. In temporal dignities other states had risen to an equality with Mewar, and all had learned to look on the Mogul as the fountain of honour. The abolition of the *jezeya*, freedom from religious restraint, control over the ancient feudatories of his house, and the restoration of all sequestrations, distinguish the other articles and amply attest the improving attitude of Mewar, and the rapid decay of the Mogul empire. The Mahrattas under Raja Sahoo were successfully prosecuting their peculiar system in the south, with the same feelings which characterized the early Gothic invaders of Italy; strangers to settled government, they imposed the taxes of *chouth* and *desmookie*, the fourth and tenth of all territorial income, in the countries they overran. The Jat tribes west of the Chumbul likewise bearded their oppressors in this reign, by hoisting the standard of independence at the very threshold of their capital; and from the seige of Sinsini (mentioned in this treaty) to the last storm of Bhurtpur, they maintained the consequence thus assumed.

This treaty was the last act of Rana Umra's life; he died in A. D. 1716, leaving the reputation of an active and high-minded prince, who well upheld his station and the prosperity of his country, notwithstanding the anarchy of the period. His encouragement of agriculture and protection of manufactures are displayed in the edicts engraved on pillars, which will hand down his name to posterity. His memory is held in high veneration; nor do the Rajpoots admit the absolute degradation of Mewar till the period of the second prince in succession to Umra.

CHAPTER XV.

SANGRAM SING (*the lion of battle*) succeeded; a name renowned in the annals of Mewar, being that of the opponent of the founder of the Moguls. He ascended the throne about the same time with Mahomed Shah, the last of the race of Timoor who deserved the name of emperor of India. During the reign of Sangram, from A.D. 1716 to 1734, this mighty empire was dismembered; when, in lieu of one paramount authority, numerous independent governments started up, which preserved their uncertain existence until the last revolution, which has given a new combination to these discordant materials—Mahomedan, Mahratta, and Rajpoot, in the course of one century under the dominion of a handful of Britons! Like the Satraps of the ancient Persian, or the Lieutenants of Alexander, each chief proclaimed himself master of the province, the government of which was confided to his loyalty and talents; and it cannot fail to diminish any regret at the successive prostration of Bengal, Oude, Hydrabad, and other less conspicuous states, to remember that they were founded in rebellion, and erected on ingratitude; and that their rulers were destitute of those sympathies, which could alone give stability to their ephemeral greatness, by improving the condition of their subjects. With the Mahrattas the case is

different: their emergence to power claims our admiration, when tyranny transformed the industrious husbandman and the minister of religion, into a hardy and enterprising soldier and a skilful functionary of government. Had their ambition been restrained within legitimate bounds, it would have been no less gratifying than politically and morally just that the family of Sevaji should have retained its authority in countries which his active valour wrested from Arunzebe. But the genius of conquest changed their natural habits; they devastated instead of consolidating; and in lieu of that severe and frugal simplicity; and that energy of enterprise, which were their peculiar characteristics, they became distinguished for mean parsimony low cunning, and dastardly degradation. Had they, retaining their original character, been content with their proper sphere of action, the Dekhan, they might yet have held the sovereignty of that vast region, where their habits and language assimilated them with the people. But as they spread over the north they encountered national antipathies, and though professing the same creed, a wider difference in sentiment divided the Mahratta from the Rajpoot, than from the despots of Delhi, whose tyrannical intolerance was more endurable, because less degrading, than the rapacious meanness of the Southron. Rajasthan benefited by the demolition of the empire: to all but Mewar it yielded an extension of power. Had the national mind been allowed to repose, and its energies to recruit, after so many centuries of demoralization, all would have recovered their strength, which lay in the opinions and industry of the people, a devoted tenantry and brave vassalage, whom we have so often depicted as abandoning their habitations and pursuits to aid the patriotic views of their princes.

The short reign of Ferocksere was drawing to a close; its end was accelerated by the very means by which that monarch hoped to emancipate himself from the thralldom of the Syeds, against whose authority the faction of Enayet Oolla was but a feeble counterpoise, and whose arbitrary habits, in the re-establishment of the jezeya, lost him even the support of the father of his queen. It was on this occasion that the celebrated Nizam-ool Moolk, the founder of the Hydrabad state, was brought upon the stage: he then held the unimportant charge of the district of Moradabad; but possessed of high talents, he was bought over, by the promise of the government of Malwa, to further the views of the Syeds. Supported by a body of ten thousand Mahrattas, these makers of kings soon manifested their displeasure by the deposition of Ferocksere, who was left without any support but that of the princes of Ambar and Boondi. Yet they would never have abandoned him had he hearkened to their counsel to take the field, and trust his cause to them: but, cowardly and infatuated, he refused to quit the walls of his palace, and threw himself upon the mercy of his enemies, who made him dismiss the faithful Rajpoots and "admit a guard of honour of their troops into the citadel."

Ferocksere hoped for security in the inviolability of the harem—but he found no sanctuary even there; to use the words of the Mogul memoir, "night advanced, and day, like the fallen star of the emperor, sunk in darkness. The gates of the citadel were closed upon his friends: the Vizier and Ajit Sing remained within. This night was dreadful to the inhabitants of the city; no one knew what was passing in the palace, and the troops under the Ameer-ool Omra, with ten thousand Mahrattas, remained under arms: morning came, and all hope was extinguished by the royal band (*Nobut*) announcing deposition of Ferocksere, in the

proclamation of Ruffeh-ool Dirjat, his successor." The interval between the deposal and the death of an Asiatic prince is short, and even while the heralds vociferated "*long live the king*!" to the new puppet, the bow-string was on the neck of the contemptible Ferocksere.

The first act of the new reign (A.D. 1719) was one of conciliation towards Ajit Sing and the Rajpoots, namely, the abrogation of the *jeseya*; and the Syeds further shewed their disposition to attach them by conferring the important office of *Dewan* on one of their own faith: Raja Ruttun Chund was accordingly inducted into the ministry in lieu of Enayet Oolla. Three phantoms of royalty flitted across the scene in a few months, till Roshun Akter, the eldest son of Buhadoor Shah was enthroned with the title of Mahomed Shah (A.D. 1720), during whose reign of nearly thirty years the empire was completely dismembered, and Mahrattas from the south disputed its spoils with the Afghan mountaineers. The haughty demeanour of the Syeds disgusted all who acted with them, especially their coadjutor the Nizam, of whose talents, displayed in restoring Malwa to prosperity, they entertained a dread. It was impossible to cherish any abstract loyalty for the puppets they established, and treason lost its name, when the Nizam declared for independence, which the possession of the fortresses of Aser and Boorhanpur enabled him to secure. The brothers had just cause for alarm. The Rajpoots were recalled upon for their contingents, and the princes of Kotah and Nirwur gallantly interposed their own retainers to cut off the Nizam from the Nurbudda, on which occasion the Kotah prince was slain. The independence of the Nizam led to that of Oude. Saadut Khan was then but the commandant of Biana, but he entered into the conspiracy to expel the Syeds, and was one of those who drew lots to assassinate the Ameer-Ool Omra. The deed was put into execution on the march to reduce the Nizam, when Hyder Khan buried his poniard in the Ameer's heart. The emperor then in camp, being thus freed, returned against the Vizier, who instantly set up Ibrahim and marched against his opponents. The Rajpoots wisely remained neutral, and both armies met. The decapitation of Ruttun Chund was the signal for the battle, which was obstinate and bloody; the Vizier was made prisoner, and subjected to the bowstring. For the part Saadut Khan acted in the conspiracy he was honoured with the title of Bahadoor Jung, and the government of Oude. The Rajpoot princes paid their respects to the conqueror, who confirmed the repeal of the *jeseya*, and as the reward of their neutrality the Rajas of Ambar and Jodhpur, Jey Sing and Ajit, were gratified, the former with the government of the province of Agra, the last with that of Guzerat and Ajmeer, of which latter fortress he took possession. Gheerdir-das* was made governor of Malwa to oppose the Mahrattas, and the Nizam was invited from his government of Hyderabad to accept the office of vizier of the empire.

The policy of Mewar was too isolated for the times; her rulers clung to forms and unsubstantial homage, while their neighbours, with more active virtue, plunged into the tortuous policy of the imperial court, and seized every opportunity to enlarge the boundaries of their states: and while Ambar appropriated to herself the royal domains almost to the Jumna; while Marwar planted her banner on the battlements of Ajmeer, dismembered Guzerat, and pushed her clans far into the desert, and

* Gheerdir-das was a Nagar Brahmin, son of Jubeela Ram, the chief secretary of Ruttun Chund.

even to "the world's end");* Mewar confined her ambition to the control of her ancient feudatories of Aboo, Edur, and the petty states which grew out of her, Dongerpur and Banswarra. The motive for this policy was precisely the same which had cost such sacrifices in former times; she dreaded amalgamating with the imperial court, and preferred political inferiority to the sacrifice of principle. The internal feuds of her two great clans also operated against her aggrandizement; and while the brave Suktawut, Jeit Sing, expelled the Rahtore from Edur, and subdued the wild mountaineers even to Koliwarra, the conquest was left incomplete by the jealousy of his rival, and he was recalled in the midst of his success. From these and other causes an important change took place in the internal policy of Mewar, which tended greatly to impair her energies. To this period none of the vassals had the power to erect places of strength within their domains, which, as already stated, were not fixed, but subject to triennial change; their lands were given for subsistence, their native hills were their fortresses, and the frontier strongholds defended their families in time of invasion. As the Mogul power waned, the general defensive system was abandoned, while the predatory warfare which succeeded compelled them to stud their country with castles, in order to shelter their effects from the Mahratta and Pathan, and in later times to protect rebels.

Rana Sangram ruled eighteen years; under him Mewar was respected, and the greater portion of her lost territory was regained. His selection of Beharidas Pancholi evinced his penetration, for never has Mewar a more able or faithful minister, and numerous autograph letters of all the princes of his time attest his talent and his work as the oracle of the period. He retained his office during three reigns: but his skill was unable to stem the tide of Mahratta invasion, which commenced on the death of Sangram.

Tradition had preserved many anecdotes of Sangram, which aid our estimate of Rajpoot character, whether in the capacity of legislators or the more retired sphere of domestic manners. They uniformly represent this Rana as a patriarchal ruler, wise, just, and inflexible,† steady in his application to business, regulating public and private expenditure, and even the sumptuary laws, which were rigidly adhered to, and on which the people still expatiate, giving homely illustrations of the contrast between them and the existing profusion. The Chohan [of Kotario, one of the highest class of chieftains, had recommended an addition to the folds of the court robe, and as courtesy forbids all personal denial, his wish was assented to, and he retired to his estate pluming himself on his sovereign's acquiescence. But the Rana, sending for the minister, commanded the sequestration of two villages of Roterio, which speedily reaching the ears of the chief, he repaired to court, and begged to know the fault which had drawn upon him this mark of displeasure. "None, Raoji; but on a minute calculation I find the revenue of these two villages will just cover the expense of the superfluity of garment which obedience to your wishes will occasion me, and as every iota of my own income is appropriated, I had no other mode of innovating on

* "Fuggut coont," the *Figat point*, of our maps, at Dawrica, where the *Bhadails*, a branch of the Rathores, established themselves.

† In the dialect, "churri muzboot tha," *his rod was strong*—a familiar phrase, which might be rendered "sceptre"—a long rod with an iron spike on it, often placed before the *gadi*, or throne.

our ancient costume than by making you bear the charge attending a compliance with your suggestion." It will readily be believed, that the Chohan prayed the revocation of this edict, and that he was careful for the future of violating the sumptuary laws of his sovereign.

On another occasion, from lapse of memory or want of consideration, he broke the laws he had established, and alienated a village attached to the household. Each branch had its appropriate fund, whether for the kitchen, the wardrobe, the privy purse, the queens; these lands were called *thooa*, and each had its officer, or *thooa-dar*, all of whom were made accountable for their trust to the prime minister; it was one of these he had alienated. Seated with his chiefs in the *russorah*, or banqueting-hall, there was no sugar forthcoming for the curds, which has a place in the dinner *carte* of all Rajpoots, and he chid the superintendent for the omission. "*Andata*" (giver of food), replied the officer, "the minister says you have given away the village set apart for sugar."—"Just," replied the Rana, and finished his repast without further remark, and without sugar to his curds.

Another anecdote will shew his inflexibility of character, and his resistance to that species of interference in state affairs which is the bane of Asiatic governments. Sangram had recently emancipated himself from the trammels of a tedious minority, during which his mother, according to custom, acted a conspicuous part in the guardianship of her son and the state. The chieftain of Deriavud had his estate confiscated: but as the Rana never punished from passion or pardoned from weakness, none dared to plead his cause, and he remained proscribed from court during two years, when he ventured a petition to the queen-mother through the *Bindarins*,* for the reversion of the decree, accompanied with a note for two lacs of rupees,† and a liberal donation to the fair mediators. It was the daily habit of the Rana to pay his respects to his mother before dinner, and on one of these visits she introduced the Rana-wut's request, and begged the restoration of the estate. It was customary, on the issue of every grant, that eight days should elapse from the mandate to the promulgation of the edict, to which eight official seals‡ were attached; but on the present occasion the Rana commanded the execution of the deed at once, and to have it ere he left the *Rawula*. On its being brought, he placed it respectfully in his mother's hands, begging her to return the note to the Ranawut; having made this sacrifice to duty, he bowed and retired. The next day he commanded dinner an hour earlier, without the usual visit to the *Rawula*: all were surprised, but none so much as the queen-mother—the day passed—another came—still no visit, and to a confidential message, she received a ceremonious reply. Alarmed for the loss of her son's affections, she pondered on the cause, but could find none, except the grant—she entreated the minister's interference; he respectfully intimated that he was interdicted from the discussion of state affairs but with his sovereign—she had recourse to other expedients, which proving alike fruitless, she became sullen, punished her damsels without cause, and refused food: Sangram still remained obdurate. She talked of a pilgrimage to the Ganges, and befitting equipage and escort were com-

* The dames attendant on the queens,—the lady Mashans of every female court in Rajasthan.

† £25000.

‡ There were eight ministers; from this the Marhattas had their '*usht perdhans*,' the number which formed the ministry of Rama.

manded to attend her—the moment of departure was at hand, and yet he would not see her. She repaired by Ambar on her route to Muttra, to worship the Apollo of Vrij, when the great Raja Jey Sing (married to the Rana's sister*) advanced and conducted her to his new city of Jeypur, and to evince his respect "put his shoulder to the travelling litter or palkee," and promised to return with her and be a suppliant to his brother-in-law for the restoration of his regard. She made a tour of the sacred places, and on return accepted the escort of the prince of Ambar. The laws of hospitality amongst the Rajpoots are rigid: the Rana could not refuse to his guest the request for which he had left his capital: but averse to owing reconciliation to external intercession, and having done enough for the suppression of intrigue, he advanced to meet the *cortège* when within one march of Oodipur, as if to receive the Ambar prince; but proceeding direct to his mother's tents, he asked her blessing, and having escorted her to the palace, returned to greet and conduct his brother prince; all the allusion he made to the subject was in the simple but pithy expression, "family quarrels should be kept in the family."

Another anecdote shews him as the vigilant shepherd watching over the safety of his flock. As he sat down to dinner, tidings arrived of an invasion of the Malwa Pathans, who had rifled several villages at Mundisore, carrying the inhabitants into captivity. Pushing the platter from him, he ordered his armour, and the *nakara* to beat the assemblage of his chieftains. With all speed a gallant band formed on the terrace below, but they prevailed on the Rana to leave the punishment of the desultory aggression to them, as unworthy of his personal interference. They departed: several hours after, the chief of Kanorh arrived, having left a sick bed, and with a tertian come in obedience to his sovereign's summons. Vain was his prince's dissuasion to keep him back, and he joined the band as they came up with the invaders. The foe was defeated and put to flight, but the sick chieftain fell in the charge, and his son was severely wounded by his side. On the young chief repairing to court he was

* I discovered the following letter from one of the princesses of Ambar to Rana Sangram, written at this period; it is not evident in what relation she stood to him, but I think she must have been his wife, and the sister of Jey Sing:

"To *Sid Sri Singram Sing*, happiness! the Cutchwaha]Ranee (*queen*) writes, read *her asees* (a) (blessing). Here all is well; the welfare of the *Sri Dewan-ji* is desired. You are very dear to me; you are great, the sun of Hindusthan; if you do not thus act, who else can? the action is worthy of you; with your house is my entire friendship. From ancient times we are the Rajpoots of your house, from which both Rajas (b) have had their consequence increased, and I belong to it of old, and expect always to be fostered by it, nor will the *Sri Dewan-ji* disappoint us. My intention was to proceed to the feet of the *Sri Dewan-ji*, but the wet weather has prevented me; but I shall soon make my appearance."—S. 1778 (A.D 1722).

(a) *Asees* is benediction, which only ladies and holy men employ in epistolary writing or in verbal compliment.

(b) Ambar and Marwar; this expression denotes the letter to have been written on intermarriage with the Rana's house, and shews her sense of such honour.

honoured with a *beera** from the Rana's own hand, a distinction which he held to be an ample reward for his wounds, and testimonials of the worth of his father. The existence of such sentiments are the strongest tests of character.

On another occasion, some parasite had insinuated suspicions against the chief of the nobles, the Rawut of Saloombra, who had just returned victorious in action with the royal forces at Malwa, and had asked permission to visit his family on his way to court. The Rana spurned the suspicion, and to shew his reliance on the chief, he despatched a messenger for Saloombra to wait his arrival and summon him to the presence. He had reached his domain, given leave to his vassals as they passed their respective abodes, dismounted and reached the door of the *Rawula*, when the herald called aloud, "the Rana salutes you, Rawut-ji, and commands this letter." With his hand on the door where his wife and children awaited him, he demanded his horse, and simply leaving his "duty for his mother," he mounted, with half a dozen attendants, nor loosed the rein until he reached the capital. It was midnight; his house empty; no servants, no dinner; but his sovereign had foreseen and provided, and when his arrival was announced, provender for his cattle, and vessels of provision prepared in the royal kitchen, were immediately sent to his abode. Next morning, Saloombra attended the court. The Rana was unusually gracious, and not only presented him with the usual tokens of regard, a horse and jewels, but moreover a grant of land. With surprise he asked what service he had performed to merit such distinction, and from a sentiment becoming the descendant of Chonda solemnly refused to accept it; observing, that even if he had lost his head, the reward was excessive; but if his prince would admit of his preferring a request, it would be, that in remembrance of his sovereign's favour, when he, or his, in after times, should on the summons come from their estate to the capital, the same number of dishes from the royal kitchen should be sent to his abode: it was granted, and to this day his descendants enjoy the distinction. These anecdotes paint the character of Sangram far more forcibly than any laboured effort. His reign was as honourable to himself as it was beneficial to his country, in whose defence he had fought eighteen actions; but though his policy was too circumscribed, and his country would have benefited more by a surrender of some those antique prejudices which kept her hack in the general scramble for portions of the dilapidated monarchy of the Moguls, yet he was respected abroad, was beloved by his subjects, of whose welfare he was ever watchful, and to whose wants ever indulgent. Rana Sangram was the last prince who upheld the dignity of the *gadi* of Bappa Rawul; with his death commenced Mahratta ascendancy, and with this we shall open the reign of his son and successor.

JUGGUT SING II., the eldest of the four sons of Sangram, succeeded S. 1790 (A. D. 1734). The commencement of his reign was signaled by a revival of the triple alliance formed by Rana Umra, and broken by Raja Ajit's connexion with the Syeds and the renewal of matrimonial ties with the empire, the abjuration whereof was the basis of the treaty. The present engagement, which included all the minor states, was formed

* The *beera* is the betle or pan-leaf folded up, containing aromatic spices, and presented on taking leave. The Kanorh chieftain, being of the second grade of nobles, was not entitled to the distinction of having it from the sovereign's own hand.

at Hoorlah, a town in Mewar on the Ajmeer frontier, where the confederate princes met at the head of their vassals. To insure unanimity, the Rana was invested with paramount control, and headed the forces which were to take the field after the rains, already set in.* Unity of interests was the chief character of the engagement, had they adhered to which, not only the independence, but the aggrandizement, of Rajasthan, was in their power, and they might have alike defied the expiring efforts of the Mogul tyranny, and the Parthian-like warfare of the Mahratta. They were indeed the most formidable power in India at this juncture; but difficult as it had ever proved to coalesce the Rajpoots for mutual preservation, even when a paramount superiority of power, both temporal and spiritual belonged to the Ranas, so now, since Ambar and Marwar had attained an equality with Mewar, it was found still less practicable to prevent the operation of the principles of disunion. In fact, a moment's reflection must discover that the component parts of a great feudal federation, such as that described, must contain too many discordant particles—too many rivalries and national antipathies, ever cordially to amalgamate. Had it been otherwise, the opportunities were many and splendid for the recovery of Rajpoot freedom; but though individually enamoured of liberty, the universality of the sentiment prevented its realization: they never would submit to the control required to

* Treaty.

Seal of Rana.

Agreed.	Agreed.	Sri Eklinga. (a)
Seeta Ramajeyati. (c)	Vrij Adhees. (b)	Abhe Sing. (d)

Swesta Sri! By the united chiefs the under-written has been agreed to, from which no deviation can take place. Sawun sood 13, S. 1791 (A. D. 1735), Camp Hoorlah.

1. All are united, in good and in evil, and none will withdraw therefrom, on which oaths have been made, and faith pledged, which will be lost by whoever acts contrary thereto. The honour and shame of one is that of all, and in this every thing is contained.

2. No one shall countenance the traitor of another.

3. After the rains the affair shall commence, and the chiefs of each party assemble at Rampur; and if from any cause the head cannot come, he will send his *Konwar* (heir,) or some personage of weight.

4. Should from inexperience such *Konwar* commit error, the Rana alone shall interfere to correct it.

5. In every enterprize, all shall unite to effect it.

(a) (b) (c) All these seals of Mewar, Marwar, and Ambar, bear respectively the names of the tutelary divinity of each prince and his tribe:—(a) Eklinga, or Mahadeva of the Seesodias of Mewar; (b) Vrij Adhees, the lord of Vrij, the county round Mathoorā; the epithet of Christna; seal of the Hara prince; (c) Victory to Seeta and Rama, the demi-god ancestor of the princes of Ambar; (d) Abhe Sing, prince of Marwar.

work it out, and this, the best opportunity which had ever occurred, was lost. A glance at the disordered fragments of the throne of Akbar will shew the comparative strength of the Rajpoots.

Nizam-ool Moolk had completely emancipated himself from his allegiance, and signalized his independence, by sending the head of the imperial general, who ventured to oppose it, as that of a traitor, to the emperor. He leagued with the Rajpoots, and instigated Bajerow to plant the Mahratta standard in Malwa and Guzerat. In defending the former, Dya Buhadoor fell; and Jey Sing of Ambar being nominated to the trust, delegated it to the invader, and Malwa was lost. The extensive province of Guzerat soon shared the same fate; for in the vacillating policy of the court, the promise of that government to the Rathores had been broken, and Abhe Sing, son of Ajit, who had expelled Sirbullund Khan after a severe contest, following the example of his brother prince of Ambar, connived with the invaders, while he had added its most northern districts to Marwar. In Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, Shuja-ud-Dowlah, and his deputy Aliverdi Khan, were supreme, and Sufdur Jung, (son of Saadut Khan) was established in Oude. The basest disloyalty marked the rise of this family, which owed everything to Mahomed Shah. It was Saadut Khan who invited Nadir Shah, whose invasion gave the final stab to the empire; and it was his son, Sufdur Jung, who, when commandant of the artillery (*meer atush*), turned it against his sovereign's palace, and then conveyed it to Oude. Of the Dewans of Bengal we must speak only with reverence; but, whether they had any special dispensation, their loyalty to the descendant of Ferocksera has been very little more distinguished than that of the satras enumerated, though the original tenure of Bengal is still apparent and the feudal obligation to the suzerain of Delhi manifested, in the homage of "*petite serjanterie*," in transmitting with the annual fine of relief (one hundred mohurs) the spices of the eastern archipelago. Yet of all those who gloried in the title of "*fidoe padshae ghazi*," the only '*slave of the victorious king*,' who has been generous to him in the day of his distress, is the Dewan of Bengal, better known as the English East India Company. In the hour of triumph, they rescued the blind and aged descendant of the illustrious Baber from a state of degradation and penury, and secured to him all the dignity and comfort which his circumstances could lead him to hope; and the present state of his family, contrasted with the thralldom and misery endured while fortune favoured the Mahratta, is splendid. Yet perhaps the most acute stroke of fortune to this fallen monarch was when the British governor of India lent his aid to the descendant of the rebellious Sufdur Jung to mount the throne of Oude, and to assume, in lieu of the title of vizier of the empire, that of king. We can appreciate and commiserate the feeling; for the days of power were yet too* recent for Akbar Sani (the second) to receive such intelligence without a shock, or without comparing his condition with him whose name he bore. It is well to pause upon this page of eastern history, which is full of instruction; since by weighing the abuses of power, and its inevitable loss through placing a large executive trust in the hands of those who exercised it without sympathy towards the governed, we may at least retard the day of our decline.

* I have conversed with an aged Sikh who recollected the splendour of Mahomed Shah's reign before Nadir's invasion. He was *darogah* (superintendent) to the Doob canal, and described to me the fete on its opening.

The Mahratta establishments in Malwa and Guzerat constituted a nucleus for others to form upon, and like locusts, they crossed the Nurbudda in swarms; when the Holkars, the Sindhias, the Puars, and other less familiar names, emerged from obscurity; when the plough* was deserted for the sword, and the goatherd† made a lance of his crook. They devastated, and at length settled upon, the lands of the indigenous Rajpoots. For a time, the necessity of unity made them act under one standard, and hence the vast masses under the first Bajerow, which bore down all opposition, and afterwards dispersed themselves over those long-oppressed regions. It was in A.D. 1735 that he first crossed the Chumbul‡ and appeared before Delhi, which he blockaded, when his retreat was purchased by the surrender of the *chouth*, or fourth of the gross revenues of the empire. The Nizam, dreading the influence such pusillanimous concession might exert upon his rising power, determined to drive the Mahrattas from Malwa, where, if once fixed, they would cut off his communications with the north. He accordingly invaded Malwa, defeated Bajerow in a pitched battle, and was only prevented from following it up by Nadir Shah's advance, facilitated by the Afghans, who, on becoming independent in Cabul, laid open the frontiers of Hindusthan.§ In this emergency "great hopes were placed on the valour of the Rajpoots;" but the spirit of devotion in this brave race, by whose aid the Mogul power was made and maintained, was irretrievably alienated, and not one of those high families, who had throughout been so lavish of their blood in its defence, would obey the summons to the royal standard, when the fate of India was decided on the plains of Kurnal. A sense of individual danger brought together the great home feudatories, when the Nizam and Saadut Khan (now Vizier) united their forces under the imperial commander; but their demoralized levies were no match for the Persian and the northern mountaineer. The Ameer-ool Omra was slain, the Vizier made prisoner, and Mahomed Shah and his kingdom were at Nadir's disposal. The disloyalty of the Vizier filled the capital with blood, and subjected his sovereign to the condition of a captive. Jealous of the Nizam, whose diplomatic success had obtained him the office of Ameer-ool Omra, he stimulated the avarice of the conqueror by exaggerating the riches of Delhi, and declared that he alone could furnish the ransom negotiated by the Nizam. Nadir's love of gold overpowered his principle; the treaty was broken, the keys of Delhi were demanded, and its humiliated emperor was laid in triumph through the camp of the conqueror, who, on the 8th March A.D. 1740, took possession of the palace of Timur, and coined money bearing this legend:

"King over the kings of the world.

"Is Nadir king of kings, and lord of the period."

The accumulated wealth of India contained in the royal treasury, notwithstanding the lavish expenditure during the civil wars, and the profuse rewards scattered by each competitor for dominion, was yet sufficient to gratify even avarice itself, amounting in gold, jewels, and plate, to forty millions sterling, exclusive of equipages of every denomination. But this enormous spoil only kindled instead of satiating the appetite of Nadir, and a fine of two millions and a half was exacted, and levied with such unrelenting rigour and cruelty on the inhabitants, that men of rank and character could find no means of escape but by suicide. A rumour of this monster's death excited an insurrection, in which several Persians were killed.

* Sindhia's family were husbandmen. † Holkar was a goatherd.

‡ The ford near Dhalpur is still called Bhow-ghat. § A.D. 1740.

The provocation was not lost: the conqueror ascended a mosque,* and commanded a general massacre, in which thousands were slain. Pillage accompanied murder; whilst the streets streamed with blood, the city was fired and the dead were consumed in the conflagration of their late habitations. If a single ray of satisfaction could be felt, amidst such a scene of horror, it must have been when Nadir commanded the minister of the wretch who was the author of this atrocity, the infamous Saadut Khan, to send, on pain of death, an inventory of his own and his master's wealth; demanding meanwhile the two millions and a half, the original composition settled by the Nizam, from the Vizier alone. Whether his "coward conscience" was alarmed at the mischief he had occasioned, or mortification at discovering that his ambition had "o'erleaped itself," and recoiled with vengeance on his own head, tempted the act, it is impossible to discover, but the guilty Saadut became his own executioner. He swallowed poison; an example followed by his Dewan, Raja Mujlis Rae, in order to escape the rage of the offended Nadir. By the new treaty, all the western provinces, Cabul, Tatta, Sinde, and Mooltan, were surrendered and united to Persia, and on the vernal equinox, Nadir, gorged with spoil, commenced his march from the desolated Delhi.† The philosophic comment of the native historian on these events is so just that we shall transcribe it verbatim. "The people of Hindusthan at this period thought only of personal

* It is yet pointed out to the visitor of this famous city.

† As the hour of departure approached, the cruelties of the ruthless invaders increased, to which the words of the narrator, an eye-witness, can alone do justice: "a type of the last day afflicted the inhabitants of this once happy city: hitherto it was a general massacre, but now came the murder of individuals. In every house was heard the cry of affliction. Bussant Rae, agent for pensions, killed his family and himself; Khalik Yar Khan stabbed himself; many took poison, the venerable chief magistrate was dishonored by stripes; sleep and rest forsook the city. The officers of the court were beaten without mercy, and a fire broke out in the imperial *ferash khana*, and destroyed effects to the amount of a crore (a million sterling). There was a scarcity of grain, two seers of coarse rice sold for a rupee, and from a pestilential disorder crowds died daily in every street and every lane. The inhabitants, like the affrighted animals of the desert, sought refuge in the most concealed corners. Yet four or five crores (millions) more were thus extracted." On the fifth April, Nadir's seals were taken of the imperial repositories, and his firmans sent to all the feudatories of the empire to notify the peace and to inculcate obedience "*to his dear brother*," which as a specimen of eastern diplomatic phraseology is worth insertion. It was addressed to the Rana, the Rajas of Marwar and Ambar, Nagore, Sitarra, the Peshwa Bajerow, etc. "Between us and our dear brother, Mahomed Shah, in consideration of the regard of alliances of the two sovereignties, the connections of regard and friendship have been renewed, so that we may be esteemed as one soul in two bodies. Now our dear brother has been replaced on the throne of this extensive empire, and we are moving to the conquest of other regions, it is incumbent that ye, like your forefathers, walk in the path of submission and obedience to our dear brother, as they did to former sovereigns of the house of Timoor. God forbid it; but if accounts of your rebelling should reach our ears, we will blot you out of the pages of the book of creation."—*Memoirs of Eradut Khan*.—Scott's History of Dekhan, Vol. ii, page 213.

safety and gratification ; misery was disregarded by those who escaped it, and man, centered wholly in self, felt not for his kind. The selfishness, destructive of public and private virtue, was universal in Hindusthan at the invasion of Nadir Shah ; nor have the people become more virtuous since, and consequently neither more happy nor more independent."

At this eventful era in the political history of India, the Rajpoot nation had not only maintained their ground amidst the convulsions of six centuries under the paramount sway of the Islamite, but two of the three chief states, Marwar and Ambar, had by policy and valour created substantial states out of petty principalities. Junior branches* from which had established their independence, and still enjoy it under treaty with the British Government. Mewar at this juncture was defined by nearly the same boundaries as when Mahmood of Ghizni invaded her in the tenth century, though her influence over many of her tributaries, as Boondi, Aboo, Edur, and Deola, was destroyed. To the west, the fertile district of Godwar carried her beyond her natural barrier, the Aravali, into the desert ; while the Chumbul was her limit to the east. The Khary separated her from Ajmeer, and to the south she adjoined Malwa. These limits comprehended one hundred and thirty miles of latitude and one hundred and forty of longitude, containing 10,000 towns and villages, with upwards of a million sterling of revenue, raised from a fertile soil by an excellent agricultural population, a wealthy mercantile community, and defended by a devoted vassalage. Such was this little patriarchal state after the protracted strife which has been related ; we shall have to exhibit her, in less than half a century, on the verge of annihilation from the predatory inroads of the Mahrattas.

In order to mark with exactitude the introduction of the Mahrattas into Rajasthan, we must revert to the period† when the dastardly intrigues of the advisers of Mahomed Shah surrendered to them as tribute *chouth*, or fourth of his revenues. Whether in the full tide of successful invasion, these spoilers deemed any other argument than force to be requisite in order to justify their extortions, they had in this surrender a concession of which the subtle Mahrattas were well capable of availing themselves ; and as the Mogul claimed sovereignty over the whole of Rajasthan, they might plausibly urge their right of *chouth*, as applicable to all the territories subordinate to the empire.

The rapidity with which these desultory bands flew from conquest to conquest appears to have alarmed the Rajpoots, and again brought about a coalition, which with the characteristic peculiarity of all such contracts, was commenced by matrimonial alliances. On this occasion, Beejy Sing, the heir of Marwar, was affianced to the Rana's daughter, who at the same time reconciled the princes of Marwar and Ambar, whose positions at the court of the Mogul often brought their national jealousies into conflict, as they alternately took the lead in his councils : for it was rare to find both in the same line of politics. These matters were arranged at Oodipur. But, as we have often had occasion to observe, no public or general benefit ever resulted from these alliances, which were obstructed by the multitude of petty jealousies inseparable from claniship ;

* Bikaner and Kishengurh arose out of Márwar, and Macheri from Ambar,—to which we might add Shikhavati, which though not separate, is tributary to Ambar, (now Jeypur).

† A. D. 1735.

even while this treaty was in discussion, the fruit of the triple league formed against the tyranny of Arungzebe was about to shew its baneful influence, as will presently appear.

When Malwa was acquired by the Mahrattas, followed by the cession of the *chouth*, their leader, Bajerow, repaired to Mewar, where his visit created great alarm. The Rana desired to avoid a personal interview, and sent as his ambassadors, the chief of Saloombra and his prime minister, Behari-das. Long discussion followed as to the mode of Bajerow's reception, which was settled to be on the same footing as the Raja of Bunera, and that he should be seated in front of the throne. A treaty followed, stipulating an annual tribute, which remained in force during ten years,* when grasping at the whole they despised a part, and the treaty became a nullity. The dissensions which arose soon after, in consequence of the Rajpoot engagements, afforded the opportunity sought for to mix in their internal concerns. It may be recollected that in the family engagements formed by Rana Umra there was an obligation to invest the issue of such marriage with the rights of primogeniture; and the death of Sawaie Jey Sing† of Ambar; two years after Nadir's invasion, brought that stipulation into effect. His eldest son, Esuri Sing, was proclaimed Raja, but a strong party supported Madhu Sing, the Rana's nephew, and he stipulated, against the natural order of succession. We are left in doubt as to the real designs of Jey Sing in maintaining his guarantee, which was doubtless inconvenient; but that Madhu Sing was not brought up to the expectation is evident; from his holding a fief of the Rana Sangram, who appropriated the domain of Rampura for his support, subject to the service of one thousand horse and two thousand foot, formally sanctioned by his father, who allowed the transfer of his services. On the other hand, the letter of permission entitles him *Cheema*, an epithet only applied to the heir-apparent of Jeypur. Five years however elapsed before any extraordinary exertions were made to annul the rights of Esuri Sing, who led his vassals to the Sutledge in order to oppose the first invasion of the Dooranees.‡ It would be tedious to give even an epitome of the intrigues for the development of this object, which properly belong to the annals of Ambar, and whence resulted many of the troubles of Rajpootana. The Rana took the field with his nephew, and was met by Esuri Sing,§ supported by the Mahrattas; but the Seesodias did not evince in the battle of Rajmahal that gallantry which must have its source in moral strength: they were defeated and fled. The Rana vented his indignation in a galling sarcasm; he gave the sword of state to a common courtesan to carry in procession, observing "it was a woman's weapon in these degenerate times!" a remark, the degrading severity of which made a lasting impression in the decline of Mewar. Elated with this success, Esuri Sing carried his resentments and his auxiliaries, under Sindhia against the Haras of Kotah and Boondi, who supported the cause of his antagonist. Kotah stood a siege and was gallantly defended, and Sindhia (Appajee) lost an arm: on this occasion both the states suffered a diminution of territory, and were subjected to

* The amount was, 1,60,000 rupees, divided into three shares of 53,333, 0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$, assigned to Holkar, Sindhia, and the Puar. The management was entrusted to Holkar; subsequently Sindhia acted as receiver-general. This was the only regular tributary engagement Mewar ever entered into.

† A. D. 1743.

‡ A. D. 1747.

§ The great Jey Sing built a city which he called after himself, and henceforth Jeypur will supersede the ancient appellation, Ambar.

tribute. The Rana, following the example of the Cutchwahas, called in as auxiliary Mulhar Rao Holkar, and engaged to pay sixty-four lacks of repees (£.800,000) on the deposal of Esuri Sing. To avoid degradation this unfortunate prince resolved on suicide, and a dose of poison gave Madhu Sing the *gadi*, Holkar his bribe, and the Mahrattas a firm hold upon Rajasthan. Such was the cause of Rajpoot abasement; the moral force of the vassals was lost in a contest unjust in all its associations, and from this period we have only the degrading spectacle of civil strife and predatory spoliation till the existing treaty of A. D. 1817.

In S. 1808 (A. D. 1752) Rana Juggut Sing died. Addicted to pleasure, his habits of levity and profusion totally unfitted him for the task of governing his country at such a juncture; he considered his elephant fights of more importance than keeping down the Mahrattas. Like all his family, he patronized the arts, greatly enlarged the palace, and expended, £250,000 in embellishing the islets of the Peshola. The villas scattered over the valley were all erected by him, and many of those festivals devoted to idleness and dissipation, and now firmly rooted at Oodipur, were instituted by Juggut Sing II.

CHAPTER XVI.

PERTAP II., succeeded in A. D. 1752. Of the history of this prince, who renewed the most illustrious name in the annals of Mewar, there is nothing to record beyond the fact, that the three years he occupied the throne were marked by so many Mahratta invasions and war contributions. By a daughter of Raja Jey Sing of Ambar he had a son, who succeeded him.

RANA RAJ SING II., was as little entitled to the name he bore as his predecessor. During the seven years he held the dignity, at least seven shoals of the Southrons overran Mewar,* and so exhausted this country, that the Rana was compelled to ask pecuniary aid from the Brahmin collector of the tribute, to enable him to marry the Rahtore chieftain's daughter. On his death the order of succession retrograded, devolving on his uncle.

RANA URSI, in S. 1888, A.D 1762. The levity of Juggut Sing, the inexperience of his successors Pertap and Raj Sing, with the ungovernable temper of Rana Ursi, and the circumstances under which he succeeded to power, introduced a train of disorders which proved fatal to Mewar. Until this period not a foot of territory had been alienated. The wisdom of the Pancholi ministers, and the high respect paid by the organ of the Sitarra government, for a while preserved its integrity; but when the country was divided by factions, and the Mahrattas, ceasing to be a federate body, prowled in search of prey under leaders, each having an interest of his own, they formed political combinations to suit the ephemeral purposes of the former, but from which they alone reaped advantage. An attempt to depose Pertap and set up his uncle Nathji introduced a series of rebellions, and constituted Mulhar Rao Holkar who

* In S. 1812, Raja Buhadoor; in 1813, Mulhar Rao Holkar and Vitul Rao; in 1814, Ranaji Boorte: in 1813 three war contributions were levied, *viz.*, by Sudasheo Rao Govind Rao, and Kunaje Jadoon.

had already become master of a considerable portion of the domain of Mewar, the umpire in their family disputes.

The ties of blood or of princely gratitude are feeble bonds if political expediency demands their dissolutions; and Madhu Sing, when firmly established on the throne of Ambar, repaid the immense sacrifices by which the Rana had effected it by assigning his fief of Rampura, which he had not a shadow of right to alienate, to Holkar: this was the first limb severed from Mewar.* Holkar had also become the assignee of the tribute imposed by Bajerow, but from which the Rana justly deemed himself exempt, when the terms of all further encroachment in Mewar were set at naught. On the plea of recovering these arrears, and the rent of some districts† on the Chumbul, Mulhar, after many threatening letters invaded Mewar, and his threats of occupying the capital were only checked by draining their exhausted resources of six hundred thousand pounds.‡ In the same year§ a famine afflicted them, when flour and tamarinds were equal in value, and were sold at the rate of a rupee for one pound and a half. Four years subsequent to this, civil war broke out and continued to influence all posterior proceedings, rendering the inhabitants of this unhappy country a prey to every invader until 1817, when they tasted repose under British protection.

The real cause of this rebellion must ever remain a secret: for while some regard it as a patriotic effort on the part of the people to redeem themselves from foreign domination, others discover its motive in the selfishness of the hostile clans, who supported or opposed the succession of Rana Ursi. This prince is accused of having unfairly acquired the crown, by the removal of his nephew Raj Sing; but though the traditional anecdotes of the period furnish strong grounds of suspicion, there is nothing which affords a direct confirmation of the crime. It is, however, a public misfortune when the line of succession retrogrades in Mewar; Ursi had no right to expect the inheritance he obtained, having long held a seat below the sixteen chief nobles; and as one of the 'infants' (*babas*) he was incorporated with the second class of nobles with an appanage of only £3,000 per annum. His defects of character had been too closely contemplated by his compeers, and had kindled too many enmities, to justify expectation that the adventitious dignity he had attained would succeed in obliterating the memory of them; and past familiarity alone destroyed the respect which was exacted by sudden greatness. His insolent demeanour estranged the first of the home nobility, the Sadri chieftain,|| whose ancestor at Huldighat acquired a claim to the perpetual gratitude of the Seesodias, while

* This was in S. 1808 (A.D. 1752); portions, however, remained attached to the fisc of Mewar for several years, besides a considerable part of the feudal lands of the Chanderawut chief of Amud. Of the former, the Rana retained Hinglazgurh and the Tuppas of Jarda Kinjerla and Boodsoo. These were surrendered by Raj Sing, who rented Boodsoo under its new appellation of Mulhargurh.

† Boodsoo, etc.

‡ Holkar advanced as far as Ontala, where Urjoon Sing of Korabur and the Rana's foster-brothers met him, and negotiated the payment of fifty-one lacs of rupees.

§ S. 1820, A. D. 1764.

|| An autograph letter of this chief's to the minister of the day I obtained, with other public documents, from the descendant of the Pancheli,

to an unfeeling pun on a personal defect of Jeswunt Sing of Deogurh is attributed the hatred and revenge of this powerful branch of the Chondawuts. These chiefs formed a party which eventually entrained many of lesser note to depose their sovereign, and immediately set up a youth called Rutna Sing, declared to be the posthumous son of the last Rana by the daughter of the chief of Gogoonda, though to this hour disputes run high as to whether he was really the son of Raj Sing, or merely the puppet of a faction. Be the fact as it may, he was made a rallying point for the disaffected, who soon comprehended the greater portion of the nobles, while out of the 'sixteen' greater chiefs five* only withstood the defection: of these, Saloombra, the hereditary premier, at first espoused, but soon abandoned, the cause of the Pretender; not from the principle of loyalty which his descendants take credit for, but from finding the superiority of intellect of the heads of the rebellion† (which now counted the rival Suktawuts) too powerful for the supremacy he desired. Bussut Pal, of the Depra tribe, was invested with the office of *Purdhan* to the Pretender. The ancestor of this man accompanied Samarsi in the twelfth century from Delhi, where he held a high office in the household of Prithwi Raj, the last emperor of the Hindus, and it is a distinguished proof of the hereditary quality of official dignity to find his descendant, after the lapse of centuries, still holding office with the nominal title of *Purdhan*. The *Fitoori*‡ (by which name the court still designates the Pretender), took post with his faction in Komulmeer; where he was formally installed, and whence he promulgated his decess as Rana of Mewar. With that heedlessness of consequences and the political debasement which are invariable concomitants of civil dissension, they had the meanness to invite Sindhia to their aid, with a promise of a reward of more than one million sterling§ on the dethronement of Ursi.

This contest first brought into notice one of the most celebrated Rajpoot chiefs of India, Zalim Sing of Kotah, who was destined to fill a distinguished part in the annals of Rajasthan, but more especially in Mewar, where his political sagacity first developed itself. Though this is not the proper place to delineate his history, which will occupy a subsequent portion of the work, it is impossible to trace the events with which he was so closely connected without adverting slightly to the part he acted in these scenes. The attack on Kotah, of which his father was military

"To Jeswunt Rao Pancholi, Raj Rinnā Raghoodeo writes. After compliments. I received your letter—from old times you have been my friend, and have ever maintained faith towards me, for I am of the loyal to the Rana's house I conceal nothing from you, therefore I write that my heart is averse to longer service, and it is my purpose in Asar to go to Gya. (a) When I mentioned this to the Rana, he sarcastically told me I might go to Dwarica. (b) If I stay, the Rana will restore the villages in my fief, as during the time of Jaetji. My ancestors have performed good service, and I have served since I was fourteen. If the Durbar intends me any favour, this is the time."

* Saloombra (*Chondawut*), Bijolli, Amait, Ganora, and Bednore.

† Bheendir (*Suktawut*), Deogurh, Sadri, Gogoonda, Dailwarra, Baldia, Kotario, and Kanorh.

‡ Agitator, or disturber.

§ One crore and twenty-five lacs.

(a) Gya is esteemed the proper pilgrimage for the Rajpoots.

(b) Dwarica, the resort for religious and unwar-like tribes.

governor (during the struggle to place Madhu Sing on the throne of Ambar), by Esuri Sing, in conjunction with Sindhia, was the first avenue to his distinguished career, leading to an acquaintance with the Mahratta chiefs, which linked him with their policy for more than half a century. Zalim having lost his prince's favour, whose path in love he had dared to cross, repaired, on his banishment from Kotah, to the Rana, who, observing his talents, enrolled him amongst his chiefs, and conferred on him, with the title of Raj Rinna, the lands of Cheeturkhaira for his support. By his advice the Mahratta leaders Raghoo Paigawalla and Dowla Meea, with their bands, were called in by the Rana, who, setting aside the ancient Pancholi ministry, gave the seals of office to Uggurji Mehta. At this period (S. 1824, A.D. 1768), Madhaji Sindhia was at Oojein. Whither the conflicting parties hastened, each desirous of obtaining this chieftain's support. But the Pretender's proposals had been already entertained, and he was then encamped with Sindhia on the banks of the Sippra.

The Rana's force, conducted by the chief of Saloombra, the Rajas of Shahpura and Bunera, with Zalim Sing and the Mahratta auxiliaries, did not hesitate to attack the combined camp, and for a moment they were victorious, driving Madhaji and the Pretender from the field, with great loss, to the gates of Oojein. Here, however, they rallied, and being joined by a fresh body of troops, the battle was renewed with great disadvantage to the Rajpoots, who, deeming the day theirs, had broken and dispersed to plunder. The chiefs of Saloombra, Shapura, and Bunera were slain, and the auxiliary Dowla Meea, Raja Maun (ex-prince of Nirwur), and Raj Kullian, the heir of Sadri, severely wounded. Zalim Sing had his horse killed under him, and being left wounded on the field, was made prisoner, but hospitably treated by Trimbuck Rao, father to the celebrated Umbaji. The discomfited troops retreated to Oodipur, while the Pretender's party remained with Sindhia, inciting him to invest that capital and place Rutna on the throne. Some time, however, elapsed before he could carry this design into execution; when, at the head of a large force, the Mahratta chief gained the passes and besieged the city. The Rana's cause now appeared hopeless. Bheem Sing of Saloombra, uncle and successor to the chief slain at Oojein, with the Rathore chief of Bednore (descendant of Jeimul), were the only nobles of high rank who defended their prince and capital in this emergency; but the energies of an individual saved both.

UMRA CHUND BURWA, of the mercantile class, had held office in the preceding reigns, when his influence retarded the progress of evils which no human means could avert. He was not displaced, and little solicitous of recovering his transient power, amidst hourly increasing difficulties, with a stubborn and unpopular prince, a divided aristocracy, and an impoverished country. He was aware also of his own imperious temper, which was as ungovernable as his sovereign's, and which experienced no check from the minor Pertap, who regarded him as his father. During the ten years he had been out of office, mercenaries of Sindh had been entertained and established on the forfeited lands of the clans, perpetuating discontent and stifling every latent spark of patriotism. Even those who did not join the Pretender remained sullenly at their castles, and thus all confidence was annihilated. A casual incident brought Umra forward at this critical juncture. Oodipur had neither ditch nor walls equal to its defence. Ursi was engaged in fortifying Eklingurh, a lofty hill south of the city, which it commanded, and attempting to place thereon an enormous piece of ordnance, but it baffled their mechanical

skill to get it over the craggy ascent. Umra happened to be present when the Rana arrived to inspect the proceedings. Excuses were made to avert his displeasure, when turning to the ex-minister, he enquired what time and expense ought to attend the completion of such an undertaking. The reply was, "a few rations of grain and some days:" and he offered to accomplish the task, on condition that his orders should be supreme in the valley during its performance. He collected the whole working population, cut a road, and in a few days gave the Rana a salute from Eklingurh. The foster-brother of the Rana had succeeded the Jhale chieftain, Raghoob Deo, in the ministerial functions. The city was now closely invested on every side but the west, where communications were still kept open by the lake, across which the faithful mountaineers of the Aravali, who in similar dangers never failed, supplied them with provisions. All defence rested on the fidelity of the mercenary Sindhies, and they were at this very moment insolent in their clamours for arrears of pay. Nor were the indecisive measures daily passing before their eyes calculated to augment their respect, or stimulate their courage. Not satisfied with demands, they had the audacity to seize the Rana by the skirt of his robe as he entered the palace, which was torn in the effort to detain him. The haughtiness of his temper gave way to this humiliating proof of this hopelessness of his condition; and while the *Dhabhæ* (foster-brother) counselled escape by water to the mountains, whence he might gain Mandelgurh, the Saloombra chief confessed his inability to offer any advice save that of recourse to Umra Chund. He was summoned, and the uncontrolled charge of their desperate affairs offered to his guidance. He replied that it was a task of which no man could be covetous, more especially himself, whose administration had formerly been marked by the banishment of corruption and disorder, for that he must now call in the aid of these vices, and assimilate the means to the times, "You know also," he added, "my defect of temper, which admits of no control. Wherever I am, I must be absolute—no secret advisers, no counteraction of measures. With finances ruined, troops mutinous, provisions expended, if you desire me to act, swear that no order, whatever its purport, shall be countermanded, and I may try what can be done:—but recollect, Umra 'the just,' will be the unjust, and reverse his former character." The Rana pledged himself by the patron deity to comply with all his demands, adding this forcible expression: "Should you even send to the queen's apartment and demand her necklace or *nutna** it shall be granted." The advice of the *Dhabhæ* encountered the full flood of Umra's wrath. "The counsel is such as might be expected from your condition. What will preserve your prince at Mandelgurh if he flies from Oodipur, and what hidden resources have you there for your support? The project would suit you, who might resume your original occupation of tending buffaloes and selling milk, more adapted to your birth and understanding than state affairs; but these pursuits your prince has yet to learn." The Rana and his chiefs bent their heads at the bold bearing of Umra. The descending to the terrace, where the Sindhie leaders and their bands were assembled, he commanded them to follow him, exclaiming, "look to me for your arrears, and as for your services, it will be my fault if you fail." The mutineers, who had just insulted their sovereign, rose without reply, and in a body left the palace with Umra, who calculated their arrears, and promised payment the next day.

* The nose jewel, which even to mention is considered a breach of delicacy.

Meanwhile he commanded the *bundars* the (repositories) to be broken open, as the keeper of each fled when the keys of their trust were demanded. All the gold and silver, whether in bullion or in vessels, were converted with money—jewels were pledged—the troops paid and satisfied, ammunition and provisions laid in—a fresh stimulus supplied, the enemy held at defiance, and the siege prolonged during six months.

The Pretender's party had extended their influence over a great part of the crown domain, even to the valley of Oodipur; but unable to fulfil the stipulation to Sindhia, the baffled Mahratta, to whom time was treasure, negotiated with Umra to raise the siege, and abandon the Pretender on the payment of seventy lacs. But scarcely was the treaty signed, when the reported disposition of the auxiliaries, and the plunder expected on a successful assault, excited his avarice and made him break his faith, and twenty lacs additional were imposed. Umra tore up the treaty, and sent back the fragments to the faithless Mahratta with defiance. His spirit increased with his difficulties, and he infused his gallantry into the hearts of the most despairing. Assembling the Sindhies and the home clans who were yet true to their prince, he explained to them the transaction, and addressed them in that language which speaks to the souls of all mankind, and to give due weight to his exhortation, he distributed amongst the most deserving, many articles of cumbrous ornament lying useless in the treasury. The stores of grain in the city and neighbourhood, whether public or private, were collected and sent to the market, and it was proclaimed by beat of drum that every fighting man should have six months' provision on application. Hitherto grain had been selling at little more than a pound for the rupee, and these unexpected resources were matter of universal surprise, more especially to the besiegers.* The Sindhies, having no longer cause for discontent, caught the spirit of the brave Umra, and went in a body to the palace to swear in public never to abandon the Rana, whom their leader, Adil Beg, thus addressed: "We have long eaten eaten your salt and received numerous favours from your house, and we now come to swear never to abandon you. Oodipur is our home, and we will fall with it. We demand no further pay, and when our grain is exhausted, we will feed on the beasts, and when these fail we will thin the ranks of the Southrons and die sword in hand." Such were the sentiments that Umra had inspired, the expression of which extorted tears from the Rana—a sight so unusual with this stern prince, as to raise frantic shouts from the Sindhies and his Rajpoots. The enthusiasm spread and was announced to Sindhia with all its circumstances by a general discharge of cannon on his advanced posts. Apprehensive of some desperate display of Rajpoot valour, the wary Mahratta made overtures for a renewal of the negotiation. It was now Umra's turn to triumph, and he replied that he must deduct from the original terms the expense they had incurred in sustaining another six months' siege. Thus outwitted, Sindhia was compelled to accept sixty, lacs, and three and a half for official expenses.†

* To Umra's credit it is related, that his own brother-in-law was the first and principal sufferer, and that to his remonstrance and hope that family ties would save his grain pits he was told, that it was a source of great satisfaction that he was enabled through him to evince his disinterestedness.

† "*Mootsuddi's kurch*," or douceur to the officers of government, was an authorized article of every Mahratta *moamla*, or war contribution.

Thirty-three lacs in jewels and specie, gold and silver plate, and assignments on the chiefs, were immediately made over to Sindhia, and lands mortgaged for the liquidation of the remainder. For this object the district of Jawud, Jeerun, Neemutch, and Morwun, were set aside to be superintended by joint officers of both governments, with an annual investigation of accounts. From S. 1825 to S. 1831 no infringement took place of this arrangement; but in the latter year Sindhia dismissed the Rana's officers from the management, and refused all further settlement; and with the exception of a temporary occupation on Sindhia's reverse of fortune in S. 1851, rich districts have remained severed from Mewar. In S. 1831 the great officers of the Mahratta federation began to shake off the trammels of the Peshwa's authority; and Sindhia retained for the state of which he was the founder, all these lands except Morwun, which was made over to Holkar, who the year after the transaction demanded of the Rana the surrender of the district of Neembahaira, threatening, in the event of noncompliance, to repeat the part his predatory coadjutor Sindhia had just performed. The cession was unavoidable.

Thus terminated, in S. 1826, the siege of Oodipur, with the dislocation of these fine districts from Mewar. But let it be remembered that they were only mortgaged;* and although the continued degradation of the country from the same causes has prevented their redemption, the claim to them has never been abandoned. Their recovery was stipulated by the ambassadors of the Rana in the treaty of A. D. 1817 with the British Government; but our total ignorance of the past transactions of these countries, added to our amicable relations with Sindhia, prevented any pledge of the reunion of these districts, and it must ever be deeply lamented that, when the treacherous and hostile conduct of Sindhia gave a noble opportunity for their restoration, it was lost, from policy difficult to understand, and which must be subject to the animadversion of future historians of that important period in the history of India. It yet remains for the wisdom of the British Government to decide whether half a century's abeyance, and the inability to redeem them by the sword, render the claim a dead letter. At all events, the facts here recorded from a multiplicity of public documents, and corroborated by living actors† in the scene, may be useful at some future day, when expedience may admit of their being re-annexed to Mewar.

Umra's defence of the capital, and the retreat of the Mahrattas, was a death-blow to the hopes of the Pretender, who had obtained not only many of the strongholds, but a footing in the valley of the capital, Rajnuggur, Reapur, and Ontala were rapidly recovered; many of the nobles, returned to the Rana and to their allegiance; and Rutna was left in Komulmeer with the Depra minister, and but three of the sixteen principal nobles, namely, Deogurh, Bheendir, and Amait. These contentions lasted till S. 1831, when the chiefs above-named also abandoned him, but not until their rebellion had cost the feather in the crown of Mewar. The rich province of Godwar, the most fruitful of all her possessions, and containing the most loyal of her vassalage, the Ranawuts, Rehtores,

* Little Maloni, now *Gungapur*, with its lands, was the only place decidedly alienated, being a voluntary gift to Sindhia, to endow the establishment of his wife, *Gunga Bae*, who died there.

† *Zalim Sing* of *Kotah*, and *Lallaji Bellal*, both now dead.

and Solankis, was nearly all held on tenure of feudal service, and furnished three thousand horse besides foot, a greater number than the aggregate of the Chondawuts. This district, which was won with the title of Rana from the Purihara prince of Mundore, before Jodpur was built, and whose northern boundary was confirmed by the blood of the Chondawut chief in the reign of Joda, was confided by the Rana to the care of Raja Beejy Sing of Jodpur, to prevent its resources being available to the Pretender, whose residence, Komulmeer, commanded the approach to it: and the original treaty yet exists in which the prince of Marwar binds himself to provide and support a body of three thousand men for the Rana's service, from its revenues. This province might have been recovered; but the evil genius of Ursi Rana at this time led him to Boondi to hunt at the spring festival (the *Ahairea*), with the Hara prince, in spite of the prophetic warning of the suttee, who from the funeral pile denounced a practice which had already thrice proved fatal to the princes of Mewar. Rana Ursi fell by the hand of the Boondi prince, and Godwar, withheld from his minor successor, has since remained severed. The Boondi heir, who perpetrated this atrocious assassination, was said to be prompted by the Mewar nobles, who detested their sovereign, and with whom, since the late events, it was impossible they could ever unite in confidence. Implacable in his disposition, he brooded over injuries, calmly awaiting the moment to avenge them. A single instance will suffice to evince this, as well as the infatuation of Rajpoot devotion. The Saloombra chief, whose predecessor had fallen in support of the Rana's cause at the battle of Oojein, having incurred his suspicions, the Rana commanded him to eat the *pan* (leaf) presented on taking leave. Startled at so unusual an order, he remonstrated, but in vain; and with the conviction that it contained his death-warrant he obeyed, observing to the tyrant, "my compliance will cost you and your family dear:" words fulfilled with fearful accuracy, for to this and similar acts is ascribed the murder of Ursi, and the completion of the ruin of the country. A colour of pretext was afforded to the Boondi chief in a boundary dispute regarding a patch of land yielding only a few good mangoes; but, even admitting this as a palliative, it could not justify the inhospitable act, which in the mode of execution added cowardice to barbarity: for while both were pursuing the boar, the Boondi heir drove his lance through the heart of the Rana. The assassin fell a victim to remorse, the deed being not only disclaimed, but severely reprobated by his father, and all the Hara tribe. A cenotaph still stands on the site of the murder, where the body of Ursi was consumed, and the feud between the houses remains unappeased.

Rana Ursi left two sons, Hamir and Bheem Sing. The former, a name of celebrity in their annals, succeeded in S. 1828 (A. D. 1772) to the little enviable title of Rana. With an ambitious mother, determined to control affairs during his minority, a state pronounced by the bard peculiarly dangerous to a Rajpoot dynasty—and the vengeful competition of the Saloombra chief (successor to the murdered noble), who was equally resolved to take the lead, combined with an unextinguishable enmity to the Sukkawuts, who supported the policy of the queen-mother, the demoralization of Mewar was complete: her fields were deluged with blood, and her soil was the prey of every paltry marauder.

The mercenary Sindhies, who won by the enthusiasm of Umra, had for a moment assumed the garb of fidelity, threw it off at their prince's death, taking possession of the capital, which it will be remembered had been committed to the charge of the Saloombra chief, whom they con-

fined and were about to subject to the torture of the hot iron* to extort their arrears of pay, when he was rescued from the indignity by the unlooked-for return of Umra from Boondi. This faithful minister determined to establish the rights of the infant prince against all other claimants for power. But he knew mankind, and had attained, what is still more difficult, the knowledge of himself. Aware that his resolution to maintain his post at all hazards, and against every competitor, would incur the imputation of self-interest, he, like our own Wolsey, though from far different motives, made an inventory of his wealth, in gold, jewels, and plate, even to his ward-robe, and sent the whole in trays to the queen-mother. Suspicion was shamed and resentment disarmed by this proceeding; and to repeated entreaties that he would receive it back he was inflexible, with the exception of articles of apparel that had already been in use. This imperious woman was a daughter of Gogoonda. She possessed considerable talents, but was ruled by an artful *intrigante*, who, in her turn, was governed by a young *homme d'affaires*, then holding an inferior office, but who subsequently acted a conspicuous part; slew and was slain, like almost all who entered into the politics of this tempestuous period. The queen-mother, now supported by the Chondawuts, opposed the minister, who maintained himself by aid of the Sindhies, kept the Mahrattas from the capital, and protected the crown land; but the ungrateful return made to this long-tried fidelity rendered his temper ungovernable. Rampearief (such the name of the *intrigante*) repaired on one occasion to the office of the minister, and in the name of the regent queen revealed him for some supposed omission. Umra, losing all temper at this intrusion, applied to the fair abigail the coarsest epithets used to her sex, bidding her be gone as a *Kootee ka Rand* (a phrase we shall not translate), which was reported with exaggeration to the queen, who threw herself into a litter and set off to the Saloombra chief. Umra anticipating an explosion, met the cavalcade in the street, and enjoined her instant return to the palace. Who dared disobey? Arrived at the door of the Rawla, he made his obedience, and told her it was a disgrace to the memory of her lord that she should quit the palace under any pretext; that even the potter's wife did not go abroad for six months after her husband's death, while she, setting decorum at defiance, had scarcely permitted the period of mourning to elapse. He concluded by saying he had a duty to perform, and that he would perform it in spite of all obstacles, in which, as it involved her own and her children's welfare, she ought to co-operate, instead of thwarting him. But Baeji Raj (the *royal mother*) was young, artful, and ambitious, and persevered in her hostility till the demise of this uncompromising minister shortly after, surmised to be caused by poison. His death yielded a flattering comment on his life; he left not funds sufficient to cover the funeral expenses, and is, and will probably continue, the sole instance on record in Indian history, of a minister having his obsequies defrayed by subscription among his fellow citizens.

The man who thus lived and thus died would have done honour to any, even the most civilized country, where the highest incentives to public virtue exist. What therefore does not his memory merit, when amongst a people who, through long oppression, were likely to hold such feelings in little estimation, he pursued its dictates from principle alone, his sole reward that which the world could not bestow, the applause of the

* A heated platter used for baking bread, on which they place the culprit.

† 'The beloved of Rama.'

monitor within? But they greatly err who, in the application of their own overweening standard of merit, imagine there is no public opinion in these countries; for recollections of actions like this (of which but a small portion is related) they yet love to descant upon, and an act of vigour and integrity is still designated *Umrachunda*,* evincing that if virtue has few imitators in his country, she is not without ardent admirers.

In S. 1831 (A.D. 1775) the rebellion of the Beygoo chief, head of a grand division of the Chondawuts, the *Megawut*, obliged the queen-mother to call upon Sindhia for his reduction, who recovered the crown lands he has usurped, and imposed on this refractory noble a fine of twelve lacs of rupees, or £100,000 sterling.† But instead of confining himself to punishing the guilty, and restoring the land to the young Rana, he inducted his own son-in-law Berji Tap into the districts of Ruttengurh Kheri and Singolli; and at the same time made over those of Irnai, Jauth, Beechore, and Nuddowye, to Holkar, the aggregate revenue of which amounted to six lacs annually. Besides these alienations of territory, the Mahrattas levied no less than four grand war contributions in S. 1830-31,‡ while in S. 1836§ their rapacity exacted three more. Inability to liquidate these exorbitant demands, was invariably a signal for further sequestration of land. Amidst such scenes of civil strife and external spoliation, one Mahratta following another in the same track of rapine, Hamir died before he had attained even Rajpoot majority,|| in S. 1834 (A.D. 1778).

We may here briefly recapitulate the diminution of territory and wealth in Mewar from the period of the first Mahratta visitation in A.D. 1736, to the death of Hamir. It were a waste of time to enumerate the rapacious individuals who shared in the spoils of this devoted country. We may be content to say their names was "*legion*." These forty years were surcharged with evil. The Mogul princes observed at least the forms of government and justice, which occasionally tempered their aggressions; the Mahrattas were associations of vampires, who drained the very life-blood wherever the scent of spoil attracted them. In three payments we have seen the enormous sum of one crore and eighty-one lacs,¶ upwards of two millions English money, exacted from Mewar, exclusive of individual contributions levied on chiefs, ministers, and

* *Umrachunda* it will be recollected was the name of the minister.

† The treaty by which Sindhia holds these districts yet exists, which stipulates their surrender on the liquidation of, the contribution. The Rana still holds this as a responsible engagement, and pleaded his rights in the treaty with the British government in A.D. 1817-18. But half a century's possession is a strong bond, which we dare not break; though the claim now registered may hereafter prove to service to the family.

‡ 1830, Madhaji Sindhia's contribution (*maomla*) on account of Beygoo; 1831, Berji Tap's *maomla* through Govind and Gunput Rao; 1831, Umbaji, Inglija, Bapoo Holkar and Dadooji Pundit's joint *maomla*.

§ 1st. Appaji and Makaji Getae, on Holkar's account; 2nd. Tukooji Holkar's, through Somji; 3rd. Alli Buhadoor's, through Somji.

|| The age of eighteen.

¶ *Vis.*, S. 1808, by Rana Juggut Sing to Holkar ... Lacs 66
 1820, Pertap and Ursi to Rana Holkar ... " 51
 1826, Ursi Rana to Madhaji Sindhia ... " 64

Total ... " 181

the Pretender's party : and a schedule drawn up by the reigning prince of contributions levied up to his own time, amounts to £5,000,000 sterling. Yet the land would eventually have reimbursed these sums, but the penalty inflicted for deficiencies of payment renders the evil irremediable ; for the alienated territory which then produced an annual revenue of twenty-eight lacs,* or £323, 000 sterling, exceeds in amount the sum total now left, whether fiscal or feudal, in the present impoverished state of the country.

CHAPTER XVII.

RANA Bheem Sing (the reigning prince), who succeeded his brother in S. 1834 (A. D. 1778), was the fourth minor in the space of forty years who inherited Mewar ; and the half century during which he has occupied the throne, has been as fruitful in disaster as any period of her history already recorded. He was but eight years of age on his accession, and remained under his mother's tutelage long after his minority had expired. This subjection fixed his character ; naturally defective in energy, and impaired by long misfortune, he continued to be swayed by faction and intrigue. The cause of the Pretender, though weakened, was yet kept alive ; but his insignificance eventually left him so unsupported, that his death is not even recorded.

In S. 1840 (A. D. 1784) the Chondawuts reaped the harvest of their allegiance and made the power thus acquired subservient to the indulgence of ancient animosities against the rival clan of Suktawut. Saloombra, with his relatives Oorjun Sing† of Korabur and Pertap Sing‡ of Amai, now ruled the councils, having the Sindhie mercenaries under their leaders Chundun and Sadik at their command. Mustering therefore all the strength of their kin and clans, they resolved on the prosecution of the feud, and invested Bheendir, the castle of Mokhim the chief of the Suktawuts, against which they placed their batteries.

Sangram Sing, a junior branch of the Suktawuts, destined to play a conspicuous part in the future events of Mewar, was then rising into notice, and had just completed a feud with his rival the Poorawut, whose adode, Lawah,§ he had carried by escalade ; and now, determined to

* S. 1808, Rampura, Bhanpura	Lacs	9
1826, Jawud, Jeerun, Neemutch, Neembahaira	"	4½
1831, Ruttungurh Kheri, Singolli, Irina, Jauth, Nuddowye, etc., etc.	"	6
1831, Godwar	"	9
Total		<u>28½</u>

† Brother of Ajit, the negotiator of the treaty with the British.

‡ Chief of the Juggawut clan, also a branch of the Chondawuts ; he was killed in a battle with the Mahrattas.

§ It is yet held by the successor of Sangram, whose faithful services merited the grant he obtained from his prince, and it was in consequence left unmolested in the arrangement of 1817, from the knowledge of his merits.

make a diversion in favour of his chief, he invaded the estate of Korabur engaged against Bheendir, and was driving off the cattle, when Salim Sing the heir of Korabur intercepted his retreat, and an action ensued in which Salim* was slain by the lance of Sangram. The afflicted father, on hearing the fate of his son, "threw the turban off his head," swearing never to replace it till he had tasted revenge. Feigning a misunderstanding with his own party he withdrew from the siege, taking the road to his estate, but suddenly adandoned it for Seogurh, the residence of Lalji the father of Sangram. The castle of Seogurh, placed amidst the mountains and deep forests of Chuppun, was from its difficulty of access deemed secure against surprise; and here Sangram had placed the females and children of his family. To this point Oorjun directed his revenge, and found Seogurh destitute of defenders save the aged chief; but though seventy summers had whitened his head, he bravely met the storm, and fell in opposing the foe; when the children of Sangram were dragged out and inhumanly butchered, and the widow† of Lalji ascended the pyre. This barbarity aggravated the hostility which separated the clans, and together with the minority of their prince and the yearly aggressions of the Marhattas, accelerated the ruin of the country. But Bheem Sing, the Chondawut leader, was governed by insufferable vanity, and not only failed in respect to his prince, but offended the queen regent. He parcelled out the crown domain from Cheetore to Oodipur amongst the Sindhie bands, and whilst his sovereign was obliged to borrow money to defray his marriage at Edur, this ungrateful and noble had the audacity to disburse upwards of £100,000 on the marriage of his own daughter. Such conduct determined the royal mother to supplant the Chondawuts, and calling in the Suktawuts to her aid, she invested with power the chiefs of Bheendir and Lawah. Aware, however that their isolated authority was insufficient to withstand their rivals, they looked abroad for support, and made an overture to Zalim Sing of Kotha, whose political and personal resentments to the Chondawuts, as well as his connection by marriage with their opponents, made him readily listen to it. With his friend the Mahratta, Lalaji Bellal, he joined the Suktawuts with a body of 10,000 men. It was determined to sacrifice the Saloombra chief, who took post in the ancient capital of Cheetore, where the garrison was composed chiefly of Sindhies, thus effacing his claim to his prince's gratitude, whom he defied, while the Pretender still had a party in the other principal fortress, Komulmeer.

Such was the state of things, when the ascendancy of Madhaji Sindhiā received a single check from the combined forces of Marwar and Jeypur; and the battle of Lalsont, in which the Mahratta chief was completely defeated, was the signal for the Rajpoots to resume their alienated territory. Nor was the Rana backward on the occasion, when there appeared a momentary gleam of the active virtue of past days. Malda Mehta was

* The father of Rawut Joan Sing, whom I found at Oodipur as military minister, acting for his grand uncle Ajit the organ of the Chondawuts, whose head Puddum Sing, was just emerging from his minority. It was absolutely necessary to get to the very root of all these feuds, when as envoy and mediator I had to settle the disputes of half a century, and make each useful to detect their joint usurpations of the crown domain.

† She was the grandmother of Maun Sing, a fine specimen of a Suktawut cavalier.

civil minister, with Mouzee Ram as his deputy, both men of talent and energy. They first effected the reduction of Neembhahaira and the smaller garrisons of Mahrattas in its vicinity, who from a sense of common danger assembled their detachments in Jawud, which was also invested. Sevaji Nana, the governor, capitulated, and was allowed to march out with his effects. At the same same time, the "*sons of the black cloud*"* assembling, drove the Mahrattas from Beygoo, Singolli, etc., and the districts on the plateau; while the Chonderawuts redeemed their ancient fief of Rampura, and thus for a while the whole territory was recovered. Elated by success, the united chiefs advanced to Churdoo on the banks of the Rirkia, a streamlet dividing Mewar and Malwa, preparatory to further operations. Had these been confined to the maintenance of the places they had taken, and which had been withheld in violation of treaties, complete success might have been crowned their efforts; but in including Neembhahaira in their capture they drew upon them the energetic Ahelia Bae, the regent queen of the Holkar state, who unluckily for them was at hand, and who coalesced with Sindhia's partisans to check this reaction of the Rajpoots. Toolaji Sindhia and Sri Bhae, with five thousand horse, were ordered to support the discomfited Seva Nana, who had taken refuge in Mundisore, where he rallied all the garrisons whom the Rajpoots had unwisely permitted to capitulate. On Tuesday, the 4th of Magh S. 1844,† the Rana's troops were surprised and defeated with great slaughter, the minister slain, the chiefs of Kanorh and Sadri with many others severely wounded, and the latter made prisoner.‡ The newly made conquests were all rapidly lost, with the exception of Jawud, which was gallantly maintained for a month by Deep Chund, who, with his guns and rockets, effected a passage through the Mahrattas, and retired with his garrison to Mandalgurrh. Thus terminated an enterprize which might have yielded far different results but for a misplaced security. All the chiefs and clans were united in this patriotic struggle except the Chondawuts, against whom the queen-mother and the new minister, Somji, had much difficulty to contend for the establishment of the minor's authority. At length overtures were made to Saloomra, when the fair Rampearie was employed to conciliate the obdurate chief, who condescended to make his appearance at Oodipur and to pay his respects to the prince. He pretended to enter into the views of the minister and to coalesce in his plans; but this was only a web to ensnare his victim, whose talent had diminished his authority, and was a bar to the prosecution of his ambitious views. Somji was seated in his bureau when Oorjun Sing of Korabur and Sirdar Sing§ of Bhadaisser entered, and the latter, as he demanded how he dared to resume his fief, plunged his dagger into the minister's breast. The Rana was passing the day at one of the villas in the valley called

* Megh Sing was the chief of Bevgoo, and founder of that subdivision of the Chondawuts called after him *Meghawut*, and his complexion being very dark (*kala*), he was called "*kala megh*," the "*black cloud*." His descendants were very numerous and very refractory.

† A.D. 1788.

‡ He did not recover his liberty for two years, nor till he had surrendered four of the best towns in his fief.

§ Father of the present Hamir Sing, the only chief with whom I was compelled to use severity; but he was incorrigible. He was celebrated for his raids in the troubles, and from his red whiskers bore with us the name of the '*Red River*' of Bhadaisser—more of him by-and-bye.

the *Suhailea Bari* 'the garden of nymphs,' attended by Jait Sing of Bednore, when the brothers* of the minister suddenly rushed into the presence to claim protection against the murderers. They were followed by Oorjun Korabur, who had the audacity to present himself before his sovereign with his hands yet stained with the blood of Somji. The Rana, unable to punish the insolent chief, branding him as a traitor, bade him begone; when the whole of the actors in this nefarious scene, with their leader Saloombra, returned to Cheetore. Sheodas and Suttidas, brothers to the murdered minister, were appointed to succeed him, and with the Suktawuts fought several action against the rebels, and gained one decisive battle at Akola, in which Oorjun of Korabur commanded. This was soon balanced by the defeat of the Suktawuts at Khyroda. Every triumph was attended with ruin to the country. The agriculturist, never certain of the fruits of his labour, abandoned his fields, and at length his country; mechanical industry found no recompense, and commerce was at the mercy of unlicensed spoliation. In a very few years Mewar lost half her population; her lands laid waste, her mines were unworked, and her looms, which formerly supplied all around, forsaken. The prince partook of the general penury; instead of protecting, he required protection; the bonds which united him with his subjects were snapped, and each individual or petty community provided for itself that defence which he could not give. Hence arose a train of evils: every cultivator, whether fiscal or feudal, sought out a patron, and entered into engagements as the price of protection. Hence every Rajpoot who had a horse and lance, had his clients; and not a camel-load of merchandize could pass the abode of one of these cavaliers without paying fees. The effects of such disorder were felt long after the cause ceased to exist, and claims difficult to adjust arose out of these licentious times, for the having prescriptive right was deemed sufficient to authorize their continuance. Here were displayed the effects of a feudal association, where the powers of government were enfeebled. * These feuds alone were sufficient to ruin the country: but when to such internal ills shoals of Mahratta plunderers were added, no art is required to describe the consequences.

The Rana and his advisers at length determined to call in Sindhia to expel the rebellious Chondawuts from the ancient capital; a step mainly prompted by Zalim Sing (now regent of Kotah), who with the Rana's ministers was deputed to the Mahratta chieftain, then enjoying

* Sheodas and Suttidas, with their cousin Jeychund. They revenged their brother's death by that of his murderer, and were both in turn slain. Such were these times. The author more than once, when resuming the Chondawut lands, and amongst them Bhadaisser, the fief of the son of Sidar, was told to recollect, the fate of Somji; the advice, however, excited only a smile; he was deemed more of a Suktawut than a Chondawut, and there was some truth in it, for he found the good actions of the former far outweigh the other, who made a boast and monopoly of their patriotism. It was a curious period in his life; the stimulus to action was too high, too constant, to think of self; and having no personal views, being influenced solely by one feeling, the prosperity of all, he despised the very idea of danger, though it was said to exist in various shapes even in the hospitable plate put before him! But he deemed none capable of such treachery, though once he was within a few minutes' march to the other world; but the cause, if the right one, came from his own *cuisinier* or rather *boulangier* whom he discharged.

himself at the sacred lake of Poshkur.* Since the overthrow of Lalsont he had reorganized his brigades under the celebrated De Boigne, through whose conduct he had redeemed his lost influence in Rajpootana by the battles of Mairta and Patun, in which the brave Rahtores, after acts of the most devoted gallantry, were completely overthrown. Sindhia's plans coincided entirely with the object of the deputation, and he readily acquiesced in the Rana's desire. This event introduced on the political stage some of the most celebrated men of that day, whose actions offer a fair picture of manners, and may justify our entering a little into details.†

Zalim Sing had for some years become regent of Kotah, and though to maintain himself in power, and the state he controlled in an attitude to compel the respect of surrounding foes, was no slight task, yet he found the field too contracted for his ambition, and his secret views had long been directed to permanent influence in Mewar. His skill in reading character convinced him that the Rana would be no bar to his wishes, the attainment of which, by giving him the combined resources of Haravati and Mewar, would bestow the lead in Rajasthan. The Jeypur court he disregarded, whose effeminate army he had himself defeated single-handed with the Kotah troops, and the influence he established amongst the leading chiefs of Marwar held out no fear of counteraction from that quarter. The stake was high, the game sure, and success would have opened a field to his genius which might have entirely altered the fate of Hindusthan; but one false move was irretrievable, and instead of becoming the arbitrator of India, he left only the reputation of being the Nestor of Rajpootana.

The restriction of the Rana's power was the cloak under which he disguised all his operations, and it might have been well for the country had his plans succeeded to their full extent. To re-establish the Rana's authority, and to pay the charges of the reduction of Cheetore, he determined that the rebels chiefly should furnish the means, and that from them and the fiscal lands, mostly in their hands, sixty-four lacs should be levied, of which three-fifths should be appropriated to Sindhia, and the remainder to replenish the Rana's treasury. Preliminaries being thus arranged, Zalim was furnished with a strong corps under Umbaji Ingliā; while Sindhia followed, hanging on the Marwar frontier, to realize the contributions of that state. Zalim Sing and Umbaji moved towards Cheetore, levying from the estates of those, obnoxious to Zalim's views. Hamirgurh, whose chief, Dheruj Sing, a man of talent and courage, was the principal adviser of Bheem Sing, the Saloombra chief, was besieged, and stood several assaults during six weeks' vigorous operations, when the destruction of the springs of the wells from the concussion of the guns compelled its surrender, and the estate was sequestered. The force continued their progress, and after a trifling altercation at Bussee, at Chondawut fief, also taken, they took up a position at Cheetore, and were soon after joined by the main body under Sindhia.

Zalim, to gratify Madhaji's vanity, who was desirous of a visit from the Rana, which even the Peshwa considered an honour, proceeded to Oodipur to effect this object; when the Rana, placing himself under his guidance, marched for this purpose, and was met at the Tiger Mount, within a few miles of his capital, by Sindhia, who received the Rana, and

* S. 1847 (A. D. 1791).

† Acquired from the actors in those scenes: the prince, his ministers, Zalim Sing, and the rival chiefs have all contributed.

escorted him to the besieging army. But in this short interval, Umbaji who remained with the army at Cheetore, intrigued with rebel Chondawut to supplant the predominant influence of his friend Zalim Sing, and seized the opportunity of his absence to counteract him, by communicating his plans to Saloombra; aware that, unless he broke with Zalim, he could only hope to play a secondary part under him. Though the ulterior views of Zalim were kept to his own breast, they could not escape the penetration of the crafty Mahratta; his very anxiety to hide them furnished Umbaji with the means of detection. Had Zalim possessed an equal share of meanness with his political antagonist, he might have extricated himself the snare; but once overreached, he preferred sinking to grasping at an unworthy support. Bheem Sing (Saloombra) privately negotiated with Umbaji the surrender of Cheetore, engaging to humble himself before the Rana, and to pay a contribution of twenty lacs, levied on the clans, provided Zalim Sing was ordered to retire. This suggestion, apparently founded on the rebellious chief's antipathy to Zalim, but in reality prompted by Umbaji, ensured the approbation, as it suited the views, of all parties, but especially Sindhia, who was desirous of repairing to Poonah. Zalim, the sole obstacle to this arrangement, furnished to his enemies the means of escape from the dilemma and lost the opportunity of realizing his long-cherished scheme of wielding the united resources of Mewar and Haravati. Zalim had always preserved a strict amity with Umbaji wherever their interests did not clash, and his regard had the cement of gratitude to the Mahratta, whose father Trimbukji had saved Zalim's life and procured his liberty, when left wounded and a prisoner at the battle of Oojein. On Zalim's return with the Rana, Umbaji touched on the terms of Bheem Sing's surrender, hinting that Zalim's presence was the sole obstacle to this desirable result; who, the more to mask his views, which any expressed reluctance to the measure might expose, went beyond probability in asseverations of readiness to be no bar to such arrangement, even so far as to affirm that, besides being tired of the business from the heavy expense it entailed on him, he had his prince's wish for his return to Kotah. There is one ingredient in Zalim's character, which has never been totally merged in the vices acquired from the tortuous policy of a long life, and which in the vigour of youth had full sway—namely, pride, one of the few virtues left to the Rajpoot, defrauded of many others by long oppression. But Zalim's pride was legitimate, being allied to honour; and it has retained him an evident superiority, through all the mazes of ambition. Umbaji skilfully availed himself of this defect in his friend's political character. "A pretty story, indeed!—you tell this to me: it might find credit with those who did not know you." The sarcasm only plunged him deeper into asseveration. "Is it then really your wish to retire?"—"Assuredly."—"Then," retorted the crafty Umbaji, "your wish shall be gratified in a few minutes." Giving him no time to retract, he called for his horse and galloped to Sindhia's tent. Zalim relied on Sindhia not acceding to the proposition; or if he did, that the Rana, over whom he imagined he had complete influence, would oppose it. His hopes of Sindhia rested on a promise privately made to leave troops under his authority for the restoration of order in Mewar; and yet a stronger claim, the knowledge that without Zalim he could not realize the stipulated sums for the expulsion of the Chondawut from Cheetore. Umbaji had foreseen and prepared a remedy for these difficulties, and upon their being urged, offered himself to advance the amount by bills on the Dekhan. This argument was irresistible; money, and the consequent

prosecution of his journey to Poonah, being attained, Sindhia's engagements with Zalim and the Rana ceased to be a matter of importance. He nominated Umbaji his lieutenant, with the command of a large force, by whose aid he would reimburse himself for the sums thus advanced. Having carried his object with Sindhia, Umbaji proceeded direct from his tent to that of the Rana's ministers, Sheodas, and Suttidas, with whom, by the promise of co-operation in their views, and perfect subserviency to the Rana's interests, he was alike successful. Umbaji, with the rapidity necessary to ensure success, having in a few hours accomplished his purpose, hastened back to Zalim, to acquaint him that his wish to retire had met with general acquiescence; and so well did he manage, that the Rana's mace-bearer arrived at the same moment to announce that the '*khalat of leave*' awaited his acceptance. Zalim being thus outwitted, the Saloombra chief descended from Cheetore, and '*touched the Rana's feet*.* Sindhia pursued his march to the Dekhan, and Umbaji was left sole arbiter of Mewar. The Suktawuts maintained the lead at court, and were not backward in consigning the estates of their rivals to the incubus now settled on the country: while the mortified Zalim, on his retreat, recorded his expenses, to be produced on some fitting occasion.

Umbaji remained eight years in Mewar, reaping its revenues and amassing those hoards of wealth, which subsequently gave him the lead in Hindustan, and enabled him nearly to assert his independence. Yet, although he accumulated £2,000,000 sterling from her soil,* exacting one-half of the produce of agricultural industry, the suppression of feuds and exterior aggressions gave to Mewar a degree of tranquility and happiness to which she had long been a stranger. The instructions delivered to Umbaji were:

- 1st. The entire restoration of the Rana's authority and resumption of the crown-lands from rebellious chiefs and mercenary Sindhies.
- 2nd. The expulsion of the Pretender from Komulmeer.
- 3rd. The recovery of Godwar from the Raja of Mewar.
- 4th. To settle the Boondi feud for the murder of Rana Ursi.

A schedule (*panāri*) for the twenty lacs stipulated was made and levied; twelve from the Chondawut estates, and eight from the Suktawuts; and the sum of sixty lacs was awarded, besides the expense of Umbaji's army, when the other specified objects should be attained. Within two years the Pretender was expelled from Komulmeer, Jehajpur was recovered from a rebellious Ranawut, and the crown-lands† were redeemed from the nobles; the personal domain of the Rana, agricultural and commercial, still realized nearly fifty lacs of rupees. After these services,

* It was levied as follows:—

Saloombra	...	...	...	Lacs	3
Deogurh	...	...	...	"	3
Singingir Gosen, their adviser...	...	...	...	"	2
Kositul	...	...	...	"	1
Amit	...	...	...	"	2
Korabur	...	...	...	"	1
Total					12

† Raepur Rajnuggar from the Sindhies; Goorlah and Gadermala from the Poorawuts; Hamirgurh from Sirdar Sing, and Koorj Kowario from Saloombra.

though Godwar was still unredeemed, the Boondi feud unappeased, and the lands mortgaged to the Mahrattas were not restored, Umbaji assumed the title of Soobadar of Mewar, and identified himself with the parties of the day. Yet so long as he personally upheld the interests of the Rana, his memory is done justice to, notwithstanding he never conformed to the strict letter of his engagements. The Rana's ministers, fearing lest their brother's fate should be theirs in the event of the Chondawuts again attaining power, and deeming their own and their sovereign's security dependent on Umbaji's presence, made a subsidiary engagement with him, and lands to the amount of 75,000 rupees monthly, or eight lacs annually, were appropriated for his force; but so completely were the resources of the country diverted from their honest use, that when, in S. 1851, a marriage was negotiated between the Rana's sister and the prince of Jeypur, the Rana was obliged to borrow £50,000 from the Mahratta commander to purchase the nuptial presents. The following year was marked by a triple event—the death of the queen-mother, the birth of a son and heir to the Rana, and the bursting of the embankment of the lake, which swept away a third of the city and a third of its inhabitants. Superstition attributed this catastrophe to the Rana's impiety, in establishing a new festival* to Gowrie, the Isis of Rajasthan.

Umbaji, who was this year nominated by Sindhia his viceory in Hindusthan, left Gunes Punt as his lieutenant in Mewar, with whom acted the Rana's officers, Sowaie and Sheerji Mehta;† who applied themselves to make the most of their ephemeral power with so rapacious a spirit, that Umbaji was compelled to displace Gunes Punt and appoint the celebrated Rae Chund. To him they would not yield, and each party formed a nucleus for disorder and misrule. It would be uninteresting and nauseating to the reader to carry him through all the scenes of villany which gradually desolated this country; for whose spoil pilfering Mahrattas, savage Rohillas, and adventurous Franks were all let loose. The now humbled Chondawuts, many of whose fiefs were confiscated, took to horse, and in conjunction with lawless Sindhies scoured the country. Their estates were attacked, Korabur was taken, and batteries were placed against Saloombra, whence the Sindhies fled and found refuge in Deogurh. In this exigence, the Chondawuts determined to send an envoy to Umbaji, who was then engaged in the siege of Duttea; and Ajit Sing, since prominent in the intrigues of Mewar, was the organ of his clan on this occasion. For the sum of ten lacs the avaricious Mahratta agreed to recall his deputy from Mewar,‡ to renounce Sheoda's and the Suktawuts, and lend his support to the Chondawuts. The Saloombra chief again took the lead at court, and with Aggurji Mehta as minister, the Suktawuts were attacked, the stipulated ten lacs raised from their estates, and two fiefs of note, Heeta, and Saimari, confiscated.

* In Bhadoon, the third month of the rainy reason.

† The first of these is now the manager of Prince Jowan Sing's estates, a man of no talent; and the latter, his brother, was one of the ministers on my arrival at Oodipur. He was of invincible good-humour, yet full of the spirit of intrigue, and one the bars to returning prosperity. The cholera carried off this Falstaff of the court, not much to my sorrow.

‡ S. 1853, A. D. 1797.

The death of Madhaji Sindhia, and the accession of his nephew Dowlut Rao, his murder of the Sainowee Brahmins, and his quarrels with the Baes ('princesses,' wives of the deceased Sindhia), all occurred at this time, and materially influenced the events in Mewar. The power of Umbaji as Soobadar of Hindusthan was strengthened by the minority of Sindhia, although contested by Lukwa and the Baes, supported by the Kheechie prince, Doorjun Sal, and the Duttea Raja, who fought and died for the princesses. Lukwa wrote to the Rana to throw off Umbaji's yoke and expel his lieutenant; while Umbaji commanded his deputy to eject the Sainowee* Brahmins, supporters of Lukwa, from all the lands in Mewar. To this end Gunes Punt called on the Rana's ministers and chiefs, who, consulting thereon, determined to play a deep game; and while they apparently acquiesced in the schemes of Gunes, they wrote the Sainowees to advance from Jawud and attack him, promising them support. They met at Sawah; Nana was defeated with the loss of his guns, and retired on Chittore. With a feint of support the Chondawuts made him again call in his garrison and try another battle, which he also lost and fled to Hamirgurh; then, uniting with his enemies, they invested the place with 15,000 men. Nana bravely maintained himself, making many sallies, in one of which both the sons of Dheruj Sing, the chief of Hamirgurh, were slain. Shortly after, Nana was relieved by some battalions of the new raised regulars sent by Umbaji under Golaub Rao Kudum, upon which he commenced his retreat on Ajmeer. At Moosa-Moosi he was forced to action, and success had nearly crowned the efforts of the clans, when a horseman, endeavouring to secure a mare, calling out, "*Bhaga! bhaga!*" "*She flies! she flies!*" the word spread, while those who caught her, exclaiming "*Mjlgya! milgya!*" "*She is taken!*" but equally significant with 'going over' to the enemy, caused a general panic, and the Chondawuts, on the verge of victory, disgraced themselves, broke and fled. Several were slain, among whom was the Sindhie leader Chundun. Shapura opened its gates to the fugitives led by the Goliah of the host, the chief of Deogurh†. It was an occasion not to be lost by the bards of the rival clan, and many a ribald stanza records this day's disgrace. Umbaji's lieutenant, however, was so roughly handled that several chiefs redeemed their estates, and the Rana much of the fisc, from Mahratta control. Mewar now became the arena on which the rival satraps Umbaji and Lukwa contested the exalted office of Sindhia's lieutenancy in Hindusthan. Lukwa was joined by all the chiefs of Mewar, his cause being their own; and Hamirgurh, still held by Nana's party, was reinvested. Two thousand shot had made a practicable breach, when Bala Rao Ingolia, Bapoo Sindhia, Eswunt Rao Sindhia, a brigade under the European 'Mutta field,' with the auxiliary battalions of Zalim Sing of Kotah, the whole under the command of Umbaji's son, arrived to relieve the lieutenant. Lukwa raised the siege, and took post with his allies under the walls of Cheetore; whilst the besieged left the untenable Hamirgurh, and joined the relief at Gosoonda. The rival

* There are three classes of Mahratta Brahmins; Sainowee, Purbo, and Mahrat. Of the First was Lukwa, Balabha Tantia, Jewa Dada, Sewaji Nana, Ballaji Pundit, and Jeswunt Rao Bhow, men who held the mortgaged lands of Mewar.

† I knew him well. He stood six feet six inches, and was bulky in proportion. His limbs rivalled those of the Hercules Farnese. His father was nearly seven feet, and died at the early age of twenty-two, in a vain attempt to keep down, by regimen and medicine, his enormous bulk.

armies were separated only by the Beris river, on whose banks they raised batteries and cannonaded each other, when a dispute arose in the victor camp regarding the pay of the troops, between Bala Rao (brother of Umbaji) and Nana, and the latter withdrew and retreated to Sanganer. Thus disunited, it might have been expected that these congregated masses would have dissolved, or fallen upon each other, when the Rajpoots might have given the *coup de grace* to the survivors; but they were Mahrattas, and their politics were too complicated to end in simple strife: almost all the actors in these scenes lived in contest with, and be humiliated by the British.

The defection of Nana equalized the parties; but Bala Rao, never partial to fighting, opportunely recollected a debt of gratitude to Lukwa, to whose clemency he owed his life when taken by storm in Googul Chupra. He also wanted money to pay his force, which a private overture to Lukwa secured. They met, and Bala Rao retired boasting of his gratitude, to which, and the defection of Nana, soon followed by that of Bapoo Sindhia, the salvation of Lukwa was attributed. Sutherland with a brigade was detached by Umbaji to aid Nana: but a dispute depriving him of this reinforcement, he called in a partizan of more celebrity, the brave George Thomas. Umbaji's Lieutenant and Lukwa were once more equal foes, and the Rana, his chiefs and subjects being distracted between these conflicting bands, whose leaders alternately paid their respects to him, were glad to obtain a little repose by espousing the cause of their combatant, whose armies during the monsoon encamped for six weeks within sight of each other.*

Doorjun Sal (Kheechie), with the nobles of Mewar, hovered round Nana's camp with five thousand horse to cut off his supplies; but Thomas escorted the convoys from Shapura with his regulars, and defied all their efforts. Thomas at length advanced his batteries against Lukwa, on whose position a general assault was about taking place, when a tremendous storm, with torrents of rain which filled the stream, cut off his batteries from the main body, burst the gates of Shapura, his *point d'appui*, and laid the town in ruins.† Lukwa seized the moment, and with the Mewar chiefs stormed and carried the isolated batteries, capturing fifteen pieces of cannon; and the Shapura Raja, threatened at once by his brother-nobles and the vengeance of heaven, refused further provision to Nana, who was compelled to abandon his position and retreat to Sanganer. The discomfited lieutenant vowed vengeance against the estates of the Mewar chieftains, and after the rains, being reinforced by Umbaji, again took the field. Then commenced a scene of carnage, pillage, and individual defence. The whole of the Chondawut estates under the Aravali range were laid waste, their castles assaulted, some taken and destroyed, and heavy-sums levied on all. Thomas besieged Deogurh and Amait, and both fought and paid. Kossitul and Lusani were captured, and the latter

* Both camps were on the right bank of the Bunas: Lukwa's at Amlee, about ten miles South of Shapura, and Nana's at Kadaria, between these towns.

† Lukwa at this time (a) put the Shapura Raja in possession of the important fortress and district of Jehajpur, which, although the Rana consented to it, covertly receiving from the Raja two lacs of rupees, disgusted the nobles with Lukwa.

vazed for its gallant resistance. Thus they were proceeding in the work of destruction, when Umbaji was dispossessed of the government of Hindusthan, to which Lukwa was nominated,* and Nana was compelled to surrender all the fortresses and towns he held in Mewar.

From this period must be dated the pretensions of Sindhia to consider Mewar as tributary to him. We have traced the rise of the Mahrattas, and the progress of their baneful influence in Mewar. The abstractions of territory from S. 1826 to 1831, as pledges for contributions, satisfied their avarice till 1848, when the Saloombra rebellion brought the great Sindhia to Cheetore, leaving Umbaji as his lieutenant, with a subsidiary force, to recover the Rana's lost possessions. We have related how these conditions were fulfilled; how Umbaji, inflated with the wealth of Mewar, assumed almost regal dignity in Hindusthan, assigning the devoted land to be governed by his deputies, whose contest with other aspirants made this unhappy region the stage for constant struggles for supremacy; and while the secret policy of Zalim Sing stimulated the Suktawuts to cling to Umbaji, the Chondawuts gave the influence and interest to his rival Lukwa. The unhappy Rana and the peasantry paid for this rivalry; while Sindhia, whose power was now in its zenith, fastened one of his desultory armies on Mewar, in contravention of former treaties, without any definite views, or even instructions to its commander. It was enough that a large body should supply itself without assailing him for prey, and whose services were available when required.

Lukwa, the new viceroy, marched to Mewar: Aggurji Mehta was appointed minister to the Rana, and the Chondawuts again came into power. For the sum of six lacs Lukwa disposed of the Shapura of Jehajpur, for the liquidation of which thirty-six of its towns were mortgaged. Zalim Sing, who had long been manœuvring to obtain Jehajpur, administered to the necessities of the Mahratta, paid the note of hand, and took possession of the city and its villages. A contribution of twenty-four lacs was imposed throughout the country, and levied by force of arms, after which first act of the new viceroy he quitted Mewar for Jeypur, leaving Jessunt Rao Bhow as his deputy. Moujee Ram, the deputy of Aggurji (the Rana's minister), determined to adopt the European mode of discipline, now became general amongst all the native powers of India. But when the chiefs were called upon to contribute to the support of mercenary regulars, and a field-artillery, they evinced their patriotism by confining this zealous minister. Sutidas was once more placed in power, and his brother Sheodas recalled from Kotah, whither he had fled from the Chondawuts, who now appropriated to themselves the most valuable portions of the Rana's personal domain.

The battle of Indore, in A.D. 1802, where at least 150,000 men assembled to dispute the claim to predatory empire, wrested the ascendancy from Holkar, who lost his guns, equipage, and capital, from which he fled to Mewar, pursued by Sindhia's victorious army led by Sudashen and Bala Rao. In his flight he plundered Rutlam, and passing Bleendir, the castle of the Suktawut chief, he demanded a contribution, from which and his meditated visit to Oodipur, the Rana and his vassal were saved by the activity of the pursuit. Failing in these objects, Holkar retreated on Nathdwara, the celebrated shrine of the Hindu Apollo. It was here this active soldier first shewed symptoms of

* Balabha Tantia and Bukshu Narrain Rao were Sindhia's ministers at this period, of the same tribe (the Sainowee) as Lukwa.

mental derangement. He upbraided Crishna, while prostrate before his image, for the loss of his victory; and levied three lacs of rupees on the priests and inhabitants, several of whom he carried to his camp as hostages for the payment. The portal (*dwarra*) of the god (*Nath*) proving no bar either to Toork or equally impious Mahratta, Damodurji, the high priest, removed the God of Vrij from his pedestal and sent him with his establishment to Oodipur for protection. The Chohan chief of Kotario (one of the sixteen nobles), in whose estate was the sacred fane, undertook the duty, and with twenty horsemen, his vassals, escorted the shepherd god by intricate passes to the capital. On his return he was intercepted by a band of Holkar's troops, who insultingly desired the surrender of their horses. But the descendant of the illustrious Pirthwi Raj preferred death to dishonour: dismounting, he hamstrung his steed, commanding his vassals to follow his example; and sword in hand courted his fate in the unequal conflict, in which he fell, with most of his gallant retainers. There are many such isolated exploits in the records of this eventful period, of which the Chohans of Kotario had their full share. Spoil, from whatever source, being welcome to these depredators, Nathdwarra* remained long abandoned; and Apollo, after six months' residence at Oodipur, finding insufficient protection, took another flight to the mountains of Gassyar, where the high priest threw up fortifications for his defence; and spiritual thunders being disregarded, the pontiff henceforth buckled on the armour of flesh, and at the head of four hundred cavaliers, with lance and shield, visited the minor shrines in his extensive diocese.

To return to Holkar. He pursued his route by Binera and Shapura, levying from both, to Ajmeer, where he distributed a portion of the offerings of the followers of Crishna amongst the priests of Mahomed at the mosque of Khawaja Peer. Thence he proceeded toward Jeypur. Sindhia's leaders on reaching Mewar renounced the pursuit, and Oodipur was cursed with their presence, when three lacs of rupees were extorted from the unfortunate Rana, raised by the sale of household effects and the jewels of the females of his family. Jesswunt Rao Bhow, the sobadar of Mewar, had prepared another schedule (*pandri*), which he left with Tantia, his deputy, to realise. Then followed the usual scene of conflict—the attack of the chieftain's estates, distraining of the husbandman, seizure of his cattle, and his captivity for ransom, or his exile.

The celebrated Lukwa, disgraced by his prince, died at this time† in sanctuary at Saloombra; and Bala Rao, brother to Umbaji, returned, and was joined by the Suktawuts and the minister Suttidas, who expelled the Chondawuts for their control over the prince. Zalim Sing, in furtherance of his schemes and through hatred of the Chondawuts, united himself to this faction, and Devi Chund, minister to the Rana, set up by the Chondawuts, was made prisoner. Bala Rao levied and destroyed their estates with; unexampled ferocity, which produced a bold attempt at deliverance. The Chondawut leaders assembled at the Chougan (the *Camp de Mars*) to consult on their safety. The insolent Mahratta had preceded them to the palace, demanding the surrender of the minister's deputy, Moujee Ram. The Rana indignantly refused them—the

* Five and twenty miles north of Oodipur.

† S. 1859 (A. D. 1803).

Mahratta importuned, threatened, and at length commanded his troops to advance to the palace, when the intrepid minister pinioned the audacious plunderers, and secured his adherents (including their old enemy, Nana Gunes), Jumalkur, and Ooda Kooer. The latter, a notorious villain, had an elephant's chain put round his neck, while Bala Rao was confined in a bath. The leaders thus arrested, the Chondawuts sallied forth and attacked their camp in the valley, which surrendered; though the regulars under Hearsay retreated in a hollow square, and reached Gadermala in safety. Zalim Sing determined to liberate his friend Bala Rao from peril; and aided by the Suktawuts under the chiefs of Bheendir and Lawah, advanced to the Chaija pass, one of the defiles leading to the capital. Had the Rana put these chiefs to instant death, he would have been justified, although he would have incurred the resentment of the whole Mahratta nation. Instead of this, he put himself at the head of a motely levy of six thousand Sindhies, Arabs, and Goseins, with the brave Jey Sing and a band of his gallant Kheechies, ever ready to poise the lance against a Mahratta. They defended the pass for five days against a powerful artillery. At length the Rana was compelled to liberate Bala Rao, and Zalim Sing obtained by this interference possession of the fortress and entire district of Jehajpur. A schedule or war contribution, the usual final to these events, followed Bala's liberation, and no means were left untried to realize the exaction, before Holkar, then approaching, could contest the spoil.

This chief having recruited his shattered forces, again left the south.* Bheendir felt his resentment for non-compliance with his demands on his retreat after the battle of Indore; the town was nearly destroyed, but spared for two lacs of rupees, for the payment of which villages were assigned. Thence he repaired to Oodipur, being met by Ajit Sing, the Rana's ambassador, when the enormous sum of forty lacs, or £500,000, was demanded from the country, of which one-third was commanded to be instantly forthcoming. The palace was denuded of everything which could be converted into gold; the females were deprived of every article of luxury and comfort: by which, with contributions levied on the city, twelve lacs were obtained; while hostages from the household of the Rana and chief citizens were delivered as security for the remainder, and immured in the Mahratta camp. Holkar then visited the Rana. Lawah and Bednore were attacked, taken, and restored on large payments. Deogurh alone was mulcted four and a half lacs. Having devastated Mewar during eight months, Holkar marched to Hindusthan,† Ajit Sing accompanying him as the Rana's representative; while Bala Ram Seth was left to levy the balance of the forty lacs. Holkar had reached Shapura when Sindhia entered Mewar, and their camps formed a junction to allow the leaders to organize their mutual plans of hostility to

* In S. 1860 (A. D. 1804).

† At this juncture an officer of Holkar's, Hurnat Chela, on passing through Bansein, had some camels carried off by the Bhills of the Satola estate. Hurnat summoned Golab Sing Chondawut, who came with eight of his relatives, when he was told he should be detained till the cattle were restored; and in the morning, as the Mahratta mounted his elephant, he commanded the Raghaut chieftain to be seized. Golab drew his sword and made at Hurnat, but his sword broke in the howda, when he plunged his dagger into the elephant; but at length with all his relations, who nobly plied their swords on the Mahrattas, was cut to pieces.

the British government. These chieftains, in their efforts to cope with the British power, had been completely humiliated, and their resources broken. But Rajasthan was made to pay the penalty of British success, which rivetted her chains, and it would be but honest, now we have the power, to diminish that penalty.

The rainy season of A. D. 1805 found Sindhia and Holkar encamped in the plains of Bednore, desirous, but afraid, to seek revenge in the renewal of war. Deprived of all power in Hindusthan, and of the choicest territory north and south of the Nerbudda, with numerous discontented armies now let loose on these devoted countries, their passions inflamed by defeat, and blind to every sentiment of humanity, they had no alternative to pacify the soldiery and replenish their own ruined resources but indiscriminate pillage. It would require a pen powerful as the pencil of Salvator Rosa to paint the horrors which filled up the succeeding ten years, to which the author was an eye-witness, destined to follow in the train of rapine, and to view in the traces of Mahratta camps the desolation and political annihilation of all the central states of India,* several of which aided the British in their early struggles for dominion, but were now allowed to fall without a helping hand, the scape-goats of our successes. Peace between the Mahrattas and British was, however, doubtful, as Sindhia made the restoration of the rich provinces of Gohud and Gwalior a *sine qua non*: and unhappily for their legitimate ruler, who had been inducted into the seat of his forefathers, a Governor-General (Lord Cornwallis) of ancient renown, but in the decline of life, with views totally unsuited to the times, abandoned our allies, and renounced all for peace, sending an ambassador† to Sindhia to reunite the bonds of "perpetual friendship."

The Mahratta leaders were anxious, if the war should be renewed, to shelter their families and valuables in the strong-holds of Mewar, and their respective camps became the rendezvous of the rival factions. Sirdar Sing, the organ of the Chondawuts, represented the Rana at Sindhia's court, at the head of whose councils Umbaji had just been placed.‡ His rancour to the Rana was implacable, from the support given in self-defence to his political antagonist, Lukwa, and he agitated the partition of Mewar amongst the great Mahratta leaders. But whilst his baneful influence was preparing this result, the credit of Sangram

* The Rana of Gohud and Gwalior, the Kheechie chiefs of Ragoo-gurh and Buhadoorgurh, and the Nabob of Bhopal, made common cause with us in Warren Hastings' time. The three first possess not a shadow of independence; the latter fortunately formed a link in our own policy, and Lord Hastings, in 1818, repaid with liberal interest the services rendered to the government of Warren Hastings in 1782. It was in his power, with an equal facility, to have rescued all the other states, and to have claimed the same measure of gratitude which Bhopal is proud to avow. But there was a fatality in the desire to maintain terms with Sindhia, whose treachery to our power was overlooked.

† The author, then a subaltern, was attached to the suite of the ambassador Mr. Græme Mercer. He left the subsidiary force at Gwalior in December 1805, and the embassy reached Sindhia's court in the spring of 1806, then encamped amidst the ruins of Mewar.

‡ The ministers of Sindhia were Umbaji, Bapoo Chitnavess, Madhuba Huzooria, and Anaji Bhaskar.

Suktawut with Holkar counteracted it. It would be unfair and ungallant not to record that a fair suitor, the Baeza Bae, Sindhia's wife, powerfully contributed to the Rana's preservation on this occasion. This lady, the daughter of the notorious Surji Rao, had unbounded power over Sindhia. Her sympathies were awakened in behalf of the supreme head of the Rajpoot nation, of which blood she had to boast, though she was now connected with the Mahrattas. Even the hostile clans stifled their animosities on this occasion, and Sirdar Sing Chondawut left Sindhia's camp to join his rival Sangram with Holkar, and aided by the upright Kishendas Pancholi, united in their remonstrances, asking Holkar if he had given his consent to sell Mewar to Umbaji. Touched by the picture of the Rana's and their country's distresses, Holkar swore it should not be; advised unity amongst themselves, and caused the representatives of the rival clans "*to eat opium together*" Nor did he stop here, but with the envoys repaired to Sindhia's tents, descended on the Rana's high descent, "the master of their master's master,"* urging that it did not become them to overwhelm him, and that they should even renounce the mortgaged lands which their fathers had too long unjustly held, himself setting the example by the restitution of Neembahaira. To strengthen his argument, he expatiated with Sindhia on the policy of conciliating the Rana, whose strong holds might be available in the event of a renewal of hostilities with the British. Sindhia appeared a convert to his views, and retained the envoys in his camp. The Mahratta camps were twenty miles apart, and incessant torrents of rain had for some days prevented all intercourse. In this interim, Holkar received intelligence that Bhirao Bux, as envoy from the Rana, was in Lord Lake's camp negotiating for the aid of British troops, then at Tonk, to drive the Mahrattas from Mewar. The incensed Holkar sent for the Rana's ambassadors, and assailed them with a torrent of reproach; accusing them of treachery, he threw the newspaper containing the information at Kishendas, asking if that were the way in which the Mewarries kept faith with him? "I cared not to break with Sindhia in support of your master, and while combating the Fringies (Franks), when all Hindus should be as brothers, your sovereign the Rana, who boasts of not acknowledging the supremacy of Delhi, is the first to enter into terms with them. Was it for this I prevented Umbaji being fastened on you?" Kishen-das here interrupted and attempted to pacify him, when Alikur Tantia, Holkar's minister, stopped him short, observing to his prince, "You see the faith of these *Rangras*;† they would disunite you and Sindhia, and ruin both. Shake them off: be reconciled to Sindhia, dismiss Surji Rao, and let Umbaji be Soobadar of Mewar, or I will leave you and take Sindhia into Malwa." The other councillors, with the exception of Bhow Bhasker, seconded his advice: Surji Rao was dismissed; and Holkar proceeded northward, where he was encountered and pursued to the Punjab by the British under the intrepid and enterprising Lake, who dictated terms to the Mahratta at the altars of Alexander.

Holkar had the generosity to stipulate, before his departure from Mewar, for the security of the Rana and his country, telling Sindhia he should hold him personally amenable to him if Umbaji was permitted to

* That is, chief of the race from which issued the Sitarra sovereigns, whose minister, the Peshwa, accounted Sindhia and Holkar his feudatories.

† Rangra is an epithet applied to the Rajpoots, implying turbulent from '*ring*' strife.

violate his guarantee. But in his misfortunes this threat, was disregarded, and a contribution of sixteen lacs was levied immediately on Mewar; Sudasheo Rao, with Baptiste's brigade, was detached from the camp in June 1806, for the double purpose of levying it, and driving from Oodipur a detachment of Jeypur prince's troops, bringing proposals and preliminary presents for this prince's marriage with the Rana's daughter.

It would be imagined that the miseries of Rana Bheem were not susceptible of aggravation, and that fortune had done her worst to humble him; but his pride as a sovereign and his feelings as a parent were destined to be yet more deeply wounded. The Jeypur *cortege* had encamped near the capital, to the number of three thousand men, while the Rana's acknowledgments of acceptance were despatched, and had reached Shapura. But Raja Maun of Marwar also advanced pretensions, founded on the princess having been actually betrothed to his predecessor; and urging that the throne of Marwar, and not the individual occupant, was the object, he vowed resentment and opposition if his claims were disregarded. These were suggested, it is said, by his nobles to cloak their own views; and promoted by the Chondawuts (then in favour with the Rana), whose organ, Ajit, was bribed to further them, contrary to the decided wishes of their prince.

Krishna Kumari (the *Virgin Krishna*) was the name of the lovely object, the rivalry for whose hand assembled under the banners of her suitors, (Juggut Sing of Jeypur, and Raja Maun of Marwar,) not only their native chivalry, but all the predatory powers of India; and who like Helen of old, involved in destruction her own and the rival houses. Sindhia having been denied a pecuniary demand by Jeypur, not only opposed the nuptial, but aided the claims of Raja Maun, by demanding of the Rana the dismissal of the Jeypur embassy: which being refused, he advanced his brigades and batteries, and after a fruitless resistance, in which the Jeypur troops joined, forced the pass, threw a corps of eight thousand men into the valley, and following in person, encamped within cannon-range of the city. The Rana had now no alternative but to dismiss the nuptial *cortege*, and agree to whatever was demanded. Sindhia remained a month in the valley, during which an interview took place between him and the Rana at the shrine of Eklinga.*

* To increase his importance, Sindhia invited the British envoy and suite to be present on the occasion, when the princely demeanour of the Rana and his sons was advantageously contrasted with that of the Mahratta and his suite. It was in this visit that the regal abode of this ancient race, its isles and palaces, acted with irresistible force on the cupidity of this *scion of the plough*, who aspired to, yet dared not sit himself in, "the halls of the Cæsars." It was even surmised that his hostility to Jeypur was not so much from the refused war-contribution, as from a mortifying negative to an audacious desire to obtain the hand of this princess himself.

The impression made on the author upon this occasion by the miseries and noble appearance of "this descendant of a hundred kings," was never allowed to weaken, but kindled an enthusiastic desire for the restoration of his fallen condition, which stimulated his perseverance to obtain that knowledge by which alone he might be enabled to benefit him. Then a young *Sub*, his hopes of success were more sanguine than wise; but he trusted to the rapid march of events, and the discordant elements by which he was surrounded, to effect the redemption of the prince from

The heralds of Hymen being thus rudely repulsed and its symbols intercepted, the Jeypur prince prepared to avenge his insulted pride and disappointed hopes, and accordingly arrayed a force such as had not assembled since the empire was in its glory. Raja Maun eagerly took up the gauntlet of his rival, and headed "*the swords of 'Maroo.'*" But dissension prevailed in Marwar, where rival claimants for the throne had divided the loyalty of the clans, introducing there also the influence of the Mahrattas. Raja Maun, who had acquired the sceptre by party aid, was obliged to maintain himself by it, and to pursue the demoralizing policy of the period by ranging his vassals against each other. These nuptials gave the malcontents an opportunity to display their long-curbed resentments, and following the example of Mewar, they set up a pretender, whose interests were eagerly espoused, and whose standard was erected in the array of Jeypur; the prince at the head of 120 000 men advancing against his rival, who with less than half the number met him at Purbutsir, on their mutual frontier. The action was short, for while a heavy cannonade opened on either side, the majority of the Marwar nobles went over to the pretender. Raja Maun turned his poniard against himself: but some chiefs yet faithful to him wrested the weapon from his hand, and conveyed him from the field. He was pursued to his capital, which was invested, besieged, and gallantly defended during six months. The town was at length taken and plundered, but the castle of Joda "*laughed a siege to scorn;*" in time with the aid of finesse, the mighty host of Jeypur, which had consumed the forage of these arid plains for twenty miles around, began to crumble away; intrigue spread through every rank, and the siege ended in pusillanimity and flight. The Xerxes of Rajwarra, the effeminate Cutchwaha, alarmed at length for his personal safety, sent on the spoils of Purbutsir and Jodpur to his capital; but the brave nobles of Marwar, drawing the lines between loyalty and patriotism, and determined that no trophy of Rahtore degradation should be conveyed by the Cutchwahas from Marwar, attacked the *cortege* and redeemed the symbols of their disgrace. The colossal array of the invader was soon dismembered, and the "*lion of the world*" (Juggut Sing) humbled and crest-fallen, skulked from the desert retreat of his rival, indebted to a partizan corps for safety and convoy to his capital, around whose walls the wretched remnants of this ill-starred confederacy long lagged in expectation of their pay, while the bones of their horses and the ashes of their riders whitened the plain, and rendered it a Golgotha.*

By the aid of one of the most notorious villains India ever produced, the Nawab Ameer Khan, the pretender's party was treacherously annihilated. This man with his brigade of artillery and horse was amongst the most efficient of the foes of Raja Maun; but the *auri sacra fames* not only made him desert the side on which he came for that of the Raja, but for a specific sum offer to rid him of the pretender and all his associates. Like

thralldom. It was long a dream—but after ten years of anxious hope, at length realised—and he had the gratification of being instrumental in snatching the family from destruction, and subsequently of raising the country to comparative prosperity.

* I witnessed the commencement and the end of this drama, and have conversed with actors in all the intermediate scenes. In June 1806 the passes of Oodipur were forced; and in January 1808, when I passed through Jeypur in a solitary ramble, the fragments of this contest were scattered over its sandy plains.

Judas, he kissed whom he betrayed, took service with the pretender, and at the shrine of a saint of his own faith exchanged turbans with their leaders; and while the too credulous Rajpoot chieftains celebrated this acquisition to their party in the very sanctuary of hospitality, crowned by the dance and the song, the tents were cut down, and the victims thus enveloped, slaughtered in the midst of festivity by showers of grape.

Thus finished the under-plot; but another and more noble victim was demanded before discomfited ambition could repose, or the curtain drop on this eventful drama. Neither party would relinquish his claim to the fair object of the war; and the torch of discord could be extinguished only in her blood. To the same ferocious Khan is attributed the unhallowed suggestion, as well as its compulsory execution. The scene was now changed from the desert castle of Joda to the smiling valley of Oodipur, soon to be filled with funeral lamentation.

Krishna Kumari Bae, the "Virgin Princess Krishna," was in her sixteenth year: her mother was of the Chawura race, the ancient kings of Anhulwara. Sprung from the noblest blood of Hind, she added beauty of face and person to an engaging demeanour, and was justly proclaimed the "flower of Rajasthan." When the Roman father pierced the bosom of the dishonoured Virginia, appeased virtue applauded the deed. When Iphigenia was led to the sacrificial altar, the salvation of her country yielded a noble consolation. The votive victim of Jephtha's success had the triumph of a father's fame to sustain her resignation, and in the meekness of her sufferings we have the best parallel to the sacrifice of the lovely Krishna, though years have passed since the barbarous immolation, it is never related but with a faltering tongue and moistened eyes, "albeit unused to the melting mood."

The rapacious and blood-thirsty Pathans, covered with infamy, repaired to Oodipur, where he was joined by the pliant and subtle Ajit. Meek in his demeanour, unostentatious in his habits; despising honours, yet covetous of power,—religion, which he followed with the zeal of an ascetic, if it did not serve as a cloak, was at least no hindrance to an immeasurable ambition, in the attainment of which he would have sacrificed all but himself. When the Pathan revealed his design, that either the princess should wed Raja Maun, or by her death seal the peace of Rajwarra, whatever arguments were used to point the alternative, the Rana was made to see no choice between consining his beloved child to the Rathore prince, or witnessing the effects of a more extended dishonour from the vengeance of the Pathan, and the storm of his palace by his licentious adherents:—the fiat passed that Krishna Kumari should die.

But the deed was left for women to accomplish—the hand of man refused it. The Rawula* of an eastern prince is a world within itself; it is the labyrinth containing the strings that move the puppets which alarm mankind. Here intrigue sits enthroned, and hence its influence radiates to the world, always at a loss to trace effects to their causes. Maharaja Dowlut Sing,† descended four generations ago from one common ancestor with the Rana, was first sounded "to save the honour of Oodipur;" but, horrorstruck, he exclaimed, "accursed the tongue that commands it! Dust on my allegiance, if thus to be preserved!" The Maharaja Jowandas, a natural brother, was then called upon; the dire necessity was explained, and it was urged that no common hand could be armed for the purpose. He accepted the poniard, but when in

* Harem.

† I knew him well—a plain honest man.

youthful loveliness Krishna appeared before him, the dagger fell from his hand, and he returned more wretched than the victim. The fatal purpose thus revealed, the shrieks of the frantic mother reverberated through the palace, as she implored mercy, or execrated the murderers of her child, who alone was resigned to her fate. But death was arrested, not averted. To use the phrase of the narrator, "she was excused the steel—the cup was prepared,"—and prepared by female hands! As the messenger presented it in the name of her father, she bowed and drank it, sending up a prayer for his life and prosperity. The raving mother poured imprecations on his head, while the lovely victim, who shed not a tear, thus endeavoured to console her: "Why afflict yourself, my mother, at this shortening of the sorrows of life? I fear not to die! Am I not your daughter? Why should I fear death? We are marked out for sacrifice* from our birth; we scarcely enter the world but to be sent out again; let me thank my father that I have lived so long!"† Thus she conversed till the nauseating draught refused to assimilate with her blood. Again the bitter potion was prepared. She drained it off, and again it was rejected; but, as if to try the extreme of human fortitude, a third was administered; and, for the third time, Nature refused to aid the horrid purpose. It seemed as if the fabled charm, which guarded the life of the founder of her race,‡ was inherited by the Virgin Krishna. But the bloodhounds, the Pathan and Ajit, were impatient till their victim was at rest; and cruelty, as if gathering strength from defeat, made another and a fatal attempt. A powerful opiate was presented—the *kasoomba draught*.§ She received it with a smile, wished the scene over and drank it. The desires of barbarity were accomplished. "She slept!"|| a sleep from which she never awoke.

The wretched mother did not long survive her child; nature was exhausted in the ravings of despair; she refused food; and her remains in a few days followed those of her daughter to the funeral pyre.

Even the ferocious Khan, when the instrument of his infamy, Ajit, reported the issue, received him with contempt, and spurned him from his presence, tauntingly asking "if this were the boasted Rajpoot valour?" But the wily traitor had to encounter language far more bitter from his political adversary, whom he detested. Sangram Sukhtaut reached the capital only four days after the catastrophe—a man in every respect the reverse of Ajit; audaciously brave, he neither feared the frown of his sovereign nor the sword of his enemy. Without

* Alluding to the custom of infanticide—here, very rare; indeed, almost unknown.

† With my mind engrossed with the scenes in which I had passed the better part of my life, I went two months after my return from Rajpootana, in 1823, to York Cathedral to attend the memorable festival of that year. The sublime recitations of Handel in "Jephtha's Vow," the sonorous woe of Sapio's "Deeper and deeper still," powerfully recalled the sad exit of the Rajpootni; and the representation shortly after of Racine's tragedy of "Iphigenie," with Talma as Achille, Duchesnois as Clytemnestre, and a very interesting personation of the victim daughter of Agamemnon, again served to waken the remembrance of this sacrifice.

‡ Bappa Rawal.

§ The *kasoomba draught* is made of flowers and herbs of a cooling quality; into this an opiate was introduced.

|| The simple but powerful expression of the narrator.

introduction he rushed into the presence, where he found seated the traitor Ajit. "Oh dastard! who hast thrown dust on the Seesodia race, whose blood which has flowed in purity through a hundred ages has now been defiled! this sin will check its course for ever; a blot so foul in our annals that no Seesodia* will ever again hold up his head! A sin to which no punishment were equal. But the end of our race is approaching. The line of Bappa Rawul is at an end! Heaven has ordained this, a signal of our destruction." The Rana hid his face with his hands, when turning to Ajit, he exclaimed, "thou stain on the Seesodia race, thou impure of Rajpoot blood, dust be on thy head as thou hast covered us all with shame. May you die childless, and your name die with you! Why this indecent haste? Had the Pathan stormed the city? Had he attempted to violate the sanctity of the Rawula! and though he had, could you not die as Rajpoots, like your ancestors? Was it thus they gained a name? Was it thus our race became renowned—thus they opposed the might of kings? Have you forgotten the Sakas of Cheetore? But whom do I address—not Rajpoots? Had the honour of your femaels been endangered, had you sacrificed them all and rushed sword in hand on the enemy, your name would have lived, and the Almighty would have secured the seed of Bappa Rawul! But to owe preservation to this unhallowed deed! You did not even await the threatened danger. Fear seems to have deprived you of every faculty, or you might have spared the blood of Sreejee,† and if you did not scorn to owe your safety to deception, might have substituted some less noble victim! But the end of our race approaches!"

The traitor to manhood, his sovereign, and humanity, durst not reply. The brave Sangram is now dead, but the prophetic anathema has been fulfilled. Of *ninety-five* children, sons and daughters, but one son (the brother of Krishna)§ is left to the Rana; and though his two remaining daughters have been recently married to the princes of Jessulmeer and Bikaner, the Salic law, which is in full force in these states, precludes all honour through female descent. His hopes rest solely on the prince, Juvana Sing|| and though in the flower of youth and health, the marriage bed (albiet boasting no less than four young princesses) has been blessed with no progeny.¶

* The tribe of the Rana.

† That is, without adoption even to perpetuate it.

‡ A respectful epithet to the prince—*sire*. § By the same mother.

|| He was nearly carried off by that awful scourge, the cholera, and, singular to remark, was the first person attacked at Oodipur. I remain by his bed-side during the progress of this terrible visitation, and never shall I forget his grateful exclamation of surprise, when after a salutary sleep he opened his eyes to health. Sheerjee Mehta, his chief adviser and manager of his estates, merry as ever, though the heir of Mewar was given over, was seized with the complaint as his master recovered—was dead and his ashes blanching on the sands of the streamlet of Ar within twelve hours. Jovial and good humoured as he was, "we could have better spared a better man." He was an adept in intrigue of Umbaji's school; and till death shall extinguish the whole of this, and better morals are born, the country will but slowly improve.

¶ Since this work has gone to press: the author has been rejoiced to find that an heir has been born from the last marriage by a princess of Rewah of the Bhagela tribe.

The elder brother of Juvana died two years ago, Had he lived he would have been Umra the third. With regard to Ajit, the course has been fully accomplished. Scarcely a month after, his wife and two sons were numbered with the dead; and the hoary traitor has since been wandering from shrine to shrine, performing penance and alms in expiation of his sins, yet unable to fling from his ambition; and with his beads in one hand, *Rama! Rama!* ever on his tongue, and subdued passion in his looks, his heart is deceitful as ever. Enough of him: let us exclaim with Sangram, "*Dust on his head,*"* which all the waters of the Ganges could not purify from the blood of the virgin Krishna, but

"rather would the multitudinous sea incarnadine."

His coadjutor, Ameer Khan, is now linked by treaties "in amity and unity of interests" with the sovereigns of India; and though he has carried mourning into every house of Rajasthan, yet charity might hope forgiveness would be extended to him, could he cleanse himself from this deed of horror—"throwing this pearl away, richer than all his tribe!" His career of rapine has terminated with the caresses of the blind goddess, and placed him on a pinnacle to which his sword would never have traced the path. Enjoying the most distinguished post amongst the foreign chieftains of Holkar's state, having the regulars and park under his control, with large estates for their support, he added the epithet of traitor to his other titles, when the British government, adopting the leading maxim of Asiatic policy, "*divide et impera,*" guaranteed to him the sovereignty of these districts on his abandoning the Mahratta, disbanding his legions, and surrendering the park. But though he personally fulfilled not, nor could fulfil, one single stipulation, this man, whose services were not worth the pay of a single sepoy,—who fled from his camp† unattended, and sought personal protection in that of the British commander,—claimed and obtained the full price of our pledge, the sovereignty of about one-third of his master's dominions; and the districts of Seronge, Tonk, Rampura, and Neembahaira, from the domain of the *Nawab Ameer Khan*, etc., etc., etc.!! This was in the fitful fever of success, when our arms were everywhere triumphant. But were the viceroy of Hind to summon the forty tributaries‡ now covered by the ægis of British protection to a meeting, the murderer of Krishna would still occupy a place (though low) in this illustrious divan. Let us hope that his character being known, he would feel himself ill at ease; and let us dismiss him likewise in the words of Sangram, "*Dust on his head.*"

The mind sickens at the contemplation of these unvarying scenes of atrocity: but this unhappy state had yet to pass through two more lustrues of aggravated sufferings (to which the author of these annals was an eye-witness) before their termination, upon the alliance of Mewar with Britain. From the period of the forcing of the passes, the dismissal of the Jeypur

* This was written at Oodipur, in 1820. This old intriguer then attempted to renew the past, as the organ of the Chondawuts, but his scheme ended in exile to the sacred city of Benares; and there he may now be seen with his rosary on the consecrated *ghat* of the Ganges.

† Brigadier-General Alexander Knox had the honour of dissolving these bands in the only way worthy of us. He marched his troops to take their guns and disperse their legions; and, when in order of battle, the gallant General taking out his watch, gave them half-an-hour to reflect, their commander Jamshid, second only in villany to his master, deeming "discretion the better part of valour," surrendered.

‡ There are full this number of princes holding under the British.

embassy by Sindhia, and the murder of Krishna Kumari, the embassy of Britain was in the train of the Mahratta leader, a witness of the evils described—a most painful predicament—when the hand was stretched out for succour in vain, and the British flag waved in the centre of desolation, unable to afford protection. But this day of humiliation is past, thanks to the predatory hordes who goaded us on to their destruction; although the work was incomplete, a nucleus being imprudently left in Sindhia for the scattered particles again to form.

In the spring of 1806, when the embassy entered the once-fertile Mewar, from whose native wealth the monuments the pencil will portray were erected, nothing but ruin met the eye—deserted towns, roofless houses, and uncultured plains. Wherever the Mahratta encamped, annihilation was ensured; it was a habit; and twenty-four hours sufficed to give to the most flourishing spot the aspect of a desert. The march of destruction was always to be traced for days afterwards by burning villages and destroyed cultivation. Some satisfaction may result from the fact, that there was scarcely an actor in these unhallowed scenes whose end was not fitted to his career. Umbaji was compelled to disgorge the spoils of Mewar, and his personal sufferings made some atonement for the ills he had inflicted upon her. This satrap, who had almost established his independence in the fortress and territory of Gwalior, suffered every indignity from Sindhia, whose authority he had almost thrown off. He was confined in a mean tent, manacled, suffered the torture of a small lighted torches applied to his fingers, and even attempted suicide to avoid the surrender of his riches; but the instrument (an English penknife), was inefficient: the surgeon to the British embassy sewed up the wounds and his coffers were eased of fifty-five lacs of rupees! Mewar was, however, once more delivered over to him; he died shortly after. If report be correct, the residue of his treasures was possessed by his ancient ally, Zalim Sing. In this case, the old politician derived the chief advantage of the intrigues of S. 1848, without the crimes attendant on the acquisition.

Sindhia's father-in law, when expelled that chief's camp, according to the treaty, enjoyed the ephemeral dignity of minister to the Rana, when he abstracted the most valuable records, especially those of the revenue.

Kornulmeer was obtained by the minister Suttidas from Jesswunt Rao Bhow for seventy thousand rupees, for which assignments were given on this district, of which he retained possession. Meer Khan in A. D. 1809 led his myrmidons to the capital, threatening the demolition of the temple of Eklinga if refused a contribution of eleven lacs of rupees. Nine were agreed to, but which by no effort could be raised, upon which the Rana's envoys were treated with indignity, and Kishen-das* wounded. The passes were forced, Meer Khan entering by Dobari, and his coadjutor and son-in-law, the notorious Jamshid, by the Cheerwa, which made but a feeble resistance. The ruffian Pathans were billeted on the city, subjecting the Rana to personal humiliation, and Jamshid† left with his

* This veteran attended me during all these troubles, as the medium of communication with the Rana. Though leagued with the Chondawuts, he was a loyal subject and good servant. I saw him expire, and was of opinion, as well as the doctor who accompanied me, that his death was caused by poison. The general burst of sorrow from hundreds collected around his house, when the event was announced, is the best encomium on his public character.

† This monstrous villain (for he was a Golliah) died soon after Mewar was rescued, from a cancer in his back.

licentious Rohillas in the capital. The traces of their barbarity are to be seen in its ruins. No woman could safely venture abroad, and a decent garment or turban was sufficient to attract their cupidity.

In S. 1867 (A.D. 1811) Baboo Sindhia arrived with the title of Soobadar, and encamped in the valley, and from this to 1814 these vampires, representing Sindhia and Meer Khan, possessed themselves of the entire fiscal domain, with many of the fiefs, occasionally disputing for the spoils; to prevent which they came to a conference at the *Dhola Mugra* (the white hill), attended by a deputation* from the Rana, when the line of demarcation was drawn between the spoilers. A schedule was formed of the towns and villages yet inhabited, the amount to be levied from each specified, and three and a half lacs adjudged to Jamshid, with the same sum to Sindhia; but this treaty was not better kept than the former ones. Mewar was rapidly approaching dissolution, and every sign of civilization fast disappearing; fields laid waste, cities in ruins, inhabitants exiled, chieftains demoralized, the prince and his family destitute of common comforts. Yet had Sindhia the audacity to demand compensation for the loss of his tribute stipulated to Bapoo Sindhia,† who rendered Mewar a desert, carrying her chiefs, her merchants, her farmers, into captivity and fetters in the dungeons of Ajmeer, where many died for want of ransom, and others languished till the treaty with the British, in A. D. 1817, set them free.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE history of the Rana's family has now been traced through all the vicissitudes of its fortunes, from the second to the nineteenth century, whilst contending for existence, alternately with Parthians, Bhils, Tartars, and Mahrattas, till at length it has become tributary to Britain. The last chapter portrays the degraded condition of their princes, and the utter desolation of their country, in a picture which embodied the entire Rajpoot race. An era of repose at length dawned upon them. The destruction of that vast predatory system, under the weight of which the prosperity of these regions had so long been repressed, was effected by one short campaign in 1817; which if less brilliant than that of 1803, is inferior to none in political results. The tardy policy of the last-named period, at length accomplished, placed the power of Britain in the East on an expugnable position, and rescued the Rajpoots from a progressing destruction.

* Sutti-das, Kishen-das, and Roop Ram.

† Bapoo Sindhia shortly outlived his expulsion from Ajmeer, and as he had to pass through Mewar in his passage to his future residence, he was hooted by the population he had plundered. While I was attending the Rana's Court, some one reporting Bapoo Sindhia's arrival at his destination, mentioned that some pieces of ordnance formerly taken from Oodipur had, after saluting him, *exuded a quantity of water*, which was received with the utmost gravity by the court, until I remarked they were crying because they should never again be employed in plunder: an idea which caused a little mirth.

To prevent the recurrence of this predatory system it was deemed politic to unite all these settled states, alike interested with ourselves in its overthrow, in one grand confederation. Accordingly the Rajpoot states were invited to shelter under our protecting alliance; and with one exception (*Jeypur*), they eagerly embraced the invitation. The ambassadors of the various governments followed each other in quick succession to Delhi, where the treaties were to be negotiated, and in a few weeks all Rajpootana was united to Britain by compacts of one uniform character; insuring to them external protection with internal independence, as the price of acknowledged supremacy, and a portion of revenue to the protecting government. By this comprehensive arrangement, we placed a most powerful barrier between our territories, and the strong natural frontier of India; and so long as we shall respect their established usages, and by contributing to the prosperity of the people preserve our motives from distrust, it will be a barrier impenetrable to invasion.

Of all the princes who obtained succour at this momentous crisis in the political history of India, none stood more in need of it than the Rana of Oodipur. On the 16th January 1818 the treaty was signed, and in February an envoy was nominated; who immediately proceeded to the Rana's court, to superintend and maintain the newly-formed relations.* The right wing of the grand army† had already preceded him to compel the surrender of such territory as was unjustly held by the lawless partizans of Sindhia, and to reduce to obedience the refractory nobles, to whom anarchy was endeared from long familiarity. The strong-holds in the plains, as Raepur, Rajnuggur, etc., soon surrendered; and the payment of the arrears of the garrison of Komulmeer put this important fortress in our possession.

In his passage from Jehajpur, which guards the range on the east to Komulmeer on the Aravali west, a space of 140 miles, the limits of Mewar, only too thinly-peopled towns were seen which acknowledged the Rana's authority. All was desolate; even the traces of the footsteps of man were effaced. The babool (*mimosa Arabica*), and gigantic reed which harboured the boar and the tiger, grew upon the highways; and every rising ground displayed a mass of ruin. Bhilwara, the commercial *entrepot* of Rajpootana, which ten years before contained six thousand families, shewed not a vestige of existence. All was silent in her streets—no living thing was seen except a solitary dog, that fled in dismay from his lurking-place in the temple, scared at the unaccustomed sight of man.‡

* Commanded by Major-General Sir B. Doukin, K.C.B.

† The author had the honour to be selected by the Marquis of Hastings to represent him at the Rana's court, with the title of "*Political Agent to the Western Rajpoot States*." During the campaign of 1817-18, he was placed as the point of communication to the various divisions of the northern army; at the same time being intrusted with the negotiations with Holkar (previous to the rupture), and those of Kotah and Boondi. He concluded the treaty with the latter state *en route* to Oodipur, where as at the latter, there were only the benefits of moral and political existence to confer.

‡ The author had passed through Bhilwara in May 1806, when it was comparatively flourishing. On this occasion (Feb. 1818) it was entirely deserted. It excited a smile, in the midst of regrets, to observe the practical wit of some of the soldiers, who had supplied the naked representative of *Ad-nath* with an apron—not of leaves, but scarlet cloth.

An envoy was despatched by the Rana to congratulate the Agent, who joined him in the British camp at Nathdwarra; and while he returned to arrange the formalities of reception, the Agent obtained the cession of Komulmeer; which, with the acquisitions before mentioned, paved the way for a joyful reception. The prince, Juvan Sing, with all the state insignia, and a numerous *cortege* advanced to receive the mission, and conduct it to the capital. A spot was fixed on in a grove of palmyras, about two miles from the city, where carpets were spread, and where the prince received the Agent and suite in a manner at once courteous and dignified.* Of him it might have been said, in the language applied by Jehangir to the son of Rana Unra—"His countenance carried the impression of his illustrious extraction."

We entered the city by the gate of the sun; and through a vista of ruin the mission was inducted into its future residence, once the abode of the fair Rampeari. Like all the mansions of Rajpootana, it was a quadrangular pile, with an open paved area, the suites of apartments carried round the sides, with latticed or open corridors extending parallel to each suite. Another deputation with the *mejmani*, consisting of a hundred trays of sweetmeats, dried fruits, and a purse of one thousand rupees for distribution amongst the domestics, brought the Rana's welcome upon our arrival in his capital, and fixed the next day for our introduction at court.

At four in the afternoon, a deputation, consisting of the officiating prime minister, the representative of the Chondawuts, with mace-bearers and a numerous escort, came to announce the Rana's readiness to receive the mission; which, with all the "pomp and circumstance" peculiar to these countries, was marshalled in front of the residency, thronged by crowds of well-dressed inhabitants, silently gazing at the unusual sight.† The grand Nakarras having announced the Rana in court, the mission proceeded through streets which everywhere presented marks of rapine, hailed by the most enthusiastic greetings. "Jy! jy! Frengi ca Raj!" *victory, victory to the English Government!* resounded from every tongue. The bards were not idle; and the unpoetic name of the Agent was hitched into rhyme. Groups of Musicians were posted here and there, who gave a passing specimen of the *tuppas* of Mewar; and not a few of the fair, with brazen ewers of water on their heads, welcomed us with the *suhailea*, or song of joy. Into each of these vessels the purse-bearer dropped a piece of silver; for neither the songs of the *suhailea*, the *tuppas* of the minstrel, nor encomiastic slave of the bard, are to be received without some acknowledgment that you appreciate their merit and talents, however, you may doubt the value they put upon your own. As we ascended the main streets leading to the TRIPOLIA, or triple portal, which guards the sacred enclosure, dense masses of people obstructed our progress; and even the walls of the temples of Juggernath were

* The Agent had seen him when a boy, at a meeting already described; but he could scarcely have hoped to find in one, to the formation of whose character the times had been so unfavourable, such a specimen as this descendant of Pertap.

† The escort consisted of two companies of foot, each of one hundred men, with half a troop of cavalry. The gentlemen attached to the mission were Captain Waugh (who was secretary and commandant of the escort), with Lieutenant Carey as his subaltern. Dr. Duncan was the medical officer.

crowded. According to etiquette, we dismounted at the *Porte*, and proceeded on foot across the ample terrace; on which were drawn up a few elephants and horse, exercising for the Rana's amusement.

The palace is a most imposing pile, of a regular form, built of granite and marble, rising at least a hundred feet from the ground, and flanked with octagonal towers, crowned with cupolas. Although built at various periods, uniformity of design has been very well preserved; nor is there in the east a more striking or majestic structure. It stands upon the very crest of a ridge running parallel to, but considerably elevated above, the margin of the lake. The terrace, which is at the east and chief front of the palace, extends throughout its length, and is supported by a triple row of arches from the declivity of the ridge. The height of this arcaded wall is full fifty feet; and although all is hollow beneath, yet so admirably is it constructed, that an entire range of stables is built on the extreme verge of the terrace, on which the whole personal force of the Rana, elephants, horse, and foot, are often assembled. From this terrace the city and the valley lay before the spectator, whose vision is bounded only by the hills shutting out the plains; while from the summit of the palace nothing obstructs its range over lake and mountain.

A band of Sindhies guarded the first entrance to the palace; and being Saturday, the Suktawuts were on duty in the great hall of assembly. Through lines of Rajpoots we proceeded till we came to the marble staircase, the steps of which had taken the form of the segment of an eclipse, from the constant friction of the foot; an image of *Ganesa* guarded the ascent to the interior of the palace, and the apartment, or landing, is called *Ganesa deori*, from the Rajpoot *Janus*. After proceeding through a suite of saloons, each filled with spectators, the herald's voice announced to "the lord of the world" that the English envoy was in his presence; on which he arose, and advanced a few paces in front of the throne, the chieftains standing to receive the mission. Every thing being ruled by precedent, the seat allotted for the envoy was immediately in front and touching the *royal cushion* (*gadi*): being that assigned to the Peshwa in the height of Mahratta prosperity, the arrangement, which was a subject of regular negotiation, could not be objected to. The apartment chosen for the initiatory visit was the *Surya mahl*, or "hall of the sun," so called from a medallion of the orb in basso relievo which decorates the wall. Close thereto is placed the Rana's throne, above which, supported by slender silver columns, rises a velvet canopy. The *Gadi*, or throne, in the East, is but a huge cushion, over which is thrown an embroidered velvet mantle. The chiefs of the higher grade, or "*the sixteen*," were seated, according to their rank, on the right and left of the Rana; next and below these were the princes Umra and Juvan Sing: and at right angles (by which the court formed three sides of a square), the chiefs of the second rank. The civil officers of the state were near the Rana in front, and the seneschal, butler, keeper of the wardrobe, and other confidential officers and inferior chieftains, formed a group standing on the extreme edge of the carpet.

The Rana's congratulations were hearty and sincere: in a few powerful expressions he depicted the miseries he had experienced, the fallen condition of his state, and the gratitude he felt to the British Government which had interposed between him and destruction; and which for the first moment of his existence allowed him to sleep in peace. There was an intense earnestness in every word he uttered, which, delivered with great

fluency of speech and dignity of manner, inspired deep respect and sympathy. The Agent said, that the Governor-General was no stranger to the history of his illustrious family, or his own immediate sufferings; and that it was his earnest desire to promote, by every means in his power, the Rana's personal dignity and prosperity of his dominions. After conversing a few minutes, the interview was closed with presents to the Agent and suite: to the former a caparisoned elephant and horse, jewelled aigrette and pearl necklace, with shawls and brocades; and with the customary presentation of essence of rose and the pan leaf, the Rana and court rising, the envoy made his *salaam* and retired. In a short time the Rana, attended by his second son, ministers, and a select number of the chiefs, honoured the envoy with a visit. The latter advanced beyond his residence to meet the prince, who was received with presented arms by the guard, the officers saluting, and conducted to his throne, which had been previously arranged. Conversation was now unrestrained, and questions were demanded regarding every thing which appeared unusual. After sitting half an hour, the Agent presented the Rana with an elephant and two horses, caparisoned with silver and gilt ornaments and velvet embroidered housings, with *twenty-one shields** of shawls, brocades, muslins, and jewels; to prince Umra, unable from sickness to attend his father a horse and *eleven shields*; and to his brother, the second prince, Juvan Sing, a horse and *nine shields*; to the ministers and chiefs according to rank: the whole entertainment costing about 20,000 rupees or £2,000. Amidst these ceremonials, receiving and returning visits of the Rana, his chiefs, his ministers, and men of influence and information commercial and agricultural, some weeks past in silent observation, and in the acquisition of materials for action.†

* The buckler is the tray in which gifts are presented by the Rajpoots.

† If we dare compare the moral economy of an entire people to the physical economy of the individual, we should liken this period in the history of Mewar to intermittent pulsation of the heart—a pause in moral as in physical existence; a consciousness thereof, inertly awaiting the propelling power to restore healthful action to a state of languid repose; or what the Rajpoot would better comprehend, his own condition when the opiate stimulant begins to dissipate, and mind and body are alike abandoned to helpless imbecility. Who has lived out of the circle of mere vegetation, and not experienced this temporary deprivation of moral vitality? for no other simile would suit the painful pause in the sympathies of the inhabitants of this once fertile region, where experience could point out but one page in their annals, one period in their history, when the clangour of the war trumpet was suspended, or the sword shut up in its scabbard. The portals of Janus at Rome were closed but twice in a period of seven hundred years; and in exactly the same time from the conquest by Shabudin to the great pacification, but twice can we record peace in Mewar—the reign of Numa has its type in Shah Jehan, while the more appropriate reign of Augustus belongs to Britain. Are we to wonder then that a chilling void now occupied (if the solicism is admissible) the place of interminable action? when the mind was released from the anxiety of daily, hourly, devising schemes of preservation, to one of perfect security—that enervating calm, in which to use their own homely phrase. *Bher aur bakri iki thali sa pia*, 'the wolf and the goat drank from the same vessel.' But this untroubled torpidity had its limit: the Agrarian laws of Mewar were but mentioned, and the national pulse instantly rose.

For the better comprehension of the internal relations, past and present, of Mewar, a sketch is presented, shewing the political divisions of the tribes and the fiscal domain, from which a better idea may be formed of Raipoot feudal economy than from a chapter of dissertation. The princes of Mewar skillfully availed themselves of their natural advantages in the partition of the country. The mountain-barriers east and west were allotted to the chiefs to keep the mountaineers and foresters in subjection, whose leading passes were held by a *lord-marcher*, and the quotas of his quarter; and while strong forts guarded the exposed northern and southern entrances, the crown-land lay in the centre, the safest and the richest. The exterior, thus guarded by a cordon of feudal levies composed of the quotas of the greater fiefs; the minor and most numerous class of vassals, termed *gole*, literally "the mass," and consisting of ten thousand horse, each holding directly of the crown independent of the greater chiefs, formed its best security against both external aggression and internal commotions.

Such is a picture of the feudal economy of Mewar in the days of her renown; but so much had it been defaced through time and accident, that with difficulty could the lineaments be traced with a view to their restoration: her institutions a dead letter; the prince's authority despised, the nobles demoralised and rebellious, internal commerce abandoned, and the peasantry destroyed by the combined operation of war, pestilence, and exile. Expression might be racked for phrases which could adequately delineate the miseries all classes her endured. It is impossible to give more than a sketch of the state of the *dos sches Mewar*, 'the ten thousand townships' which once acknowledged her princes, and of which above three thousand still exist. All that remained to them was the valley of the capital; and though Cheetore and Mandelgûrh were maintained by the fidelity of the Rana's servants, their precarious revenues scarcely sufficed to maintain their garrisons. The Rana was mainly indebted to Zalim Sing of Kotah for the means of subsistence; for in the struggle for existence his chiefs thought only of themselves, of defending their own estates, or buying off their foes; while those who had succumbed took to horse, scoured the country, and plundered without distinction. Inferior clanships declared themselves independent of their superiors, who in their turn usurped the crown domain, or by bribing the necessities of their prince, obtained his patents for lands, to which, as they yielded him nothing, he became indifferent. The crown-tenants purchased of these chiefs the protection (*rekwali*) which the Rana could not grant, and made alienations of the crown taxes, besides private rights of the community, which were often extorted at the point of the lance. Feuds multiplied, and the name of each clan became the watch-word of alarm or defiance to its neighbour: castles were assaulted, and their inmates, as at Seogurh and Lawah, put to the sword; the Meras and Bhils descended from their hills, or emerged from their forests, and planted ambuscades for the traveller or merchant, whom they robbed or carried to their retreats, where they languished in duance till ransomed. Marriage-processions were thus intercepted, and the honey-moon was passed on a cliff of the Aravali, or in the forests on the Myhie. The rajpoot, whose moral energies were blunted, scrupled not to associate and to divide the spoil with these lawless tribes, of whom it might be said, as of the children of Ishmael, "their hands were against every man, and every man's hand against them." Yet notwithstanding such entire disorganization of society, external commerce was not stagnant; and in the midst of this rapine, the produce of Europe and Cashmere would pass each

other in transit through Mewar, loaded it is true by a multiplicity of exactions, but guarded by those who scorned all law but the *point of honour*, which they were paid for preserving.

The capital will serve as a specimen of the country. Oodipur which formerly reckoned fifty thousand houses within the walls, had not now three thousand occupied, the rest were in ruin, the rafters being taken for fire-wood. The realization of the spring harvest of 1818, from the entire fiscal land, was about £4000! Grain sold for seven seers the rupee, though thrice the quantity was procurable within the distance of eighty miles. Insurance from the capital to Nathdwarra (twenty-five miles) was eight per cent. The Kotario chief, whose ancestors are immortalized for fidelity, had not a horse to conduct him to his prince's presence, though his estates were of fifty thousand rupees annual value. All were in ruins; and the Rana, the descendant of those patriot Rajpoots who opposed Baber, Akbar, and Arungzebe, in the days of Mogul splendour, had not fifty horse to attend him, and was indebted for all the comforts he possessed to the liberality of Kotah.

Such was the chaos from which order was to be evoked. But the elements of prosperity, though scattered, were not extinct; and recollections of the past deeply engraved in the national mind, became available to reanimate their moral and physical existence. To call these forth demanded only the exertion of moral interference, and every other was rejected. The lawless freebooter, and even the savage Bhil, felt awed at the agency of a power never seen. To him moral opinion (compared with which the strength of armies is nought) was inexplicable, and he substituted in its stead another invisible power—that of magic: and the belief was current throughout the intricate region of the West, that a single individual could carry an army in his pocket, and that our power could animate slips of paper cut into the figures of armed men, from which no precaution could guard their retreats. Accordingly, at the mere name of the British power, rapine ceased, and the inhabitants of the wilds of the West, the “forest lords,” who had hitherto laughed at subjection, to the number of seven hundred villages, put each the sign of the dagger to a treaty, promising abstinence from plunder and a return to industrious life—a single individual of no rank the negotiator. Moreover the treaty was religiously kept for twelve months; when the peace was broken not by them, but against them.

To the Rajpoot, the moral spectacle of a Peshwa marched into exile with all the quietude of a pilgrimage, effected more than twenty thousand bayonets, and no other auxiliary was required than the judicious use of the impressions from this and other passing events, to relay the foundations of order and prosperity—by never doubting the issue, success was insured. The British force, therefore, after the reduction of the plans enumerated, was marched to cantonments; the rest was left for time and reason to accomplish.

Before proceeding further, it may be convenient to sketch the form of civil government in Mewar, and the characters of its most conspicuous members: the former we shall describe as it was when the machine was in regular action; it will be found simple, and perfectly suited to its object.

There are four grand officers of the government:—

- 1st. The Purdban, or prime minister;
- 2d. Bukshee, commander of the forces;

3d. Soorutnama, keeper of the records;

4th. Suhaie, keeper of the signet.*

The first, the Purdhan, or civil premier, must be of the nonmilitant tribe. The whole of the territorial and financial arrangements are vested in him. He nominates the civil governors of districts, and the collectors of the revenue and custom; and has fourteen *thoas*, or departments, under him, which embrace all that relates to expenditure.

2nd. The Bukshee must also be of a non-militant tribe, and one different from the Purdhan. His duties are mixed civil and military. He takes the musters, and pays mercenaries, or rations, to the feudal tenants when on extra-service, and he appoints a deputy to accompany all expeditions, or to head frontier-posts, with the title of *foujdar*, or commander. The royal insignia, the standard, and kettle-drums accompany him, and the highest nobles assemble under the general control of this civil officer, never under one of their own body. From the Bukshee's bureau all patents are issued, as also all letters of sequestration of feudal land.

The Bukshee has four secretaries:—

1st. Draws out deeds;

2nd. Accountant;

3rd. Recorder of all patents or grants;

4th. Keeps duplicates.

3rd. The Soorutnama is the auditor and recorder of all the household expenditure and establishments which are paid by his cheques. He has four assistants also, who make a daily report, and give a daily balance of accounts.

4th. The Suhaie. He is secretary both for home and foreign correspondence. He draws out the royal grants or patents of estates, and superintends the deeds of grant on copper-plate to religious establishments. Since the privilege appertaining to Saloombra, of confirming all royal grants with his signet *the lance*, has fallen into desuetude, the *Suhaie* executes this military autograph.†

To all decrees, from the daily stipend to the *putta*, or patent of an estate, each minister must append his seal, so that there is a complete system of check. Besides these the higher officers of government, there are thirty-six *karkhanas*, or inferior officers, appointed directly by the Rana, the most conspicuous of which are the justiciary.‡ the keepers of the register-office, of the mint, of the armory, of the regalia, of the jewels, of the wardrobe, of the statutes, of the kitchen, of the band, of the seneschalsy, and of the seraglio.

There was no want of aspirants to office, here hereditary; but it was vain to look amongst the descendants of the virtuous Pancholi, or the severe Umrachund, and the prediction of the former, "Dust will cover the head of Mewar when virtue wanders in rags," was strictly fulfilled. There appeared no talent, no influence, no honesty; yet the deficiency

* Or rather, who makes the monogrammatic signet "*Suhaie*" to all deeds, grants, etc.

† The Saloombra chief had his deputy, who resided at court for this sole duty, for which he held a village.

‡ Neeyao, Duftur, Taksala, Silleh, Gadi, Gyna, Kapra-bindar, Ghora, Rusora, Nakar-khaneh, Julaib, Rawula.

was calculated to excite sorrow rather than surprise ; to stimulate exertion in their behalf, rather than damp the hope of improvement ; though all scope for action, save in the field of intrigue, was lost, and talent was dormant for want of exercise.

The Rana's character was little calculated to supply his minister's deficiencies. Though perfectly versed in the past history of his country, its resources, and their management ; though able, wise, and amiable, his talents were nullified by numerous weak points. Vain shows, frivolous amusements, and an ill-regulated liberality alone occupied him ; and so long as he could gratify these propensities, he trusted complacently to the exertions of others for the restoration of order and his proper authority. He had little steadiness of purpose, and was particularly obnoxious to female influence. It is scarcely to be wondered that he coveted repose, and was little desirous to disturb the only moment his existence had presented of enjoying it, by inviting the turmoils of business. No man, however, was more capable of advising : his judgment was good, but he seldom followed its dictates ; in short, he was an adept in theory, and a novice in practice. The only man about the court at once of integrity and efficiency was Kishendas, who had long acted as amhassador, and to whose assiduity the sovereign and the country owed much ; but his services were soon cut off by death.

Such were the materials with which the work of reform commenced. The aim was to bring back matters to a correspondence with an era of their history, when the rights of the prince, the vassal, and the cultivator, were alike well-defined—that of Umra Sing.

The first point to effect was the recognition of the prince's authority by his nobles ; the surest sign of which was their presence at the capital, where some had never been, and others only when it suited their convenience or their views. In a few weeks the Rana saw himself surrounded by a court such as had not been known for half a century. It created no small curiosity to learn by what secret power they were brought into each other's presence. Even the lawless Hamira, who but a short while before had plundered the marriage dower of the Hari queen coming from Kotah, and the chief of the Sungawut clan, who had sworn "he might bend his head to woman, but never to his sovereign," left their castles of Bhadaiser and Deogurh, and "placing the royal rescript on their heads," hastened to his presence ; and in a few weeks the whole feudal association of Mewar was embodied in the capital.

To recall the exiled population was a measure simultaneous with the assembling of the nobles ; but this was a work requiring time : they had formed ties, and incurred obligations to the societies which had sheltered them, which could not at once be disengaged or annulled. But wherever a subject of a Mewar existed, proclamations penetrated, and satisfactory assurances were obtained, and realized to an extent which belied in the strongest manner the assertion that patriotism is unknown to the natives of Hindusthan. The most enthusiastic and cheering proofs were afforded, that neither oppression from without, nor tyranny within, could expel the feeling for the '*bapota*,' the land of their fathers. Even now, though time has chastened the impressions, we should fear to 'pen but a tythe of the proofs of devotion of the husbandman of Mewar to the *solum natale* : it would be deemed romance by those who never contemplated humanity in its reflux from misery and despair to the 'sweet influences' of hope ; he alone who had witnessed the day of trouble, and beheld the progress of desolation—the standing corn graze by Mahratta horse—the rifled towns

devoted to the flames—the cattle driven to the camp, and the chief men seized as hostages for money never to be realized—could appreciate their deliverance. To be permitted to see these evils banished, to behold the survivors of oppression congregated from the most distant provinces, many of them strangers to each other, and the aged and the helpless awaiting the *lucky day* to take possession of their ruined abodes, was a sight which memory will not part with. Thus on the 3rd of Swaun (*July*) a favourite day with the husbandman, three hundred of all conditions, with their waggons and implements of labour, and preceded by banners and music, marched into Kupasun; and *Ganesa* was once again invoked as they reconsecrated their dwellings, and placed his portrait as the Janus of their portals. On the same day, and within eight months subsequent to the signature of the treaty, above three hundred towns and villages were *simultaneously* re-inhabited; and the land, which for many years had been a stanger to the plough-share, was broken up. Well might the superstitious fancy that miracles were abroad; for even to those who beheld the work in progression it had a magical result, to see the waste covered with habitations, and the verdant corn growing in the fields where lately they had roused the boar from his retreat! It was a day of pride for Britain! By such exertions of her power in these distant lands her sway is hallowed. By Britain alone can this fair picture be defaced; the tranquillity and independence she has conferred, by her alone may be disturbed!

To these important preliminary measures, the assembly of the nobles and recall of the population, was added a third, without which the former would have been nugatory. There was no wealth, no capital, to aid their patriotism and industry. Foreign merchants and bankers had abandoned the devoted land; and those who belonged to it partook of her poverty and her shame. Money was scarce, and want of faith and credit had increased the usury on loans to a ruinous extent. The Rana borrowed at thirty-six per cent.; besides twenty-five to forty *per cent.*, discount for his *barats*, or patents empowering collection on the land; a system pursued for some time even after his restoration to authority. His profusion exceeded even the rapidity of renovation; and the husbandman had scarcely broken up his long-waste fields, when a call was made by the harpies of the state for an advance on their produce, while he himself had been compelled to borrow at a like ruinous rate for seed and the means of support, to be paid by expectations. To have hoped for the revival of prosperity, amidst such destitution moral and pecuniary, would have been visionary. It was as necessary to improve the one, as to find the other; for poverty and virtue do not long associate, and certainly not in Mewar. Proclamations were therefore prepared by the Rana, inviting foreign merchants and bankers to establish connections in the chief towns throughout the country; but as in the days of demoralization little faith was placed in the words of princes, similar ones were prepared by the Agent, guaranteeing the stipulations, and both were distributed to every commercial city in India. The result was as had been foreseen; branch-banks were everywhere formed, and mercantile agents fixed in every town in the country, whose operations were only limited by the slow growth of moral improvement. The shackles which bound external commerce were at once removed, and the multifarious posts for the collections of transit duties abolished; in lieu of which chain of stations, all levies on goods in transit were confined to the frontiers. The scale of duties was revised; and by the abolition of intermediate posts, they underwent a reduction of from thirty to fifty per cent. By this system, which could

not for some time be comprehended, the transit and custom duties of Mewar made the most certain part of the revenue, and in a few years exceeded in amount what had ever been known.

The chief commercial mart, Bhilwara, which shewed not a vestige of humanity, rapidly rose from ruin, and in a few months contained twelve hundred houses, half of which were occupied by foreign merchants. Bales of goods, the produce of the most distant lands, were piled up in the streets lately overgrown with grass, and a weekly fair was established for the home-manufactures. A charter of privileges and immunities was issued, exempting them from all taxation for the first year, and graduating the scale for the future ; calculated with the same regard to improvement, by giving the mind the full range of enjoying the reward of its exertions. The right of electing their own chief magistrates and the assessors of justice, was above all things indispensable, so as to render them as independent as possible of the needy servants of the court. A guard was provided by the government for their protection, and a competent authority nominated to see that the full extent of their privileges, and the utmost freedom of action, were religiously maintained. The entire success of this plan may at once be recorded to prevent repetition. In 1822, Bhilwara contained nearly three thousand dwellings, which were chiefly inhabited by merchants, bankers, or artisans. An entire new street had been constructed in the centre of the town, from the duties levied, and the shops and houses were rented at a moderate rate ; while many were given up to the proprietors of their sites, returning from exile, on their paying the price of construction. But as there is no happiness without alloy, so even this pleasing picture had its dark shades to chasten the too sanguine expectation of imparting happiness to all. Instead of a generous emulation, a jealous competition checked the prosperity of Bhilwara ; the base spirit of exclusive monopoly desired a distinction between the native and the stranger-merchant, for which they had a precedent in the latter paying an addition to the town-duty of *metage* (*mapa*). The unreasonableness of this was discussed, and it was shown to be more consonant to justice that he who came from Jessulmer, Surat, Benares, or Delhi, should pay less than the merchant whose domicile was on the spot. When at length the parties acquiesced in this opinion, and were entreated and promised to know none other distinction than that of "inhabitant of Bhilwara," sectarian differences, which there was less hope of reconciling, became the cause of disunion. All the Hindu merchants belong either to the Vishnu or Jain sects ; consequently each had a representative head, and "*the five*," for the adjudication of their internal arrangements ; and these, the wise men of both parties, formed the general council for the affairs of Bhilwara. But they carried their religious differences to the judgement seat, where each desired pre-eminence. Whether the point in dispute hinged on the interpretation of law, which with all these sects is of divine origin, or whether the mammon of unrighteousness was the lurking cause of their bickerings, they assuredly did much harm, for their appeals brought into play what of all things was least desired, the intrigues of the profligate dependants of the court. It will be seen hereafter, in visits to Bhilwara, how these disputes were in some degree calmed. The leaders on both sides were distinctly given to understand they would be made to leave the place. Self-interest prevented this extremity ; but from the withdrawing of that active interference (which the state of the alliance did not indeed warrant, but which humanity interposed for their benefit) together with the effect of appeals to the court, it is to be apprehended that Bhilwara may fail

to become what it was intended to be, the chief commercial mart of Central India.*

Of the three measures simultaneously projected and pursued for the restoration of prosperity, the industrious portion has been described. The feudal interest remains, which was found the most difficult to arrange. The agricultural and commercial classes required only protection and stimulus, and we could repay the benefits their industry conferred by the lowest scale of taxation, which, though in fact equally beneficial to the government, was construed as a boon. But with the feudal lords there was no such equivalent to offer in return for the sacrifices many had to make for the re-establishment of society. Those who were well inclined, like Kotario, had every thing to gain, and nothing left to surrender; while those who, like Deogurh, Saloombra, or Bednore, had preserved their power by foreign aid, intrigue, or prowess, dreaded the high price they might be called upon to pay for the benefit of security which the alliance conferred. All dreaded the word 'restitution,' and the audit of half a century's political accounts; yet the adjustment of these was the corner-stone of the edifice, which anarchy and oppression had dismantled. Feuds were to be appeased, a difficult and hazardous task; and usurpations, both on the crown and each other, to be redeemed. "To bring the wolf and the goat to drink from the same vessel," was a task of less difficulty than to make the Chondawut and Suktawut labour in concert for the welfare of the prince and the country. In fine, a better idea cannot be afforded of what was deemed the hopelessness of success than the opinion of Zoorawur Sing, the chief of the latter clan, who had much to relinquish: "Were *Purmeswara* (the Almighty) to descend, he could not reform Mewar." We judged better of them than they did of each other.

It was superfluous to detail all the preparatory measures for the accomplishment of this grand object; the meetings and adjournments, which only served to keep alive discontent. On the 27th of April, the treaty with the British government was read, and the consequent change in their relations explained. Meanwhile, a charter, defining the respective rights of the crown and of the chiefs, with their duties to the community, was prepared, and a day named for a general assembly of the chieftains to sanction and ratify this engagement. The 1st of May was fixed: the chiefs assembled; the articles, ten in number, were read and warmly discussed; when with unmeaning expressions of duty, and objections to the least prominent, they obtained through their speaker, Goculdas of Deogurh, permission to reassemble at his house to consider them, and broke up with the promise to attend next day. The delay, as apprehended, only generated opposition, and the 2d and 3d passed in intercommunications of individual hope and fear. It was important to put an end to speculation. At noon, on the 4th of May, the grand hall was again filled, when the Rana, with his sons and ministers, took their

* Although Bhilwara has not attained that high prosperity my enthusiasm anticipated, yet the philanthropic Heber records that in 1825 (three years after I had left the country) it exhibited "a greater appearance of trade, industry, and moderate but widely diffused wealth and comfort, than he had witnessed since he left Delhi." The record of the sentiments of the inhabitants towards me, as conveyed by the bishop, was gratifying, though their expression could excite no surprise in any one acquainted with the characters and sensibilities of these people.

seats. Once more the articles were read, objections raised and combated, and midnight had arrived without the object of the meeting being advanced, when an adjournment, proposed by Goculdas, till the arrival of the Rana's plenipotentiary from Delhi, met with a firm denial; and the Rana gave him liberty to retire, if he refused his testimony of loyalty. The Beygoo chief, who had much to gain, at length set the example, followed by the chiefs of Amaid and Deogurh, and in succession by all the sixteen nobles, who also signed as the proxies of their relatives, unable from sickness to attend. The most powerful of the second grade also signed for themselves and the absent of their clans, each, as he gave in his adhesion, retiring; and it was three in the morning of the 5th of May ere the ceremony was over. The chief of the Sukhawuts, determined to be conspicuous, was the last of his own class to sign. During this lengthened and painful discussion of fifteen hours' continuance, the Rana conducted himself with such judgment and firmness, as to give sanguine hopes of his taking the lead in the settlement of his affairs.

This preliminary adjusted, it was important that the stipulations of the treaty should be rigidly, if not rapidly effected. It will not be a matter of surprise, that some months passed away before the complicated arrangements arising out of this settlement were completed; but it may afford just grounds for gratulation, that they were finally accomplished without a shot being fired, or the exhibition of a single British soldier in the country, nor, indeed, within one hundred miles of Oodipur. "Opinion" was the sole and all-sufficient ally effecting this political reform. The Rajpoots, in fact, did not require the demonstration of our physical strength; its influence had reached far beyond Mewar. When a few firelocks defeated hundreds of the foes of public tranquillity, they attributed it to "*the strength of the Company's Salt*"* the moral agency of which was proclaimed the true basis of our power. "*Sachha Raj*," was the proud epithet applied by our new allies to the British government in the East; a title which distinguished the immortal Alfred, "the upright."

It will readily be imagined that a reform, which went to touch the entire feudal association, could not be accomplished without harassing and painful discussions, when the object was the renunciation of lands,

* "*Compani Saheb ca nimuk ca goor sa*" is a common phrase of our native soldiery: and "*Dowahi! Compani ca!*" is an invocation or appeal against injustice; but I never heard this watch-ward so powerfully applied as when a *sub* with the Resident's escort in 1812. One of our men, a noble young Rajpoot about nineteen years of age, and six feet high, had been sent with an elephant to forage in the wilds of Nirwur. A band of at least fifty predatory horsemen assailed him, and demanded the surrender of the elephant, which he made by pointing his musket and giving them defiance. Beset on all sides, he fired, was cut down, and left for dead, in which state he was found, and brought to camp upon a litter. One sabre-cut had opened the back entirely across, exposing the action of the viscera, and his arms and wrists were barbarously hacked: yet he was firm, collected, and even cheerful; and to a kind reproach for his rashness, he said, "What would you have said, Captain Saheb, had I surrendered the company's musket (*compani ca bandoog*) without fighting?" From their temperate habits, the wound in the back did well; but the severed nerves of the wrists brought on a lock-jaw of which he died. The company have thousands who would alike die for their *bandoog*. It were wise to cherish such feelings.

to which in some cases the right of inheritance could be pleaded, in others, the cognizance of successful revenge, while to many prescriptive possession could be asserted. It was the more painful, because although the shades which marked the acquisition of such lands were varied, no distinction could be made in the mode of settlement, *vis.*, unconditional surrender. In some cases, the Rana had to revoke his own grants, wrung either from his necessities or his weakness; but in neither predicament could arguments be adduced to soften renunciation, or to meet the powerful and pathetic, and often angry appeals to justice or to prejudice. Counter-appeals to their loyalty, and the necessity for the reestablishment of their sovereign's just weight and influence in the social body, without which their own welfare could not be secured, were adduced; but individual views and passions were too absorbing to bend to the general interest. Weeks thus past in interchange of visits, in soothing pride, and in flattering vanity by the revival of past recollections, which gradually familiarized the subject to the minds of the chiefs, and brought them to compliance. Time, conciliation, and impartial justice, confirmed the victory thus obtained; and when they were made to see that no interest was overlooked, that party views were unknown, and that the system included every class of society in its beneficial operation, cordiality followed concession. Some of these cessions were alienations from the crown of half a century's duration. Individual cases of hardship were unavoidable without incurring the imputation of favoritism, and the dreaded revival of ancient feuds, to abolish which was indispensable, but required much circumspection. Castles and lands in this predicament could therefore neither be retained by the possessor nor returned to the ancient proprietor without rekindling the torch of civil war. The sole alternative was for the crown to take the object of contention, and make compensation from its own domain. It would be alike tedious and uninteresting to enter into the details of these arrangements, where one chief had to relinquish the levy of transit duties in the most important outlet of the country, asserted to have been held during seven generations, as in the case of the chief of Deogurh. Of another (the Bheendir chief) who had *forty-three towns and villages*, in addition to his grant; of Amait, of Bhadaiser, of Dabla, of Lawah, and many others who held important fortresses of the crown independent of its will; and other claims, embracing every right and privilege appertaining to feudal society; suffice it, that in six months the whole arrangements were effected.

In the painful and protracted discussions attendant on these arrangements, powerful traits of national character were developed. The castle and domain of Arjah half a century ago belonged to the crown, but had been usurped by the Poorawuts, from whom it was wrested by storm about fifteen years back by the Suktawuts, and a patent sanctioning possession was obtained, on the payment of a fine £1,000 to the Rana. Its surrender was now required from Futteh Sing, the second brother of Bheendir, the head of this clan; but being regarded as the victorious completion of a feud, it was not easy to silence their prejudices and objections. The renunciation of the forty-three towns and villages by the chief of the clan caused not half the excitation, and every Suktawut seemed to forego his individual losses in the common sentiment expressed by their head: "Arjah is the prince of blood, and with its cession our honour is surrendered." To preserve the point of honour, it was stipulated that it should not revert to the Poorawuts, but be incorporated with the fisc, which granted an equivalent; when letters of surrender were signed by both brothers, whose conduct throughout was manly and confiding.

The Bednore and Amaid chiefs, both of the superior grade of nobles, were the most formidable obstacles to the operation of the treaty of the 4th of May. The first of these, by name Jeyt Sing (*the victorious lion*), was of the Mairtea clan, the bravest of the brave race of Rahtore, whose ancestors had left their native abodes on the plains of Marwar, and accompanied the celebrated Meera Bae on her marriage with Rana Koombho. His descendants, amongst whom was Jeimul, of immortal memory, enjoyed honours in Mewar equal to their birth and high deserts. It was the more difficult to treat with men like these, whose conduct had been a contrast to the general license of the times, and who had reason to feel offended, when no distinction was observed between them and those who had disgraced the name of Rajpoot. Instead of the submission expected from the Rahtore, so overwhelmed was he from the magnitude of the claims, which amounted to a virtual extinction of his power, that he begged leave to resign his estates and quit the country. In prosecution of this design, he took post in the chief hall of the palace, from which no intreaties could make him move; until the Rana, to escape his importunities, and even restraint, obtained his promise to abide by the decision of the Agent. The forms of the Rana's court, from time immemorial, prohibit all personal communication between the sovereign and his chiefs in matters of individual interest, by which indecorous altercation is avoided. But the ministers, whose office it was to obtain every information, did not make a rigid scrutiny into the title-deeds of the various estates previous to advancing the claims of the crown. This brave man had enemies, and he was too proud to have recourse to the common arts either of adulation or bribery to aid his cause. It was a satisfaction to find that the two principal towns demanded of him were embodied in a grant of Singram Sing's reign; and the absolute rights of the fisc, of which he had become possessed, were cut down to about fifteen thousand rupees of annual revenue. But there were other points on which he was even more tenacious than the surrender of these. Being the chief noble of the fine district of Bednore, which consisted of three hundred and sixty towns and villages, chiefly of feudal allotments (many of them of his own clan), he had taken advantage of the times to establish his influence over them, to assume the right of wardship of minors, and secure those services which were due to the prince, but which he wanted the power to enforce. The holders of these estates were of the third class of vassals or *gole* (the mass), whose services it was important to reclaim, and who constituted in past times the most efficient force of the Ranas, and were the preponderating balance of their authority when mercenaries were unknown in these patriarchal states. Abundant means towards a just investigation had been previously procured; and after some discussion, in which all admissible claims were recognized, and argument was silenced by incontrovertible facts, this chieftain relinquished all that was demanded, and sent in, as from himself, his written renunciation to his sovereign. However convincing the data by which his proper rights and those of his prince were defined, it was to feeling and prejudice that we were mainly indebted for so satisfactory an adjustment. An appeal to the name of Jeimul, who fell defending Cheetore against Akbar, and the contrast of his ancestor's loyalty and devotion with his own contumacy, acted as a talisman, and wrung tears from his eyes and the deed from his hand. It will afford some idea of the difficulties encountered, as well as the invidiousness of the task of arbitrating such matters, to give his own comment verbatim: "I remained faithful when his own kin deserted him, and was one of four chiefs who alone of all Mewar fought for him in the

rebellion ; but the son of Jeimul is forgotten, while the '*plunderer*' is his boon companion, and though of inferior rank, receives an estate which elevates him above me ;" alluding to the chief of Bhadaiser, who plundered the queen's dower. But while the brave descendant of Jeimul returned to Bednore with the marks of his sovereign's favour, and the applause of those he esteemed, the '*runner*' went back to Bhadaiser in disgrace, to which his prince's injudicious favour further contributed.

Hamira of Bhadaiser was of the second class of nobles, a Chondawut by birth. He succeeded to his father Sirdar Sing, the assassin of the prime minister even in the palace of his sovereign ; into whose presence he had the audacity to pursue the surviving brother, destined to avenge him.* Hamira inherited all the turbulence and disaffection, with the estates, of his father ; and this most conspicuous of the many lawless chieftains of the times was known throughout Rajasthan as Hamira '*the runner*' (*douract*). Though not entitled to hold lands beyond thirty thousand annually, he had annually he had become possessed to the amount of eighty thousand, chiefly of the fisc or *khalisa*, and nearly all obtained by violence, though since confirmed by the prince's patent. With the chieftain of Lawah (precisely in the same predicament), who held the fortress of Khyroda and other valuable lands, Hamira resided entirely at the palace, and obtaining the Rana's ear by professions of obedience, kept possession, while chiefs in every respect his superiors had been compelled to surrender ; and when at length the Suktawut of Lawah was forbid the court until Khyroda and all his usurpations were yielded up, the son of Sirdar displayed his usual turbulence, "curled his moustache" at the minister, and hinted at the fate of his predecessor. Although none dared to imitate him, his stubbornness was not without admirers, especially among his own clan ; and as it was too evident that fear or favour swayed the Rana, it was a case for the Agent's interference, the opportunity for which was soon afforded. When forced to give letter of surrender, the Rana's functionaries, who went to take possession, were insulted, refused admittance, and compelled to return. Not a moment could be lost in punishing this contempt of authority ; and as the Rana was holding a court when the report arrived, the Agent requested an audience. He found the Rana and his chiefs assembled in "the balcony of the sun" and amongst them the notorious Hamira. After the usual compliments, the Agent asked the minister if his master had been put in possession of Sianoh. It was evident from the general constraint, that all were acquainted with the result of the deputation ; but to remove responsibility from the minister, the Agent, addressing the Rana as if he were in ignorance of the insult,

* It will fill up the picture of the times to relate the revenge. When Jumshid, the infamous lieutenant of the infamous Meer Khan, established his head-quarters at Oodipur, which he daily devastated, Sirdar Sing, then in power, was seized and confined as a hostage for the payment of thirty thousand rupees demanded of the Rana. The surviving brothers of the murdered minister Somji "*purchased their foe*" with the sum demanded, and anticipated his clansmen who were on the point of effecting his liberation. The same sun shone on the head of Sirdar, which was placed as a signal of revenge over the gate way of Rampeari's palace. I had the anecdotes from the minister Scaloll, one of the actors in these tragedies, and a relative of the brothers, who were all swept away by the dagger. A similar fate often seemed to him, though a brave man, inevitable during these resumptions ; which impression, added to the Rana's known inconstancy of favour, robbed him of half his energies.

related the transaction, and observed that his government would hold him culpable if he remained at Oodipur while his highness's commands were disregarded. Thus supported, the Rana resumed his dignity, and in forcible language signified to all present his anxious desire to do nothing which was harsh or ungracious; but that, thus compelled, he would not recede from what became him as their sovereign. Calling for a *beera*, he looked sternly at Hamira, and commanded him to quit his presence instantly, and the capital in an hour; and, but for the Agent's interposition, he would have been banished the country. Confiscation of his whole estate was commanded, until renunciation was completed. He departed that night; and, contrary to expectation, not only were all the usurpations surrendered, but, what was scarcely contemplated by the Agent, the Rana's flag of sequestration was quietly admitted into the fortress of Bahadaiser.*

One more anecdote may suffice. The lands and fortress of Amlee had been in the family of Amait since the year 27, only five years posterior to the date to which these arrangements extended; their possession verged on half a century. The lords of Amait were of the sixteen, and were chiefs of the clan Jugawut. The present representative enjoyed a fair character: he could, with the chief of Bednore, claim the succession of the loyal; for Pertap and Jeimul, their respective ancestors, were rivals and martyrs on that memorable day when the genius of Cheetore abandoned the Seesodias. But the heir of Amait had not this alone to support his claims; for his predecessor Pertap had lost his life in defending his country against the Mahrattas, and Amlee had been his acquisition. Futteh Sing (such was his name) was put forward by the more artful of his immediate kin, the Chondawut interest; but his disposition, blunt and impetuous, was little calculated to promote their views: he was an honest Rajpoot, who neither could nor cared to conceal his anger, and at a ceremonious visit paid him by the Agent, he had hardly sufficient control over himself to be courteous, and though he said nothing, his eyes inflamed with opium and disdain, spoke his feelings. He maintained a dogged indifference, and was inaccessible to argument, till at length, following the example of Bednore, he was induced to abide by the Agent's mediation. He came attended by his vassals, who anxiously awaited the result, which an unpremeditated incident facilitated. After a long and fruitless expostulation, he had taken refuge in an obstinate silence; and seated in a chair opposite to the envoy, with his shield in front, placed perpendicularly on his knees, and his arms and head reclined thereon, he continued vacantly looking on the ground. To interrupt this uncourteous silence in his own house, the envoy took a picture, which with several others was at hand, and placing it before him remarked, "*that* chief did not gain his reputation for *swamdherma*† (loyalty) by conduct such as yours." His eyes suddenly recovered their animation and his countenance was lighted

* Nearly twelve months after this, my public duty called me to Neembhaira *en route* to Kotah. The castle of Hamira was within an hour's ride, and at night he was reported as having arrived to visit me, when I appointed the next day to receive him. Early next morning, according to custom, I took my ride, with four of Skinner's horse, and galloped past him, stretched with his followers on the ground not far from my camp, towards his forts. He came to me "after breakfast, called me his greatest friend, swore by his dagger he was my Rajpoot," and that he would be in future obedient and loyal; but this, I fear, can never be.

† Literally faith (*dherma*) to his lord (*swama*).

with a smile, as he rapidly uttered, "how did you come by this—why does this interest you?" A tear started in his eye as he added, this is my father!"—"Yes," said the Agent, "it is the loyal Pertap on the day he went forth to meet his death; but his name yet lives, and a stranger does homage to his fame."—"Take Amlee, take Amlee," he hurriedly repeated, with a suppressed tone of exultation and sorrow, "but forget not the extent of the sacrifice." To prolong the visit would have been painful to both, but as it might have been trusting too much to humanity to delay the resumption, the Agent availed himself of the moment to indite the *choorchitti** of surrender for the lands.

With these instances, characteristic of individuals and the times, this sketch of the introductory measures for improving the condition of Mewar may be closed. To enter more largely in detail is foreign to the purpose of the work; nor is it requisite for the comprehension of the unity of the object, that a more minute dissection of the parts should be afforded. Before, however, we exhibit the general results of these arrangements, we shall revert to the condition of the more humble, but a most important part of the community, the peasantry of Mewar; and embody, in a few remarks, the fruits of observation or inquiry, as to their past and present state, their rights, the establishment of them, their infringement, and restitution. On this subject much has been necessarily introduced in the sketch of the feudal system, where landed tenures were discussed; but it is one on which such a contrariety of opinion exists, that it may be desirable to show the exact state of landed tenures in a country, where Hindu manners should exist in greater purity than in any other part of the vast continent of India.

The ryot (*cultivator*) is the proprietor of the soil in Mewar. He compares his right therein to the *akhye dhooba*,† which no vicissitudes can destroy. He calls the land his *bapota*, the most emphatic, the most ancient, the most cherished, and the most significant phrase his language commands for *patrimonial*‡ inheritance. He has nature and Menu in support of his claim, and can quote the text, alike compulsory on prince and peasant, "*cultivated land is the property of him who cut away the wood, or who 'cleared and tilled it':*" an ordinance binding on the whole Hindu race, and which no international wars, or conquest, could overturn. In accordance with this principle is the ancient adage, not of Mewar only but all Rajpootana, *Bhog ra dhanni Raj ho: bhom ra dhanni ma cho*: 'the Government is owner of the rent, but I am the master of the land.' With the toleration and benevolence of the race the conqueror is commanded "to respect the deities adored by the conquered, also their virtuous priests, and to establish the laws of the conquered nation as declared in their books." If it were deemed desirable

* Paper of relinquishment.

† The *dhooba* grass flourishes in all seasons, and most in the intense heats; it is not only *amara* or 'immortal,' but *akhye*, 'not to be eradicated:' and its tenacity to the soil deserves the distinction.

‡ From *bap* 'father,' and the termination *of*, or *belonging to*, and by which clans are distinguished; as *Kurrunsote*, 'descended of Kurrun'; *Masingote*, 'descended of Masing.' It is curious enough that the mountain clans of Albania, and other Greeks, have the same distinguishing termination, and the Mainote of Greece and the Mairote of Rajpootana alike signify *mountaineer*, or 'of the mountain,' *maina* in Albanian; *maira* or *mera* in Sanskrit.

to recede to the system of pure Hindu agrarian law, there is no deficiency of materials. The customary laws contained in the various reports of able men, superadded to the general ordinances of Menu, would form a code at once simple and efficient: for though innovation from foreign conquest has placed many principles in abeyance, and modified others, yet he has observed to little purpose who does not trace a uniformity of design, which at one time had ramified wherever the name of Hindu prevailed: language has been modified, and terms have been corrupted or changed, but the primary pervading principle is yet perceptible; and whether we examine the systems of Candeish, the Carnatic, or Rajasthan, we shall discover the elements to be the same.

If we consider the system from the period described by Arrian, Curtius, and Diodorus, we shall see in the government of townships each commune an '*imperium in imperio*,' a little republic, maintaining its municipal legislation independent of the monarchy, on which it relies for general support, and to which it pays the *bhog*, or *tax in kind*, as the price of this protection: for though the prescribed duties of kings are as well defined by Menu* as by any jurisconsult in Europe, nothing can be more lax than the mutual relations of the governed and governing in Hindu monarchies, which are resolved into unbounded liberty of action. To the artificial regulation of society, which leaves all who depend on manual exertion to an immutable degradation, must be ascribed these multitudinous governments, unknown to the rest of mankind, which, in spite of such dislocation, maintain the bonds of mutual sympathies. Strictly speaking, every state presents the picture of so many hundred or thousand minute republics, without any connection with each other, giving allegiance (*an*) and rent (*bhog*) to a prince, who neither legislates for them, nor even forms a police for their internal protection. It is consequent on this want of paramount interference that, in matters of police, of justice, and of law, the communes act for themselves; and from this want of paternal interference only have arisen those courts of equity, or arbitration, '*punchiaets*.'

But to return to the *freehold* ryot of Mewar, whose *bapota* is the *wuttun* and the *meeras* of the peninsula,—words of foreign growth, introduced by the Mahomedan conquerors; the first (Persian) is of more general use in Candeish; the other (Arabic) in the Carnatic. Thus the great Persian moralist Sadi exemplifies its application: "If you desire to succeed to your father's inheritance (*meeras*), first obtain his wisdom."

While the term *bapota* thus implies the inheritance or patrimony, its holder, if a military vassal, is called '*Bhomia*,' a term equally powerful, meaning one actually identified with the soil (*bhom*), and for which the Mahomedan has no equivalent but in the possessive compound

* "Let the king receive his annual revenue through his collectors; but let him observe the divine ordinances, and act as a father to his people." Text 80.—"To protect the people, and to honour the priests, are the highest duties of kings, and ensures them felicity." 88.—"From the people he must learn the theory of agriculture, commerce, and practical arts." 43.—To those who imagine that these ancient monarchies are simply despotic, instead of patriarchal, their divine legislator expressly declares, that "a king addicted to vices (which tend to misrule) may lose even his life from the public resentment." 46—"The duties of Kings."

wuttundar, or *meeras-dar*. The *Caniatchi** of Malabar is the *Bhomia* of Rajasthan.

The emperors of Delhi, in the zenith of their power, bestowed the epithet 'zemindar' upon the Hindu tributary sovereigns: not out of disrespect, but in the true application of their own term '*Bhomia Raj*' expressive of their tenacity to the soil; and this fact affords additional evidence of the proprietary right being in the cultivator (*ryot*) namely, that he alone can confer the freehold *land*, which gives the title of *Bhomia*, and of which both past history and present usage will furnish us with examples. When the tenure of land obtained from the cultivator is held more valid than the grant of the sovereign, it will be deemed a conclusive argument of the proprietary right being vested in the *ryot*. What should induce a chieftain, when inducted into a perpetual fief, to establish through the *ryot* a right to a few acres in *bhom*, but the knowledge that although the vicissitudes of fortune or of favour may deprive him of his aggregate signiorial rights, his claims, derived from the spontaneous favour of the commune, can never be set aside; and when he ceases to be the lord, he becomes a member of the common-wealth, merging his title of Thacoor, or Signior, into the more humble one of *Bhomia*, the allodial tenant of the Rajpoot feudal system, elsewhere discussed. Thus we have touched on the method by which he acquires this distinction, for protecting the community from violence; and if left destitute by the negligence or inability of the government, he is vested with the rights of the crown, in its share of the *bhog* or rent. But when their own land is in the predicament called '*gulthas*,' or reversions from lapses to the commune, he is '*seised*' in all the rights of the former proprietor; or by internal arrangements, they can convey such right by cession of the commune.

The privilege attached to the *bhom*, and acquired from the community by the protection afforded to it, is the most powerful argument for the recognition of its original rights. The *bhomia*, thus vested, may at pleasure drive his own plough, right to the soil. His *bhom* is exempt from the *jureeb* (measuring rod); it is never assessed, and his only sign of allegiance is a quit-rent, in most cases triennial, and the tax of *khur-lakur*, a war imposition, now commuted for money. The state, however, indirectly receives the services of these allodial tenants, the yeomen of Rajasthan, who constitute, as in the districts of Komulmeer and Mandelguri, the *landwehr*, or local militia. In fact, since the days of universal repose set in, and the townships required no protection, an arrangement was made with the *Bhomias* of Mewar, in which the crown, foregoing its claim of quit-rent, has obtained their services in the garrisons and frontier stations of police at a very slight pecuniary sacrifice.

Such are the rights and privileges derived from the *ryot* cultivator alone. The Rana may dispossess the chiefs of Bednore, or Saloombra, of their estates, the grant of the crown—he could not touch the rights emanating from the community; and thus the descendants of a chieftain, who a few years before might have followed his sovereign at the head of one hundred cavaliers, would descend into the humble foot militia of a district. Thousands are in this predicament: the *Kanawuts*, *Loonawuts*,

* *Cani* 'land,' and *atchi* 'heritage.' Report, p. 289.—I should be inclined to imagine the *atchi*, like the *ote* and *anut*, Rajpoot terminations, implying clanship.

Koombhawuts, and other clans, who, like the Celt, forget not their claim of birth in the distinctions of fortune, but assert their propinquity as "brothers in the nineteenth or thirtieth degree to the prince" on the throne. So sacred was the tenure derived from the ryot, that even monarchs held lands in *bhom* from their subjects, for an instance of which we are indebted to the great poetic historian of the last Hindu king. Chund relates, that when his sovereign, the Chohan, had subjugated the kingdom of Anhulwarra* from the Solanki, he returned to the nephew of the conquered prince several districts and sea-ports, and *all the bhom held by the family*. In short, the Rajpoot vaunts his aristocratic distinction derived from the land; and opposes the title of '*Bhomia Raj*,' or government of the soil, to the '*Bania Raj*,' or commercial government, which he affixes as an epithet of contempt to Jeypur: where "wealth accumulates and men decay."

In the great "register of patents" (*putta buhye*) of Mewar, we find a species of *bhom* held by the greater vassals on particular crown lands; whether this originated from inability of ceding entire townships to complete the estate to the rank of the incumbent, or whether it was merely in confirmation of the grant of the commune, could not be ascertained. The benefit from this *bhom* is only pecuniary, and the title is '*bhom rekwali*,'† or land, [in return for] '*preservation*.' Strange to say, the crown itself holds '*bhom rekwali*' on its own fiscal demesnes consisting of small portions in each village, to the amount of ten thousand rupees in a district of thirty or forty townships. This species, however, is so incongruous that we can only state it does exist: we should vainly seek the cause for such apparent absurdity, for since society has been unhinged, the oracles are mute to much of antiquated custom.

We shall close these remarks with some illustrative traditions and yet existing customs, to substantiate the ryot's right in the soil of Mewar. After one of those convulsions described in the annals, the prince had gone to espouse the daughter of the Raja of Mundore, the (then) capital of Marwar. It is customary at the moment of "*hatlewa*," or the injunction of hands, that any request preferred by the bridegroom to the father of the bride should meet compliance, a usage which has yielded many fatal results; and the Rana had been prompted on this occasion to demand a body of ten thousand Jat cultivators to repeople the deserted fisc of Mewar. An assent was given to the unprecedented demand, but when the inhabitants were thus despotically called on to migrate, they denied the power and refused. "Shall we," said they, "abandon the lands of our inheritance (*bapota*), the property of our children, to accompany a stranger into a foreign land, there to labour for him? Kill us you may, but never shall we relinquish our inalienable rights." The Mundore prince, who had trusted to this reply, deemed himself exonerated from his promise, and secured from the loss of so many subjects: but he was deceived. The Rana held out to them the enjoyment of the proprietary rights escheated to the crown in his country, with the lands left without occupants by the sword, and to all, increase of property. When equal and absolute power was thus conferred, they no longer hesitated to exchange the arid soil of

* Nehrwalla of D'Anville; the Balhara sovereignty of the Arabian travellers of the eighth and ninth centuries. I visited the remains of this city on my last journey, and from original authorities shall give an account of this ancient emporium of commerce and literature.

† *Salvamenta* of the European system.

Marwar for the garden of Rajwarra; and the descendants of these Jats still occupy the flats watered by the Beris and Bunas.

In those districts which afforded protection from innquation, the proprietary right of the ryot will be found in full force; of this the populous and extensive district of Jehajpur, consisting of one hundred and six townships, affords a good specimen. There are but two pieces of land throughout the whole of this tract the property of the crown, and these were obtained by force during the occupancy of Zalim Sing of Kotah. The right thus unjustly [acquired was, from the conscientiousness of the Rana's Civil Governor, on the point of being annulled by sale and reversion, when the court interfered to maintain its proprietary right to the tanks of Lohario and Etounda, and the lands which they irrigate, now the *bhom* of the Rana.* This will serve as an illustration how *bhom* may be acquired, and the annals of Kotah will exhibit, unhappily for the Ryots of that country, the almost total annihilation of their rights, by the same summary process which originally attached Lohario to the fisc.

The power of alienation being thus proved, it would be superfluous to insist further on the proprietary right of the cultivator of the soil.

Besides the ability to alienate as demonstrated, all the over-symbols which mark proprietary right in other countries are to be found in Mewar; that of entire conveyance by sale, or temporary by mortgage; and numerous instances could be adduced, especially of the latter. The fertile lands of Horlah, along the banks of the Khary, are almost all mortgaged, and the registers of these transactions form two considerable volumes, in which great variety of deeds may be discovered: one extended for one hundred and one years;† when redemption was to follow, without regard to interest on the one hand, or the benefits from the land on the other, but merely by repayment of the sum borrowed. To maintain the interest during abeyance, it is generally stipulated that a certain portion of the harvest shall be reserved for the mortgagee—a fourth, a fifth, or '*googri*'—a share so small as to be valued only as a mark of proprietary recognition. The mortgagees were chiefly of the commercial classes of the large frontier towns; in many cases the proprietor continues to cultivate for another the lands his ancestor mortgaged four or five generations ago, nor does he deem his right at all impaired. A plan had been sketched to raise money to redeem these mortgages, from whose complex operations the revenue was sure to suffer. No length of time or absence can affect the claim to the *bapota*, and so sacred is the right of absentees, that land will lay sterile and unproductive from the penalty which Menu denounces on all who interfere with their neighbour's rights: "for unless there be an special agreement between the owner of the land and the seed, the fruits belong clearly to the land-owner:" even "if seed conveyed by water or by wind should germinate, the plant

* The author has to acknowledge with regret, that he was the cause of the Meena proprietors not re-obtaining their *bapota*: this arose, partly from ignorance at the time, partly from the individual claimants being dead, and more than all, from the representation that the intended sale originated in a bribe to Sudda-Ram the governor, which, however, was not the case.

† Claims to the *bapota* appear to be maintainable if not alienated longer than one hundred and one years; and undisturbed possession (no matter how obtained) for the same period appears to confer this right. The *meeras* of Candeish appears to have been on the same footing.

belongs to the land-owner, *the mere sower takes not the fruit.*"* Even crime and the extreme sentence of the law will not alter succession to property, either to the military or cultivating vassal; and the old Kentish adage, probably introduced by the Jats from Scandinavia, who under Hengist established that kingdom of the heptarchy, *vis.*,

"The father to the bough,
And the son to the plough."

is practically understood by the Jats and Bhomias† of Mewar, whose treason is not deemed hereditary, nor a chain of noble acts destroyed because a false link was thrown out. We speak of the military vassals—the cultivator can not aspire to so dignified a crime as treason.

The officers of the townships are the same as have been so often described, and are already too familiar to those interested in the subject to require illustration. From the Patel, the Cromwell of each township, to the village gossip, the ascetic Sanyasi, each deems his office, and the land he holds in virtue thereof in perpetuity, free of rent to the state, except a small triennial quit-rent,‡ and the liability, like every other branch of the state, to two war taxes.§

Opinions are various as to the origin and attributes of the Patel, the most important personage in village sway, whose office is by many deemed foreign to the pure Hindu system, and to which language even his title is deemed alien. But there is no doubt that both office and title are of ancient growth, and even etymological rule proves the Patel to be head (*pati*) of the community.|| The office of Patel of Mewar was originally elective; he was "*primus inter pares*," the constituted attorney or representative of the commune, and as the medium between the cultivator and the government, enjoyed benefits from both. Besides his *bapota*, and the *seerano*, or one-fortieth of all produce from the ryot, he had a remission of a third or fourth of the rent from such extra lands as he might cultivate in addition to his partimony. Such was the Patel, the link connecting the peasant with the government, ere predatory war subverted all order: but as rapine increased, so did his authority. He became the plenipotentiary of the community, the security for the contribution imposed, and often the hostage for its payment, remaining in the camp of the predatory hordes till they were paid off. He gladly undertook the liquidation of such contributions as these perpetual invaders imposed. To indemnify himself, a schedule was formed of the share of each ryot, and mortgage of land and sequestration of personal effects followed till his avarice was satisfied. Who dared complain against a Patel, the intimate of Pathan and Mahratta commanders, his adopted patrons? He thus became the master of the follow-citizens; and, as power corrupts all men, their tyrant instead of their mediator. It was a system necessarily involving its own decay; for a while glutted with plenty, but failing with the

* Manu, on the Servile Classes, 52—54. † Patel. ‡ Patel *burrar*.

§ The Ghur-geenti *burrar*, and Khur-lakur or *wood and forage*.

|| In copper-plate grants dug from the ruins of the ancient Oojein (presented to the Royal Asiatic Society), the prince's patents (*putta*) conferring gifts are addressed to the *Patta-cilas* and Ryots. I never heard an etymology of this word, but imagine it to be from *potta* 'grant,' or 'patent'; and *cila*, which means a nail, or sharp instrument; metaphorically, that which binds or unites these patents; all, however, having *pati*, or chief, as the basis.—See transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. i. p. 237.

supply, and ending in desolation, exile, and death. Nothing was left to prey on but the despoiled carcase; yet when peace returned, and in its train the exile ryot to reclaim the *bapota*, the vampire Patel was resuscitated, and evinced the same ardour for supremacy, and the same cupidity which had so materially aided to convert the fertile Mewar to a desert. The Patel accordingly proved one of the chief obstacles to returning prosperity; and the attempt to reduce this corrupted *middle-man* to his original station in society was both difficult and hazardous, from the support they met in the corrupt officers, at court and other influences "*behind the curtain*." A system of renting the crown-lands being deemed the most expedient to advance prosperity, it was incumbent to find a remedy for this evil. The mere name of some of these petty tyrants inspired such terror, as to check all desire of return to the country: but the origin of the institution of the office and its abuses being ascertained, it was imperative, though difficult, to restore the one and banish the other. The original elective right in many townships was therefore returned to the ryot, who nominated new Patels, his choice being confirmed by the Rana, in whose presence investiture was performed by binding a turban on the elected, for which he presented his *nussur*. Traces of the sale of these offices in past times were observable; and it was deemed of primary importance to avoid all such channels for corruption, in order that the ryot's election should meet with no obstacle. That the plan was beneficial there could be no doubt; that the benefit would be permanent, depended, unfortunately, on circumstances which those most anxious had not the means to control: for it must be recollected, that although "personal aid and advice might be given when asked," all internal interference was by treaty strictly, and most justly, prohibited.

After a few remarks on the mode of levying the crown-rents we shall conclude the subject of village economy in Mewar, and proceed to close this too extended chapter with the results of four years of peace and the consequent improved prosperity.

There are two methods of levying the revenues of the crown on every description of corn—*kunkoot* and *bhuttaie*; for on sugarcane, poppy, oil, hemp, tobacco, cotton, indigo, and garden stuffs, a money payment is fixed, varying from two to six rupees per beegah. The *kunkoot* is a conjectural assessment of the standing crop, by the united judgment of the officers of Government, the Patel, the Patwarri, or Registrar, and the owner of the field. The accuracy with which an accustomed eye will determine the quantity of grain on a given surface is surprising: but should the owner deem the estimate overrated, he can insist on *bhuttaie* or division of the corn after it is threshed; the most ancient and only infallible mode by which the dues either of the Government or the husbandman can be ascertained. In the *Bhuttaie* system, the share of the Government varies from one-third to two-fifths of the spring harvest, as wheat and barley; and sometimes even half, which is the invariable proportion of the autumnal crops. In either case, *kunkoot* or *bhuttaie*, when the shares are appropriated, those of the crown may be commuted to a money payment at the average rate of the market. The *koot* is the most liable to corruption. The ryot bribes the Collector, who will underrate the crop; and when he betrays his duty, the *shanah*, or watchman, is not likely to be honest: and as he *mukhee*, or Indian corn, the grand autumnal crop of Mewar, is eaten green, the crown may be defrauded of half its dues. The system is one of uncertainty, from which eventually the ryot derives no advantage, though it fosters the cupidity of patels and collectors; but there was a

burrar, or tax, introduced to make up for this deficiency, which was in proportion to the quantity cultivated, and its amount at the mercy of the officers. Thus the ryot went to work with a mill-stone round his neck; instead of the exhilarating reflection that every hour's additional labour was his own, he saw merely the advantage of these harpies, and contended himself with raising a scanty subsistence in a slovenly and indolent manner, by which he forfeited the ancient reputation of the Jat cultivator of Mewar.

Notwithstanding these and various other drawbacks to the prosperity of the country, in an impoverished court, avaricious and corrupt officers, discontented patels, and bad seasons, yet the final report in May 1822, could not but be gratifying when contrasted with that of February 1818. In order to ascertain the progressive improvement, a census had been made at the end of 1821, of the three central fiscal districts* watered by the Beris and Bunas. As a specimen of the whole, we may take the *tuppa* or Sub-division of Shahara. Of its twenty-seven villages six were inhabited in 1818, the number of families being *three hundred and sixty-nine*, three-fourths of whom belonged to the resumed town of Amlee. In 1821 *nine hundred and twenty-six* families were reported, and every village of the twenty-seven was occupied, so that population had almost trebled. The number of ploughs was more than trebled, and cultivation quadrupled; and though this, from the causes described, was not above one-third of what real industry might have effected, the contrast was abundantly cheering. The same ratio of prosperity applied to the entire crown demesne of Mewar. By the recovery of Komulmeer, Raepur, Rajnuggur, and Sadri-Kunero from the Mahrattas; of Jehajpur from Kotah; of the usurpations of the nobles; together with the resumption of all the estates of the females of his family, a task at once difficult and delicate;† and by the subjugation of the mountain districts of Mairwarra, a thousand towns and villages were united to form the fiscal demesne of the Rana, composing twenty-four districts of various magnitudes, divided, as in ancient times, and with the primitive appellations, into portions tantamount to the tythings and hundreds of England, the division from time immemorial amongst the Hindus.‡ From these and the commercial duties§ a revenue was derived sufficient for the comforts, and even the dignities of the prince and his court, and promising an annual increase in the ratio of good Government: but profusion scattered all that industry and ingenuity could collect; the artificial wants of the prince perpetuated the real necessities of the peasant, and this, it is to be feared, will continue till the present generation shall sleep with their forefathers.

* Moee, Burrak, and Kupassun.

† To effect this, indispensable alike for unity of Government and the establishment of a Police, the individual statements of their holders were taken for the revenues, they had derived from them, and money payments three times the amount were adjudged to them. They were gainers by this arrangement, and were soon loaded with jewels and ornaments, but the numerous train of harpies who cheated them, and abused the poor ryot, were eternally at work to defeat all such beneficial schemes; and the counteraction of the intrigues was painful and disgusting.

‡ Menu ordains the division into tens, hundreds and thousands.

§ Farmed for the ensuing three years from 1822, for seven lacs of rupees.

*Abstract of the Fiscal Revenues of Mewar in the
years 1818-19-20-21-22.*

	Rs.		
Spring harvest of 1818		40,000	
Ditto 1819		4,51,281	
Ditto 1820		6,59,100	
Ditto 1821	10,18,478		The active superintendence of the British Agent being al- most entirely withdrawn.
Ditto 1822	9,36,640		

Abstract of Commercial Duties included in the above.

In	...	...	Nominal	
1818	...	...	Rs. 96,683	
1819	...	...
1820	...	...	1,65,108	
1821	...	...	2,20,000	Farmed for three years from 1822, for 7,50,000 rupees, which was assigned by the Rana for the liquidation of tribute fallen in arrear.
1822	...	...	2,17,000	

There are sources of wealth in Mewar yet untouched, and to which her princes owe much of their power. The tin mines of Jawura and Dureeba alone, little more than half a century ago, yielded above three lacs annually;* besides rich copper mines in various parts. From such, beyond a doubt, much of the wealth of Mewar was extracted, but the miners are now dead, and the mines filled with water. An attempt was made to work them, but it was so unprofitable that the design was soon abandoned.

Nothing will better exemplify the progress of prosperity, than the comparative population of some of the chief towns before, and after four years of peace:

No. of houses in 1818.				No. of houses in 1822.			
Oodipur	...	3,500	...	...	...	10,000	
Bhilwara	...	not one	...	...	...	2,700	
Poorh	...	200	...	...	...	1,200	
Mandel	...	80	...	...	...	400	
Gogoonda	...	60	...	...	...	350	

The feudal lands, which were then double the fiscal, did not exhibit the like improvement, the merchant and cultivator residing thereon not having the same certainty of reaping the fruits of their industry; still great amelioration took place, and few were so blind as not to see their account in it.† The earnestness with which many requested the Agent to back their expressed intentions with his guarantee to their communities of the same measure of justice and protection as the fiscal tenants enjoyed, was proof that they well understood the benefits of reciprocal confidence; but this could not be tendered without danger. Before the Agent left the

* In S. 1816, Jawara yielded Rs. 2,22,000 and Dureeba Rs. 80,000. The tin of these mines contains a portion of silver.

† There are between two and three thousand towns, villages, and hamlets, besides the fiscal land of Mewar; but the tribute of the British government is derived only from the fiscal; it would have been impossible to collect from the feudal lands, which are burthened with service, and form the army of the state.

country he greatly withdrew from active interference, it being his constant, as it was his last impressive lesson, that they should rely upon themselves if they desire to retain a shadow of independence. To give an idea of the improved police, insurance which has been described as amounting to eight per cent., in a space of twenty-five miles, became almost nominal, or one-fourth of a rupee per cent., from one frontier to the other. It would, however, have been quite Utopian to have expected that the lawless tribes would remain in that stupid subordination which the unexampled state of society imposed for a time (as described in the opening of these transactions), when they found that real restraints did not follow imaginary terrors. Had the wild tribes been under the sole influence of British power, nothing would have been so simple as effectually, not only to control, but to conciliate and improve them; for it is a mortifying truth, that the more remote from civilization, the more tractable and easy was the object to manage, more especially the Bhil.* But these children of nature were incorporated in the demesnes of the feudal chiefs, who when they found our system did not extend to perpetual control, returned to their old habits of oppression: this provoked retaliation, which to subdue requires more power than the Rana yet possesses, and, in the anomalous state of our alliances, will always be an embarrassing task to whosoever may exercise political control.

In conclusion, it is to be hoped that the years of oppression that have swept the land will be held in remembrance by the protecting power, and that neither petulance nor indolence will lessen the benevolence which restored life to Mewar, or mar the picture of comparative happiness it created.

* Sir John Malcolm's wise and philanthropic measures for the reclamation of this race in Malwa will support my assertions.

The sixteen chief Nobles of Mewar, their Titles, Names, Clans, Tribes, Estates, number of Villages in each, and their value.

Titles.	Names.	Clan.	Tribes.	Estate.	Number of Villages.	Value A. D. 1760.	REMARKS.
Raj ...	Chaudun Sing	Jhala	Jhala ...	Sadri ...	127	100,000	These estates are all diminished one-half in nominal amount; and their revenues still more. Would realise this if cultivated. This chief ceases to be one of the 16 since the Rana lost the province of Godwar. Would realise this if cultivated. Would realise more if cultivated. This includes usurpations—now seized by Sindhia. The estate would realise 70,000 if cultivated. Would realise two-thirds if cultivated.
Rao ...	Pertap Sing	Chohan	Chohan ...	Baidla ...	80	100,000	
Rao ...	Mokim Sing	"	" ...	Kotaro ...	65	80,000	
Rawut ...	Pudma Sing	Chondawut	Seesodia	Saloombra	85	84,000	
Thacoor	Zorawur Sing	Mairtea	Rahtore	Gonora ...	100	100,000	
Rao ...	Kesudas	Pramar...	Bijolli ...	40	45,000	Would realise this if cultivated. Would realise more if cultivated. This includes usurpations—now seized by Sindhia. The estate would realise 70,000 if cultivated. Would realise two-thirds if cultivated.
Rawut ...	Gokuldas	Sangawut	Seesodia	Deogurh	125	80,000	
" ...	Maha Sing	Megawut	" ...	Beygoo...	150	200,000	
Raj ...	Kalian Sing	Jhala	Jhala ...	Dailwarra	125	100,000	
Rawut ...	Salim Sing	Jugawut	Seesodia	Amait ...	60	60,000	
Raj ...	Chutter Sal	Jhala	Jhala ...	Gogoonda	50	50,000	Would realise this if cultivated. Would realise half if cultivated. Would realise this if cultivated. Ditto. These chiefs have lost all their influence and half their estates. These chiefs have been taken rank on the depression of the above—they never appear at court on the same day.
Rawut ...	Futteh Sing	Sarangdeote	Seesodia	Kanorh...	50	95,000	
Maharaja	Zorawur Sing	Suktawut	"	Bheendir	64	64,000	
Thacoor...	Jeyt Sing	Mairtea	Rahtore	Bednore	80	80,000	
Rawut ...	Salim Sing	Suktawut	Seesodia	Bansi ...	40	40,000	
Rao ...	Soorajmul	Chohan	Chohan	Parsoli ...	40	60,000	Ditto. These chiefs have lost all their influence and half their estates. These chiefs have been taken rank on the depression of the above—they never appear at court on the same day.
Rawut ...	Kesuri Sing	Kisbenawut	Seesodia	Bhynstot	60	35,000	
" ...	Jowan Sing	"	"	Korabur	35	35,000	
" ...	"	"	"	"	"	"	
" ...	"	"	"	"	"	"	
Total number and estimated value of their estates sixty years ago, omitting Bhynstot and Korabur, then enrolled in the second grade of chieftains.						1,181	13,10,000

Note.—The inferior grades possessed estates to a still larger amount, conjointly yielding a revenue of thirty lacks of rupees; and as each thousand rupees of estate furnished on emergency three horses completely equipped, the feudal interest could supply nine thousand horse besides foot, of which they make little account.

RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS, FESTIVALS, AND CUSTOMS OF MEWAR.

CHAPTER XIX.

IN all ages the ascendancy of the hierarchy is observable; it is a tribute paid to religion through her organs. Could the lavish endowments and extensive immunities of the various religious establishments in Rajasthan be assumed as criteria of the morality of the inhabitants, we should be authorized to assign them a high station in the scale of excellence. But they more frequently prove the reverse of this position; especially the territorial endowments, often the fruits of a death-bed repentance,* which, prompted by superstition or fear, compounds for past crimes by posthumous profusion, although vanity not rarely lends her powerful aid. There is scarcely a state in Rajpootana in which one-fifth of the soil is not assigned for the support of the temples, their ministers, the secular Brahmins, bards, and genealogists. But the evil was not always so extensive; the abuse is of modern growth.

An anecdote related of the Rajas of Marwar and Ambar always rivals in war, love, and folly, will illustrate the motives of these dismemberments. During the annual pilgrimage to the sacred lake of Poshkur, it is the custom for these lords of the earth to weigh their persons against all that is rare, in gold, gems, and precious cloths; which are afterwards distributed to the priests. The Ambar chief had the advantage of a full treasury and a fertile soil, to which his rival could oppose a more extended sway over a braver race; but his country was proverbially poor, and at Poshkur, the weight of the purse ranks above the deeds of the sword. As these princes were suspended in the scale, the Ambar Raja, who was balanced against the more costly material, indirectly taunted his brother-in-law on the poverty of his offerings, who would gladly, like the Roman, have made up the deficiency with his sword. But the Marwar prince had a minister of tact, at whose suggestion he challenged his rival (of Ambar) to equal him in the magnitude of his gift to the Brahmins. On the gage being accepted, the Rahtore exclaimed, "Perpetual charity (*sahsuna*) of all the lands held by the Brahmins in Marwar!" His unreflecting

* Menu commands, "Should the king be near his end through some incurable disease, he must bestow on the priests all his riches accumulated from legal fines: and having duly committed his kingdom to his son, let him seek death in battle, or, if there be no war, by abstaining from food,"—Chap. ix, p. 337, *Haughton's edition*. The annals of all the Rajpoot States afford instances of obedience to this text of their divine legislator.

rival had commenced the redemption of his pledge when his minister stopped the half-uttered vow, which would have impoverished the family for ever; for there were ten Brahmins in Ambar who followed secular employments, cultivating or holding lands in usufruct, to one in Marwar. Had these lords of the earth been left to their misguided vanity, the fisc of each state would have been seriously curtailed.

The Brahmins, Sanyasis, and Gosaens, are not behind those professional flatterers, the Bards; and many a princely name would have been forgotten but for the record of the gift of land. In Mewar, the lands in *sahsum*, or religious grants, amount in value to *one-fifth* of the revenue of the state, and the greater proportion of these has arisen out of the prodigal mismanagement of the last century. The dilapidated state of the country, on the general pacification in A. D. 1818, afforded a noble opportunity to redeem in part these alienations, without the penalty of denunciation attached to the resumer of sacred charities. But death, famine, and exile, which had left but few of the grantees in a capacity to return and re-occupy the lands, in vain coalesced to restore the fisc of Mewar. The Rana dreaded a "*sixty thousand years' residence in hell*," and some of the finest land of his country is doomed to remain unproductive. In this predicament is the township of Mynar, with 50,000 bigahs (16,000 acres), which with the exception of a nook where some few have established themselves, claiming to be descendants of the original holders, are condemned to sterility, owing to the agricultural proprietors and the rent-receiving Brahmins being dead; and apathy united to superstition admits their claims without inquiry.

The antiquary, who has dipped into the records of the dark period in European church history, can have ocular illustration in Rajasthan of traditions which may in Europe appear questionable. The vision of the Bishop of Orleans, who saw Charles Martel in the depths of hell, undergoing the tortures of the damned, for having stripped the churches of their possessions, "thereby rendering himself guilty of the sins of all those who had endowed them," would receive implicit credence from every Hindu, whose ecclesiastical economy might both yield and derive illustration from a comparison, not only with that of Europe, but with the more ancient Egyptian and Jewish systems, whose endowments, as explained by Moses and Ezekiel, bear a strong analogy to his own. The disposition of landed property in Egypt, as amongst the ancient Hindus, was immemorially vested in the cultivator; and it was only through Joseph's ministry in the famine, that "the land became Pharaoh's, as the Egyptians sold every man his field."* And the coincidence is manifest even in the tax imposed on them as occupants of their *inheritance*, being *one-fifth* of the crops to the king, while the maximum rate among the Hindus is a *sixth*.† The Hindus also, in visitations such as that which occasioned the dispossession of the *ryots* of Egypt, can mortgage or sell their patrimony (*Bapota*). Joseph did not attempt to infringe the privileges of the sacred order when the whole of Egypt became crown-land, "except the lands of the priests, which became not Pharaoh's" and these priests, according to Diodorus, held for themselves and the sacrificers no less than *one-third* of the lands of Egypt. But we learn from Herodotus, that Sesostris, who ruled after Joseph's ministry, restored the lands to the people, reserving the customary tax or tribute.‡

* Genesis, Chap. xlvii. v. 20.

† Menu, Chap. vii.

‡ "Origin of Laws and Government," Vol. i. p. 54, and Vol. ii. p. 13.

The prelates of the middle ages of Europe were often completely feudal nobles, swearing fealty and paying homage as did the lay lords.* In Rajasthan, the sacerdotal caste not bound to the altar may hold lands and perform the duties of vassalage :† but of late years, when land has been assigned to religious establishments, no reservation has been made of fiscal rights, territorial or commercial. This is, however, an innovation ; since, formerly, princes never granted, along with territorial assignments, the prerogative of dispensing justice, of levying transit duties, or exemption from personal service of the feudal tenant who held on the land thus assigned. Well may Rajpoot heirs exclaim with the grandson of Clovis, "our exchequer is impoverished, and our riches are transferred to the clergy."‡ But Chilperic had the courage to recall the grants of his predecessors, which, however, the pious Gontram re-established. Many Gontrams could be found, though but few Chilperics, in Rajasthan : we have, indeed, one in Jograz, the Rana's ancestor, almost a contemporary of the Merovingian king, who not only resumed all the lands of the Brahmins, but put many of them to death, but many of them to death, and expelled the rest his dominions.

It may be doubted whether vanity and shame are not sufficient in themselves to prevent a resumption of the lands of the *Mangtas* or mendicants as they style all those "who extend the palm," without the dreaded penalty, which operates very slightly on the sub-vassal or cultivator, who, having no superfluity, defiles their anathemas when they attempt to wrest from him, by virtue of the crown-grant, any of his long-established rights. By these, the threat of impure transmigration is despised ; and the Brahmin may spill his blood on the threshold of his dwelling or in the field in dispute, which will be relinquished by the owner but with his life. The *Pat Rani*, or chief queen, on the death of prince Umra, the heir-apparent, in 1818, bestowed a grant of fifteen bighas of land, in one of the central districts, on a Brahmin who had assisted in the funeral rites of her son. With grant in hand, he hastened to the Jat proprietor, and desired him to make over to him the patch of land. The latter coolly replied that he would give him all the prince had a right to, namely the tax. The Brahmin threatened to spill his own blood if he did not obey the command, and gave himself a gash in a limb ; but the Jat was inflexible, and declared that he would not surrender his patrimony (*bapota*) even if he slew himself.§ In short, the *ryot*, of Mewar would reply, even to his sovereign, if he demanded his field, in the very words of Naboth to Ahab, king of Israel, when he demanded the vineyard contiguous to the palace : "The Lord forbid it me that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee."

* Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Vol. ii. p. 212.

† "A Brahmin unable to subsist by his duties just mentioned (sacerdotal), may live by the duty of a soldier."—*Menu*, Chap. x.

‡ Montesquieu.

§ These worshippers of God and Mammon, when threats fail, have recourse to maiming, and even destroying themselves, to gain their object. In 1820, one of the confidential servants of the Rana demanded payment of the petty tax called *gugri*, of one rupee on each house, from some Brahmins who dwelt in the village, and which had always been received from them. They refused payment, and on being pressed, four of them stabbed themselves mortally. Their bodies were placed upon biers, and

But the tythes, and other small and legally established rights of the hierarchy, are still religiously maintained. The village temple and the village priest are always objects of veneration to the industrious husbandman, on whom superstition acts more powerfully than on the bold marauding Rajpoot, who does not hesitate to demand *salvamenta* (*rekwali*) from the lands of Kaniya or Eklinga. But the poor *ryot* of the nineteenth century of Vicrama has the same fears as the peasants of Charlemagne, who were made to believe that the ears of corn found empty had been devoured by infernal spirits, reported to have said they owed their feasts to the non-payment of tythes.

The political influence of the Brahmins is frequently exemplified in cases alike prejudicial to the interests of society and the personal welfare of the sovereign. The latter is often surrounded by lay-Brahmins as confidential servants, in the capacities of butler, keeper of the wardrobe, or seneschal,* besides the *Guru* or domestic chaplain, who to the duty of ghostly comforter sometimes joins that of astrologer and physician, in which

funeral rites withheld till punishment should be inflicted on the priest-killer. But for once superstition was disregarded, and the rights of the Brahmins in this community were resumed.

Grant of the Rahtore Rani, the Queen-Mother of Oodipur, on the death of her Son, the Heir-Apparent, Prince Umra.

Sid Sri Burra (a) *Rathor-ji* to the *Patels* and inhabitants of *Giroh*. The four *bighas* of land, belonging to the *Jat Rogga*, have been assigned to the Brahmin *Krishna* on the *Anta Samay* (final epoch) of *Lalji*. (b) *Let him possess the rents thereof.* (c) The dues for wood and forage (*khur lukur*) contributions (*burrar*) are renounced by the state in favour of the Brahmins.

Samvat 1875 Amavus, 15th of Asoj, A.D. 1819.

* These lay-Brahmins are not wanting in energy or courage; the sword is as familiar to them as the *mala* (chaplet). The grandfather of of Ramnath, the present worthy seneschal of the Rana, was Governor of the turbulent district of Jehajpur, which has never been so well ruled since. He left a curious piece of advice to his successors, inculcating vigorous measures. "With two thousand men you may "eat *khitchri* ;

(a) The great Rathore queen. There were two of this tribe; she was the queen mother.

(b) An endearing epithet, applied to children from *larla*, beloved.

" (c) It is customary to call these grants to religious orders "grants of land" although they entitle only the rents thereof; for there is no *seisin* of the land itself as numerous inscriptions testify, and which, as well as the present, prove the proprietary right to be in the cultivator only. The *tamba patra*, [to distinguish them from grants off and to feudal tenants, which patents (*putta*) are manuscript] or copper-plate patent (by which grants are properly designated) of Yasovarman, the *Pramara* prince of Uojein, seven hundred years ago, is good evidence that the rents only are granted; he commands the crown tenants of the two villages assigned to the temple "to pay all dues as they arise—money-rent—first share of produce," not a word of *seisin* of the soil.—See *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. i. p. 223.

case God help the prince !* These *Gurus* and *Purohits*, having the education of the children, acquire immense influence, and are not backward in improving "the greatness thrust upon them." They are all continually importuning their prince for grants of land for themselves and the shrines they are attached to; and every chief, as well as every influential domestic, takes advantage of ephemeral favour to increase the endowments of his tutelary divinity. The Peshwas of Satarra are the most striking out of numerous examples.

In the dark ages of Europe the monks are said to have prostituted their knowledge of writing to the forging of charters in their own favour : a practice not easily detected in the days of ignorance.† The Brahmins, in like manner, do not scruple to employ this method of augmenting the wealth of their shrines; and superstition and indolence combine to support the deception. There is not a doubt that the grant charter of Nathdwarra was a forgery, in which the prince's butler was bribed to aid; and report alleges that the Rana secretly favoured an artifice which regard to opinion prevented him from overtly promulgating. Although the copper-plate had been buried under ground, and came out

with one thousand *dalbhat*; with five hundred *juti* (the shoe)." *Khitchri* is a savoury mess of pulse, rice, butter, and spices; *dalbhat* is simple rice and pulse; *the shoe* is indelible disgrace.

* Menu, in his rules on government commands the king to impart his momentous counsel and entrust all transactions to a learned and distinguished Brahmin.—*Chap. vii. p. 195.*

There is no being more aristocratic in his ideas than the secular Brahmin or priest, who deems the bare name a passport to respect. The *Kulin* Brahmin of Bengal piques himself upon *this* title of nobility granted by the last Hindu king of Canouj (whence they migrated to Bengal) and in virtue of which his alliance in matrimony is courted. But although Menu has imposed obligations towards the Brahmin little short of adoration, these are limited to the "learned in the *Vedas*," he classes the unlearned Brahmin with "an elephant made of wood, or an antelope of leather," nullities, save in name. And he adds further, that "as liberality to a fool is useless, so is a Brahmin useless if he read not the holy text:" comparing the person who gives to such an one, to a husbandman "who, sowing seed in a barren soil, reaps no gain;" so the Brahmin "obtains no reward in heaven." These sentiments are repeated in numerous texts, holding out the most powerful inducements to the sacerdotal class to cultivate their minds, since their power consists solely in their wisdom. For such, there are no privileges too extensive, no homage too great. "A king, even though dying *with want*, must not receive any tax from a Brahmin learned in the *Vedas*." His person is sacred. "Never shall the king slay a Brahmin, though convicted of all possible crimes," is a premium at least to unbounded insolence, and unfits them for members of society, more especially for soldiers: banishment, with person and property untouched, is the declared punishment for even the most heinous crimes. "A Brahmin may seize without hesitation, if he be distressed for a subsistence, the goods of his *Sudra* slave." But the following text is the climax: "What prince could gain wealth by oppressing these [Brahmins], who, if angry, could frame other worlds, and regents of worlds, and could give birth to new gods and mortals?"—*Menu*, *Chaps. ii. iii. vii. viii. ix.*

† Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Vol. i. page 204.

disguised with a coating of verdigrise, there were marks which proved the date of its execution to be false. I have seen charters which, it has been gravely asserted, were granted by Rana upwards of three thousand years ago! Such is the origin assigned to one found in a well at the ancient Brimpoori, in the valley of the capital. If there be sceptics as to its validity, they are silent ones; and this copper-plate of the brazen age is worth gold to the proprietor.* A census† of the three central districts of Mewar, discovered that more than twenty thousand acres of these fertile lands, irrigated by the Beris and Bunas rivers, were distributed in isolated portions, of which the mendicant castes had the chief share, and which proved fertile sources of dispute to the husbandman and the officers of the revenue. From the mass of title-deeds of every description by which these lands were held, one deserves to be selected, on account of its being pretended to have been written and bestowed on the incumbent's ancestors by the deity upwards of three centuries ago, and which has been maintained as a *bona-fide* grant of Crishna‡ ever since. By such credulity and apathy are the Rajpoot states influenced: yet let the reader check any rising feeling of contempt for Hindu legislation, and cast a retrospective glance at the page of European church-history, where he will observe in the time of the most potent of our monarchs that the clergy possessed *one-half* of the soil:§ and the chronicles of France will shew him Charlemagne on his death-bed, bequeathing *two-thirds* of his domains to the church, deeming the remaining third sufficient for the ambition of four sons. The same dread of futurity, and the hope to expiate the sins of a life, at its close, by gifts to the organs of religion, is the motive for these unwise alienations whether in Europe or in Asia. Some of these establishments, and particularly that at Nathdwara, made a proper use of their revenues in keeping up the *Sudda Birt*, or perpetual charity, though it is chiefly distributed to religious pilgrims: but among the many

* These forgeries of charters cannot be considered as invalidating the arguments drawn from them, as we may rest assured nothing is introduced foreign to custom, in the items of the deeds.

† Suggested by the author, and executed under his superintendence who waded through all these documents, and translated upwards of a hundred of the most curious.

‡ *Grant held by a Brahmin of Birkhairah.*

"A Brahmin's orphan was compelled by hunger to seek sustenance in driving an oil-mill; instead of oil the receptacle was filled with blood. 'The frightened oilman demanded of the child who he was;' 'A Brahmin's orphan,' was the reply. Alarmed at the enormity of his guilt in thus employing the son of a priest, he covered the palm of his hand with earth, in which he sowed the *tulasi* seed, and went on a pilgrimage to Dwarica. He demanded the presence (*dursana*) of the god; the priest pointed to the ocean, when he plunged in, and had an interview with Dwarica Nath, who presented him with a written order on the Rana for forty-five *bighas* of land. He returned and threw the writing before the Rana, on the steps of the temple of Juggernath. The Rana read the writing of the god, placed it on his head, and immediately made out the grant. This is three hundred and fifty years ago, as recorded by an inscription on stone, and his descendant, Koshala, yet enjoys it."

(A true Translation.)

J. TOD.

§ Hallam.

complaints made of the misapplication of the funds, the diminution of this hospitable right is one : while, at other shrines, the avarice of the priests is observable in the coarseness of the food dressed for sacrifice and offering.

Besides the crown-grants to the greater establishments, the Brahmins received petty tythes from the agriculturist, and a small duty from the trader, as *mappa* or metage, throughout every township, corresponding with the scale of the village-chapel. An inscription found by the author at the town of Palode,* and dated nearly seven centuries back, affords a good specimen of the claims of the village priesthood. The following are among the items. The *seerano*, or a *seer*, in every *maund*, being the fortieth part of the grain of the *oonalu*, or summer-harvest ; the *kirpa*, or a bundle from every sheaf of the autumnal crops, whether *mukhi* (Indian corn), *bajra* or *joar* (maize), or the other grains peculiar to that season.†

They also derive a tythe from the oil-mill and sugar-mill, and receive a *khansa* or platter of food on all rejoicings, as births, marriages, etc., with *churaie*, or the right of pasturage on the village common ; and where they have become possessed of landed property they have *hulmoh*, or unpaid labour in man, beasts, and implements, for its culture : an exaction well known in Europe as one of the detested *corvees* of the feudal system of France,‡ the abolition of which was the sole boon the English husbandman obtained by the charter of Runymede. Both the chieftain and the priest exact *hulmoh* in Rajasthan ; but in that country it is mitigated, and abuse is prevented, by a sentiment unknown to the feudal despot of the middle ages of Europe, and which, though difficult to define, acts imperceptibly, having its source in accordance of belief, patriarchal manners, and clannish attachments.

I shall now briefly consider the privileges of the Saivas and Jains—the orthodox and heterodox sects of Mewar ; and then proceed to those of Vishnu, whose worship is the most prevalent in these countries, and which I am inclined to regard as of more recent origin.

Mahadeva, or Iswara, is the tutelary divinity of the Rajpoots in Mewar ; and from the early annals of the dynasty appears to have been, with his consort Isani, the sole object of *Gehlote* adoration. Iswara is adored under the epithet of Eklinga,§ and is either worshipped in his

* The Palode inscription is unfortunately mislaid ; but in searching for it, another was discovered from Unair, four miles south-west of the ancient Morwan, where there is a temple to the four-armed divinity (Chathurbhuja) endowed in *Samvat* 1750 by *Rana Juggut Sing*.

On one of the pillars of the temple is inscribed a voluntary gift made in *Samvat* 1845, and signed by the village *Panch*, of the first-fruits of the harvest, viz., two *seers-and-a-half* (five pounds weight) from each *khal(a)* of the spring, and the same of the autumnal harvests.

† Each bundle consists of a specified number of ears, which are roasted and eaten in the unripe state with a little salt.

‡ *Dict. de l' Ancien Regime*, p. 131 ; Art. *Corvée*.

§ That is, with one (*ek*) *lingam* or *phallus*—the symbol of worship being a single cylindrical or conical stone. There are others, termed

(a) A *khal* is one of the heaps after the corn is thrashed out about five *maunds*.

monolithic symbol, or as Iswara Chamukhi, the quadriform divinity, represented by a bust with four faces. The sacred bull, Nanda, has his altar attached to all the shrines of Iswara, as was that of Meneves or Apis to those of the Egyptian Osiris. Nanda has occasionally his separate shrines, and there is one in the valley of Oodipur which has reputation of being oracular as regards the seasons. The bull was the steed of Iswara, and carried him in battle; he is often represented upon it, with his consort Isa, at full speed. I will not stop to enquire whether the Grecian fable of the rape of Europa* by the tauriform Jupiter, may not be derived, with much more of their mythology, from the Hindu pantheon; whether that pantheon was originally erected on the Indus or the Ganges, or the more central scene early civilization, the banks of the Oxus. The bull was offered to Mithras by the Persian, and opposed as it now appears to Hindu faith, he formerly bled on the altars of the Sun god, on which not only the Bulddan,† 'offering of the bull,' was made, but human sacrifices.‡ We do not

Seheslinga and *Kotiswara*, with a thousand or a million of phallic representatives, all minutely carved on the monolithic emblem, having then much resemblance to the symbol of Bacchus, whose orgies both in Egypt and Greece, are the counterpart of those of the Hindu *Bagh-es* thus called from being clad in a tiger's or leopard's hide: Bacchus had the panther's for his covering. There is a very ancient temple to *Kotiswara* at the *embouchure* of the eastern arm of the Indus; and here are many to *Seheslinga* in the Peninsula of Saurashtra.

* It might have appeared fanciful, some time ago, to have given a Sanscrit derivation to a Greek proper name: but *Europa* might be derived from *Surupa*, 'of the beautiful face'—the initial syllable *su* and *eu* having the same signification in both languages, viz., *good*—*Rupa* is 'countenance.'

† "In this sacrifice four altars are erected, for offering the flesh to the four gods, Lacshmi-Narayana, Uma-Maheswara, Brimha, and Anunta. The nine planets, and Prithi, or the earth, with her ten guardian deities, are worshipped. Five *Vilwu*, five *Khudiru*, five *Pulashu*, and five *Udum-buru* posts are to be erected, and a bull tied to each post. Clarified butter is burnt on the altar, and pieces of the flesh of the slaughtered animals placed thereon. This sacrifice was very common."—Ward *On the Religion of the Hindus*, Vol. II. p. 263.

‡ "First a covered altar is to be prepared; sixteen posts are then to be erected of various woods; a golden image of a man, and an iron one of a goat, with golden images of Vishnu and Lacshmi, a silver one of Siva, with a golden bull, and a silver one of Garuda 'the eagle' are placed upon the altar. Animals, as goat, sheep, etc., are tied to the posts, and to one of them, of the wood of the *mimosa*, is to be tied the human victim. Fire is to be kindled by means of a burning glass. The sacrificing priest, '*hota*' strews the grass called *dhub* or immortal, round the sacred fire. Then follows the burnt sacrifice to the ten guardian deities of the earth—to the nine planets, and to the Hindu Triad, to each of whom clarified butter is poured on the sacred fire one thousand times. Another burnt-sacrifice, to the sixty-four inferior gods, follows, which is succeeded by the sacrifice and offering of all the other animals tied to the posts. The human sacrifice concludes, the sacrificing priest offering pieces of the flesh of the victim to each god as he circumbulates the altar.—*Ibid* 260.

learn that the Egyptian priesthood presented the kindred of Apis to Osiris, but as they were not prohibited from eating beef, they may have done so.

The shrine of Eklinga is situated in a defile about six miles north of Oodipur. The hills towering around it on all sides are of the primitive formation, and their scarp'd summits are clustered with honey-combs.* There are abundant small springs of water, which keep verdant numerous shrubs, the flowers of which are acceptable to the deity; especially the *kiner* or oleander, which grows in great luxuriance on the Aravali. Groves of bamboo and mango were formerly common, according to tradition; but although it is deemed sacrilege to thin the groves of Bal,† the bamboo has been nearly destroyed: there are however, still many trees sacred to the deity scattered around. It would be difficult to convey a just idea of a temple so complicated in its details. It is of the form commonly styled, pagoda, and like all the ancient temples of Siva, its *sikra*, or pinnacle, is pyramidal. The various orders of Hindu sacred architecture are distinguished by the form of the *sikra*, which is the portion springing from and surmounting the perpendicular walls of the body of the temple. The *sikra* of those of Siva is invariably pyramidal, and its sides vary with the base, whether square or oblong. The apex is crowned with an ornamental figure, as a sphynx, an urn, a ball, or a lion, which is called the *kullus*. When the *sikra* is but the frustum of a pyramid, it is often surmounted by a row of lions, as at Bijolli. The fane of Eklinga is of white marble and of ample dimensions. Under an open vaulted temple supported by columns, and fronting the four-faced divinity, is the brazen bull Nanda, of the natural size; it is cast, and of excellent proportions. The figure is perfect, except where the shot or hammer of an infidel invader has penetrated its hollow flank in search of treasure. Within the quadrangle are miniature shrines, containing some of the minor divinities.‡ The high priest of

* This is to be taken in its literal sense; the economy of the bee being displayed in the formation of extensive colonies which inhabit large masses of black comb adhering to the summits of the rocks. According to the legends of these tracts, they were called in as auxiliaries on Mahomedan invasions, and are said to have thrown the enemy more than once into confusion.

† Sri Umra Sing (II). &c. &c.

Whereas the shrine of Sri Pratap-Iswara (*the God of Fortune*) has been erected in the meadows of Rasmi, all the groves and trees are sacred to him; whoever cuts down any of them is an offender to the state, and shall pay a fine of three hundred rupees, and the *ass* (*a*) shall be the portion of the offices of government who suffer it.

Pos 14 Sumvat 1712 (A. D. 1656).

‡ In June 1806 I was present at a meeting between the Rana and Sindhia at the shrine of Eklinga. The rapacious Mahratta had just forced the passes to the Rana's capital, which was the commencement of a series of aggressions involving one of the most tragical events in the history of Mewar—the immolation of the Princess Krishna and the subsequent ruin of the country. I was then an *attache* of the British embassy to the Mahratta prince, who carried the ambassador to the meeting to increase

(a) The *gadda-ghal* is a punishment unknown in any but the Hindu Code; the hieroglyphic import appears on the pillar, and must be seen to be understood.

Eklinga, like all his order, is doomed to celibacy, and the office is continued by adopted disciples. Of such spiritual descents they calculate sixty-four since the Sage Harita, whose benediction obtained for the Gehlote Rajpoot the sovereignty of Cheetore, when driven from Saurashtra by the Parthians.

The priests of Eklinga are termed Gosaen or Goswami, which signifies "control over the senses!" The distinguishing mark of the faith of Siva is the crescent on the forehead.* The hair is braided and forms a tiara round the head, and with its folds a chaplet of the lotus-seed is often entwined. They smear the body with ashes, and use garments dyed of an orange hue. They bury their dead in a sitting posture, and erect tumuli over them, which are generally conical in form.† It is not uncommon for priestesses to officiate in the temple of Siva. There is a numerous class of Gosaens who have adopted celibacy, and who yet follow secular employments both in commerce and arms. The mercantile Gosaens‡ are amongst the richest individuals in India, and there are several at Oodipur who enjoy high favour, and who were found very useful when the Mahrattas demanded a war contribution, as their privileged character did not prevent their being offered and taken as their hostages for its payment. The Gosaens who profess arms, partake of the character of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. They live in monasteries scattered over the country, possess lands, and beg, or serve for pay when called upon. As defensive soldiers, they are good. Siva, their patron, is the god of war, and like him they make great use of intoxicating herbs, and even of spirituous liquors. In Mewar they can always muster many hundreds of the Kantora Jogi, or 'split ear ascetics,' so called from the habit of piercing the ear and placing therein a ring of the conch-shell, which is their battle-trumpet. Both Brahmins and Rajpoots, and even Goojers, can belong to this order, a particular account of whose internal discipline and economy could not fail to be interesting. The poet Chund

his consequence. In March 1818 I again visited the shrine, on my way to Oodipur, but under very different circumstances—to announce the deliverance of the family from oppression, and to labour for its prosperity. While standing without the sanctuary, looking at the quadriform divinity and musing on the changes of the intervening twelve years, my meditations were broken by an old Rajpoot chieftain, who, saluting me, invited me to enter and adore Baba Adam, 'Father Adam,' as he termed the phallic emblem. I excused myself on account of my boots, which I said I could not remove and that with them I would not cross the threshold: a reply which pleased him, and preceded me to the Rana's court.

* Siva is represented with three eyes: hence his title of Trinetra and Trilochun, the Tri-opthalmic Jupiter of the Greeks. From the fire of the central eye of Siva is to proceed Pralaya, or the final destruction of the universe: this eye placed vertically, resembling the flame of a taper, is a distinguishing mark on the foreheads of his votaries.

† I have seen a cemetery of these, each of very small dimensions, which may be described as so many concentric rings of earth, diminishing to the apex, crowned with a cylindrical stone pillar. One of the disciples of Siva was performing rites to the manes strewing leaves of an evergreen and sprinkling water over the graves.

‡ For a description of this, vide *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.* Vol. i. p. 217.

gives an animated description of the body-guard of the king of Canauj which was composed of these monastic warriors.

The Ranas of Mewar, as the *Dewans*, or vicegerents of Siva, when they visit the temple supersede the high priest in his duties, and perform the ceremonies, which the reigning prince does with peculiar correctness and grace.*

The shrine of Eklinga is endowed with twenty-four large villages from the fisc, besides parcels of land from the chieftains; but the privileges of the tutelary divinity have been waning since Kaniya fixed his residence amongst them: and as the priests of Apollo complained that the god was driven from the sacred mount Girdhana, in Vrij, by the influence of those of Jupiter† with Shah Jehan, the latter may now lament that the day of retribution has arrived, when propitiation to the Preserver is deemed more important than to the Destroyer. This may arise from the personal character of the high priests, who, from their vicinity to the court, can scarcely avoid mingling in its intrigues, and thence lose in character: even the Ranees do not hesitate to take mortgages on the estates of Bhola Nath.‡ We shall not further enlarged on the immunities to Eklinga, or the forms in which they are conveyed, as these will be fully discussed in the account of the shrine of Crishna; but proceed to notice the privileges of the heterodox Jains—the Vedyavan § or Magi of Rajasthan. The numbers and power of these sectarians are little known to Europeans, who take it for granted that they are few and dispersed. To prove the extent of their religious and political power, it will suffice to remark, that the pontiff of the Khartra-gatcha,|| one of the many branches of this faith, has 11,000 clerical disciples scattered over India; that a single com-

* The copy of the *Siva Purana* which I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, was obtained for me by the Rana from the temple of Eklinga.

† Jiva-pitri, the 'Father of Life,' would be a very proper epithet for Mahadeva, the 'creative power,' whose Olympus is Kailas.

‡ Bhola Nath, or the 'Simple God,' is one of the epithets of Siva, whose want of reflection is so great, that he would give away his own divinity if asked.

§ Vedyavan, the 'Man of Secrets or knowledge,' is the term used by way of reproach to the Jains, having the import of *magician*. Their opponents believe them to be possessed of supernatural skill; and it is recorded of the celebrated Umra, author of the *Cosa* or dictionary, called after him, that he miraculously "*made the full moon appear on Amavasya*"—the ides of the month, when the planet is invisible.

|| Khartra signifies 'true,' an epithet of distinction which was bestowed by that great supporter of the Buddhists, or Jains, Sidraj, king of Anhulwara Putun, on one of the branches (*gatcha*), in a grand religious disputation (*bada*) at that capital in the eleventh century. The celebrated Hemachandra Acharya was head of the *Khartra-gatchas*; and his spiritual descendant honoured Oodipur with his presence in his visit to his dioceses in the desert in 1821. My own *Yati* tutor was a disciple of Hemachandra, and his *patravali*, or pedigree, registered his descent by spiritual successions from him.

The pontiff was a man of extensive learning and of estimable character. He was versed in all the ancient inscriptions, to which no key now exists, and decyphered one for me which had been long unintelligible.

munity, the Ossi or Oswal,* numbers 100,000 families; and that more than half of the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jain laity. Rajasthan and Saurashtra are the cradles of the Buddhist or Jain faith, and three out of their five sacred mounts, namely, Abu, Palithana,† and Girna, are in these countries. The officers of the state and revenue are chiefly of the Jain laity, as are the majority of the bankers, from Lahore to the ocean. The chief magistrate and assessors of justice, in Oodipur and most of the towns of Rajasthan, are of this sect; and as their voluntary duties are confined to civil cases, they are as competent in these as they are the reverse in criminal cases from their tenets forbidding the shedding of blood. To this leading feature in their religion they owe their political debasement: for Komarpal, the last king of Anhulwara of the Jain faith, would not march his armies in the rains, from the unavoidable sacrifice of animal life that must have ensued. The strict Jain does not even maintain a lamp during that season, lest it would attract moths to their destruction.

The period of sectarian intolerance is now past; and as far as my observation goes, the ministers of Vishnu, Siva, and Buddha, view each other without malignity; which feeling never appears to have influenced the laity of either sect, who are indiscriminately respectful to the ministers of all religions, whatever be their tenets. It is sufficient that their office is one of sanctity, and that they are ministers of the Divinity, who, they say, excludes the homage of none, in whatever tongue, or whatever manner he is sought; and with this spirit of entire toleration, the devout missionary,

His travelling library was of considerable extent, though chiefly composed of works relating to the ceremonies of his religion: it was in the charge of two of his disciples remarkable for talent, and who, like himself, were perfectly acquainted with all these ancient characters. The pontiff kindly permitted my *Yati* to bring for my inspection, some of the letters of invitation written by his flocks in the desert. These were rolls, some of them several feet in length, containing pictured delineations of their wishes. One from Bikaner represented that city, in one division of which was the school or college of the Jains, where the *Yatis* were all portrayed at their various studies. In another part, a procession of them was quitting the southern gate of the city, the head of which was in the act of delivering a scroll to a messenger, while the pontiff was seen with his *cortege* advancing in the distance. To shew the respect in which these high priests of the Jains are held, the princes of Rajpootana invariably advance outside the walls of their capital to receive and conduct them to it—a mark of respect paid only to princes. On the occasion of the high priest of the *Khartras* passing through Oodipur, as above alluded to, the Rana received him with every distinction.

* So called from the town of Ossa, in Marwar.

† Pali-thana, or 'the abode of the Pali,' is the name of the town at the foot of the sacred mount Satrunjya (signifying '*victorious over the foe*'), on which the Jain temples are sacred to Budhiswara or the '*Lord of the Buddhists*.' I have little doubt that the name of Palithana is derived from the pastoral (*pali*) scythic invaders bringing the Buddhist faith in their train—a faith which appears to me not indigenous to India. Palestine, which, with the whole of Syria and Egypt, was ruled by the Yksos or Shepherd-kings, who for a season expelled the old Coptic race, may have had a similar import to the *Pali-thana* founded by the Indo-Scythic Pali. The author visited all these sacred mounts.

or Moola, would in no country meet more security or hospitable courtesy than among the Rajpoots. They must, however, adopt the toleration they would find practised towards themselves, and not exclude, as some of them do, the races of Surya and Chandra from divine mercy, who, with less arrogance, and more reliance on the compassionate nature of the Creator, say, he has established a variety of paths by which the good may attain beatitude.

Mewar has, from the most remote period, afforded a refuge to the followers of the Jain faith, which was the religion of Ballabhi, the first capital of the Rana's ancestors, and many monuments attest the support this family has granted to its professors in all the vicissitude of their fortunes. One of the best preserved monumental remains in India is a column most elaborately sculptured, full seventy feet in height, dedicated to Parswa-nath in Cheetore. The noblest remains of sacred architecture, not in Mewar only, but throughout Western India, are Buddhist or Jain : and the many ancient cities where this religion was fostered, have inscriptions which evince their prosperity in these countries, with whose history their own is interwoven. In fine, the necrological records of the Jains bear witness to their having occupied a distinguished place in Rajpoot society ; and the privileges they still enjoy, prove that they are not overlooked. It is not my intention to say more on the past or present history of these sectarians, than may be necessary to show the footing on which their establishments are placed ; to which end little is required beyond copies of a few simple warrants and ordinances in their favour. Hereafter I may endeavour to add something to the knowledge already possessed of these deists of Rajasthan, whose singular communities contain mines of knowledge hitherto inaccessible to Europeans. The libraries of Jessulmeer in the desert, of Anulwara, the cradle of their faith, of Cambay, and other places of minor importance, consist of thousands of volumes. These are under the control, not of the priests alone, but of communities of the most wealthy and respectable amongst the laity, and are preserved in the crypts of their temples, which precaution ensured their preservation, as well as that of the statues of their deified teachers, when the temples themselves were destroyed by the Mahomedan invaders who paid more deference to the images of Buddha than to those of Siva or Vishnu. The preservation of the former may be owing to the natural formation of their statues ; for while many of Adinath of Nemi, and of Parswa, have escaped the hammer, there is scarcely an Apollo or a Venus, of any antiquity, entire, from Lahore to Rameswara. The two arms of these theists sufficed for their protections ; while the statues of the polytheists have met with no mercy.

No. V.* is the translation of a grant by the celebrated Rana Raj Sing the gallant and successful opponent of Arungzebe in many a battle.

* Mahrana Sri Raj Sing, commanding.

To the Nobles, Ministers, Patels,(a) Putwaris,(a) of the ten thousand [villages] of Mewar (dossehes) Mewar-ra) according to your stations—read !

1. From remote times, the temples and dwellings of the Jains have been authorized ; let none therefore within their boundaries carry animals to slaughter—this is their ancient privilege.

(a) Revenue officers.

It is at once of a general and special nature, containing a confirmation of the old privileges of the sect, and a mark of favour to a priest of some distinction, called Manoh. It is well known that the first law of the Jains, like that of the ancient Athenian lawgiver Triptolemus, is, "Thou shalt not kill," a precept applicable to every sentient thing. The first clause of this edict, in conformity thereto, prohibits all innovation upon this cherished principle; while the second declares that even the life which is forfeited to the laws is immortal (*amra*) if the victim but passes near their abodes. The third article defines the extent of *sirna*, or sanctuary, the dearest privilege of the races of these regions. The fourth article sanctions the tythes, both on agricultural and commercial produce; and makes no distinction between the Jain priests and those of Siva and Vishnu in this source of income, which will be more fully detailed in the account of Nathdwara. The fifth article is the particular gift to the priest; and the whole closes with the usual anathema against such as may infringe ordinance.

2. Whatever life, whether man or animal, passes their abode for the purpose of being killed, is saved (*amara*)(b).

3. Traitors to the state, robbers, felons escaped confinement, who may fly for sanctuary (*sirna*) to the dwellings (*upasra*) (c) of the *Yatis*, (d) shall not there be seized by the servants of the court.

4. The *kunchi* (e) (handful) at harvest, the *muti* (handful) of *keranoh*, the charity lands (*doli*), grounds, and houses, established by them in the various towns, shall be maintained.

5. This ordinance is issued in consequence of the representation of the *Ric* (f) Manoh, to whom is granted fifteen *bigahs* of *adhan* (g) land and twenty-five of *malati*. (e) The same quantity of each kind in each of the districts of Nimutch and Nimbhaira.—Total in three districts, forty-five *bigahs* of *adhan*, and seventy-five of *mal*. (h)

On seeing this ordinance, let the land be measured and assigned, and let none molest the *Yatis*, but foster their privileges. Cursed be he who infringes them—the cow to the Hindu—hog and corpse to the Musulman.

(By command.)

Samvat 1749, Mahsud 5th, A.D. 1693.

SAH DYAL, (Minister.)

(b) Literally 'immortal,' from *mura*, 'death,' and the privative prefix.

(c) Schools or colleges of the *Yatis*.

(d) Priests of the Jains.

(e) *Kunchi* and *muti* are both a 'handful': the first is applied to grain in the stalk at harvest time; the other to such edibles in merchandise as sugar, raisins, etc., collectively termed *keranoh*.

(f) *Ric* is an ancient title applied to the highest class of priests; *Ric-Ricsha-Ric-iswara*, applied to royalty in old times.

(g) *Adhan* is the richest land, laying under the protection of the town walls; *mal* or *malaiti* land is land not irrigated from wells.

(h) In all a hundred and twenty *bigahs*, or about forty acres.

The edicts Nos. VI. and VII.,* engraved on pillars of stone in the towns of Rasmi and Bakrole, further illustrate the scrupulous observances of the Rana's house towards the Jains; where, in compliance with their peculiar doctrine, the oil-mill and the potter's wheel suspend their revolutions for the four months in the year when insects most abound. Many others of a similar character could be furnished, but these remarks may be concluded with an instance of the influence of the Jains on Rajpoot society, which passed immediately under the author's eye. In the midst of a sacrifice to the god of war, when the victims were rapidly falling by the scymitar, a request preferred by one of them for the life of a goat or a buffalo on the point of immolation, met instant compliance, and the animal, become umara or immortal, with a garland thrown round his neck, was led off in triumph from the blood-stained spot.

NATHDWARA.—This is the most celebrated of the fanes of the Hindu Apollo. Its etymology is 'the portal (*dvara*) of the god' (*nath*), of the same import as his more ancient shrine of *dwaricat* at the 'world's end.' Nathdwarā is twenty-two miles N.N.E. of Oodipur, on the right bank of the Bunas. Although the principal resort of the followers of Vishnu, it has nothing very remarkable in its structure or situation. It owes its celebrity entirely to the image of Krishna, said to be the same that has been worshipped at Mathura ever since his deification, between eleven and twelve hundred years before Christ.† As containing the representative of the middlest of the gods of Hind, Nathdwarā is one of the most frequented places of pilgrimage, though it must want that attraction to the classical Hindu which the caves of Gaya, the shores of the distant Dwarica, or the pastoral Vrij,§ the place of the nativity of Krishna,

* No. VI. Maharaj Chuttur Sing (one of the Rana's sons), commanding.

In the town of Rasmi, whoever slays sheep, buffaloes, goats, or other living thing, is a criminal to the state; his house, cattle, and effects shall be forfeited, and himself expelled the village.

(By command.)

The Pancholi DUMICA DAS.

Pos Sud 14, Samvat 1705, A.D. 1649.

No. VII. Mahrana Jey Sing to the inhabitants of Bakrole; printers, potters, oilmen, &c., &c., commanding.

From the 11th *Asar* (June) to the full moon of *Asoj* (Septembers) none shall drain the waters of the lake; no oil-mill shall work, or eathern vessel be made, during these the four rainy months.

† Dwarica is at the point called Juggut Koont, of the Saurrathas peninsula. *Ca* is the mark of the genitive case: *Dwarca-nath* would be the 'gate of the god.'

‡ Fifty-seven descents are given, both in their sacred and profane genealogies, from Crishna to the princes supposed to have been contemporary with Vicramaditya. The *Yada Bhatti* or *Shamah Bhatti* (the *Asham Betti* of Abul Fuzil), draw their pedigree from Crishna or Yudunath, as do the *Pharejas* of Kutch.

§ With Mathura, as a centre and a radius of eighty miles, describe a circle: all within it is Vrij, which was the seat of whatever was refined in Hinduism, and whose language, the Vrij-bhasha, was the purest dialect of India. Vrij is tantamount to the land of the Suraseni,

present to his imagination ; for though the groves of Vrinda,* in which Kaniya disported with the Gopis, no longer resound to the echoes of his flute ; though the waters of the Yamuna† are daily polluted with the blood of the sacred kine, still it is the holy land of the pilgrim, the sacred Jordan of his fancy, on whose banks he may sit and weep, as did the banished Israelite of old, the glories of Mathura, his Jerusalem !

It was in the reign of Arungzebe that the pastoral divinity was exiled from Vrij, that classic soil, which, during a period of two thousand eight hundred years had been the sanctuary of his worshippers. He had been compelled to occasional flights during the visitations of Mahmood and the first dynasties of Afghan invaders ; though the more tolerant of the Mogul kings not only reinstated him, but were suspected of dividing their faith between Kaniya and the prophet. Akbar was an enthusiast in the mystic poetry of Jayadeva, which paints in glowing colours the loves of Kaniya and Radha, in which lovely personification the refined Hindu abjures all sensual interpretation, asserting its character of pure spiritual love.‡

Jehangeer, by birth half a Rajpoot, was equally indulgent to the worship of Kaniya : but Shah Jehan, also the son of a Rajpoot princess, inclined to the doctrines of Siva, in which he was initiated by Sid-rup the Sanyasi. Sectarian animosity is more virulent than faiths totally dissimilar. Here we see Hindu depressing Hindu : the followers of Siva oppressing those of Kaniya ; the priests of Jupiter driving the pastoral Apollo from the Parnassus of Vrij. At the intercession, however, of a princess of Oodipur, he was replaced on his altar, where he remained till Arungzebe became emperor of the Moguls. In such detestation did the Hindus hold the intolerant king, that in like manner as they supposed the beneficent Akbar to be the devout Mookoond in a former birth, so they make the tyrant's body enclose the soul of Kal-Yamun, the foe of Krishna, ere his apotheosis, from whom he fled to Dwarica, and thence acquired the name of Rinchor.§

derived from Sursen, the ancestor of Krishna, whose capital, Surapuri, is about fifty miles south of Mathura on the Yamuna (Jamna). The remains of this city (Surapuri) the author had the pleasure of discovering. The province of the Surseni, or Suraseni, is defined by Menu, and particularly mentioned by the historians of Alexander.

* *Vrindavana*, or the 'forests of Vrinda,' in which were placed many temples sacred to Kaniya, is on the Yumuna, a few miles above Mathura. A pilgrimage to this temple is indispensable to the true votary of Krishna.

† This river is called the *Kal Yamuna*, or *Black Yamuna*, and *Kali-dah* or the 'black pool,' from Kaniya, having destroyed the hydra Kaliya which infested it. Jayadeva calls the Yamuna, '*the blue daughter of the sun.*'

‡ It affords an example of the Hindu doctrine of the Metempsychosis, as well as of the regard which Akbar's toleration had obtained him, to mention, that they held his body to be animated by the soul of a celebrated Hindu gymnosophist : in support of which they say, he (Akbar) went to his accustomed spot of penance (*tapasya*) at the confluence of the Yamuna and Ganges, and excavated the implements, *vis.*, tongs, gourd, and deer-skin of his anchorite existence.

§ *Rin*, the 'field of battle,' *Chor*, from *chorna*, 'to abandon.' Hence Rinchor, one of the titles under which Krishna is worshipped at Dwarica,

When Arungzebe proscribed Kaniya, and rendered his shrines impure throughout Vrij, Rana Raj Sing "offered the heads one hundred thousand Rajpoots for his service," and the god was conducted by the route of Kotah and Rampura to Mewar. An omen decided the spot of his future residence. As he journeyed to gain the capital of the Seesodias, the chariot-wheel sunk deep into the earth and defied extrication; upon which the *Sookuni* (angur) interpreted the pleasure of the god, that he desired to dwell there. This circumstance occurred at an inconsiderable village called Siarh, in the fief of Dailwara, one of the sixteen nobles of Mewar. Rejoiced at this decided manifestation of favour, the chief hastened to make a perpetual gift of the village and its lands, which was speedily confirmed by the patent of the Rana.* Nathji (*the god*) was removed from his car, and in due time a temple was erected for his reception, when the hamlet of Siarh became the town of Nathdwara, which now contains many thousand inhabitants of all denominations, who, reposing under the especial protection of the god, are exempt from every mortal tribunal. The site is not uninteresting, nor devoid of the means of defence. To the east it is shut in by a cluster of hills, and to the westward flows the Bunas, which nearly bathes the extreme points of the hill. Within these bounds is the sanctuary (*sirna*) of Kaniya, where the criminal is free from pursuit; nor dare the rod of justice appear on the mount, or the foot of the pursuer pass the stream; neither within it can blood be spilt, for the pastoral Kaniya delights not in offerings of this kind. The territory contains within its precincts abundant space for the town, the temple, and the establishments of the priests, as well as for the numerous resident worshippers, and the constant influx of votaries from the most distant regions,

"From Samarcand, by Oxus, Temir's throne,

"Down to the golden Chersonese,"

who find abundant shelter from the noontide blaze in the groves of tamarind, peepul, and semul† where they listen to the mystic hymns of Jayadeva. Here those whom ambition has cloyed, superstition unsettled, satiety disgusted, commerce ruined, or crime disquieted, may be found as ascetic attendants on the mildest of the gods of India. Determined upon renouncing the world, they first renounce the ties that bind them to it, whether family, friends, or fortune, and placing their wealth at the disposal of the deity, stipulate only for a portion of the food dressed for him, and to be permitted to prostrate themselves before him till their allotted time

is most unpropitious to the martial Rajput. Kal-Yamun, the foe from whom he fled, and who is figured as a serpent, is doubtless the Tak, the ancient foe of the Yadus, who slew Janmejaya, emperor of the Pandus.

* Maharana Sri Juggut Sing II., commanding.

The village of Siarh in the hills, of one thousand rupees yearly rent, having been chosen by Nath-ji (*the God*) for his residence, and given up by Rinna Raghude, (a) I have confirmed it. The Gosaen (b) and his heirs shall enjoy it for ever.

Samvat 1793, A.D. 1737.

† The cotton tree, which grows to an immense height.

(a) The chief of Delwara.

(b) There are other grants later than this which prove that all grants were renewed in every new reign. This grant also proves that no chief has the power to alienate without his sovereign's sanction.

is expired. Here no blood-stained sacrifice scares the timid devotee ; no austerities terrify, or tedious ceremonies fatigue him ; he is taught to cherish the hope that he has only to ask for mercy in order to obtain it ; and to believe that the compassionate deity who guarded the lapwing's nest* in the midst of myriads of combatants, who gave beatitude to the courtesan† who has the wall crushed her pronounced the name of "Rama," will not withhold it from him who has quitted the world and its allurements that he may live only in his presence, be fed by the food prepared for himself, and yield up his last sigh invoking the name of Heri. There have been two hundred individuals at a time, many of whom, stipulating merely for food, raiment, and funeral rites, have abandoned all to pass their days in devotion at the shrine : men of every condition, Rajpoot, merchant, and mechanic ; and where sincerity of devotion is the sole expiation, and gifts outweigh penance, they must feel the road smooth to the heaven of hope.

The dead stock of Crishna's shrine is augmented chiefly by those, who hold life "unstable as the dew-drop on the lotus ;" and who are happy to barter "the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind" for the intercessional prayers of the high-priest, and his passport to *Heri-pur*, the heaven of Heri. From the banks of the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges, from the coasts of the Peninsula to the shores of the Red Sea, the gifts of gratitude or of fear are lavishly poured in ; and though the unsettled aspect of the last half century curtailed the transmission of more bulky, but least valuable benefactions, it less affected the bills of exchange from the successful sons of commerce, or the legacies of the dead. The safe arrival of a galleon

* Whoever has unhooded the falcon at a lapwing, or even scared one from her nest, need not be told of its peculiarly distressing scream, as if appealing to sympathy. The allusion here is to the lapwing scared from her nest, as the rival armies of the Curus and Pandus joined in battle, when the compassionate Crishna taking from an elephant's neck a war-bell (*vira ghunta*), covered the nest, in order to protect it. When the majority of the feudal nobles of Marwar became self-exiled, to avoid the almost demoniac fury of their sovereign, since his alliance with the British government, Anar Sing, the chief of Ahore, a fine specimen of the Rahtore Rajpoot, brave, intelligent, and amiable, was one day lamenting, that while all India was enjoying tranquillity under the shield of Britain, they alone were suffering from the caprice of a tyrant ; concluding a powerful appeal to my personal interposition with the foregoing allegory, and observing on the beauty of the office of mediator : "You are all powerful," added he, "and we may be of little account in the grand scale of affairs ; but Crishna condescended to protect even the lapwing's egg in the midst of battle." This brave man knew my anxiety to make their peace with their sovereign, and being acquainted with the allegory, I replied with some fervour, in the same strain. "Would to God, Thakoor Sahib, "I had the *vira-ghunta* to protect you." The effect was instantaneous, and the eye of this manly chieftain, who had often fearlessly encountered the foe in battle, filled with tears as, holding out his hand, he said, "At least you listen to our "griefs, and speak the language of friendship. Say but the word, and you may command the services of twenty thousand Rahtores." There is, indeed, no human being more susceptible of excitement, and, under it, of being led to any desperate purpose, whether for good or for evil, than the Rajpoot.

† Chund, the bard, gives this instance of the compassionate nature of Crishna, taken, as well as the former, from the *Mahabharat*.

from Sofala or Arabia produced as much to the shrine as to the insurance office, for Kaniya is the Saint Nicholas of the Hindu navigator, as was Apollo to the Grecian and Celtic sailors, who purchased the charmed arrows of the god to calm the troubled sea.* A storm accordingly yields in proportion to its violence, or to the nerve of the owner of the vessel. The appearance of a long-denied heir might deprive him of half his patrimony, and force him to lament his parent's distrust in natural causes; while the accidental mistake of touching forbidden food on particular fasts requires expiation, not by flagellation or seclusion, but by the penance of the purse.

There is no donation too great or too trifling for the acceptance of Crishna, from the baronial estate to a patch of meadow-land; from the gemmed coronet to adorn his image, to the widow's mite; nor, as before observed, is there a principality in India which does not diminish its fisc to add to his revenues. What effect the milder rites of the shepherd-god has produced on the adorers of Siva we know not, but assuredly Eklinga, the tutelary divinity of Mewar, has to complain of being defrauded of half his dues since Kaniya transferred his abode from the Yamuna to the Bunas; for the revenues assigned to Kaniya, who under the epithet of "Yellow mantle," has a distinguished niche in the domestic chapel of the Rana, far exceed those of the Avenger. The grants or patents of *Hindupati*,† defining the privileges and immunities of the shrine, are curious documents.‡

* Near the town of Avranches, on the coast of Normandy, is a rock called Mount St. Michel, in ancient times sacred to the Gallic or Celtic Apollo, or Belenus; a name which the author from whom we quote observes, "certainly came from the East, and proves that the littoral provinces of Gaul were visited by the Phœnicians."—"A college of Druidical priestesses was established there, who sold to seafaring men certain arrows endowed with the peculiar virtue of allaying storms, if shot into the waves by a young mariner. Upon the vessel arriving safe, the young archer was sent by the crew to offer thanks and rewards to the priestesses. His presents were accepted in the most graceful manner; and at his departure the fair priestesses, who had received his embraces, presented to him a number of shells, which, afterwards he never failed to use in adorning his person."—*Tour through France*.

When the early Christian warrior consecrated this mount to his protector St. Michel, its name was changed from *Mons Jovis* (being dedicated to Jupiter), to *Tumba*, supposed from *tumulus*, a mount; but as the Saxons and Celts placed pillars on all these mounts, dedicated to the Sun-god Belonus, Bal, or Apollo, it is not unlikely that *Tumba* is from the Sanscrit *thumba*, or *sthumba*, 'a pillar.'

† *Hindupati*, vulgo *Hinduput*, 'chief of the Hindu race,' is a title justly appertaining to the Ranas of Mewar. It has, however, been assumed by chieftains scarcely superior to some of his vassals, though with some degree of pretention by Sevaji, who, had he been spared, might have worked the redemption of his nation, and of the Rana's house, from which he sprung.

‡ No. IX. Sid Sri Maharaja Dheraj Maharana Sri Bhim Sing-ji commanding.

The undermentioned towns and villages were presented to Sri-ji(a) by

(a) Epithet indicative of the greatness of the deity.

The extention of the sanctuary beyond the vicinage of the shrine became a subject of much animadversion; and in delegating judicial authority over the whole of the villages in the grant to the priests, the Rana committed the temporal welfare of his subjects to a class of men not apt to

copper-plate. The revenues (*hasil*), (a) contributions (*burar*), taxes, dues (*lagut-be-lagut*), trees, shrubs, foundations and (boundaries *nim-sim*), shall all belong to Sri-ji. If of my seed, none will ever dispute this.

The ancient copper-plate being lost, I have thus renewed it.

Here follows a list of *thirty-four* entire towns and villages, many from the fisc, or confirmations of the grants of the chiefs, besides various parcels of arable land, from twenty to one hundred and fifty *bigahs*, in forty-six more villages, from chiefs of every class, and patches of meadow-land (*bira*) in twenty more.

No. X. Sri Maharana Bhim Sing-ji, commanding.

To the towns of Sri-ji, or to the [*personal*] lands of the *Gosaenji*, (b) no molestation shall be offered. No warrants or exactions shall be issued or levied upon them. All complaints, suits, or matters, in which justice is required, originating in Nathdwara, shall be settled there; none shall interfere therein, and the decisions of the *Gosaen-ji*. I shall invariably confirm. The town and transit duties(c) (of Nathdwara and villages pertaining thereto), the assay (*purkhaye*)(c) fees from the public markets, duties on precious metals (*kasoli*), (c) all brokerage (*dalali*), and dues collected at the four gates; all contributions and taxes of whatever kind, are presented as an offering to Sri-ji; let the income thereof be placed in Sri-ji's coffers.

All the products of foreign countries imported by the *Vaishnavas*, (d) whether domestic or foreign, and intended for consumption at Nathdwara, (e) shall be exempted from duties. The right of sanctuary (*sirna*) of Sri-ji, both in the town and in all his other villages(f) will be maintain-

(a) Here is another proof that the sovereign can only alienate the revenues (*hasil*); and though everything upon and about the grant, yet, *not the soil*. The *nim-sim* is almost as powerful an expression as the old grant to the Rawdons: —

"From earth to heaven,
From heaven to hell,
For thee and thine
Therein to dwell."

(b) The high-priest.

(c) All these are royalties and the Rana was much blamed, even by his *Vishnuva* ministers, for sacrificing them even to Kaniya.

(d) Followers of Vishnu, Krishna, or Kaniya, chiefly mercantile.

(e) Many merchants, by the connivance of the conductors of the caravans of Nath-ji's goods, contrived to smuggle their goods to Nathdwara, and to the disgrace of the high-priest or his underlings, this traffic was sold for their personal advantage. It was a delicate thing to search these caravans, or to prevent the loss to the state from the evasion of the duties. The Rana durst not interfere, lest he might incur the penalty of his own anathemas. The author's influence with the high-priest put a stop to this.

(f) This extent of sanctuary is an innovation of the present Rana's, with many others equally unwise.

be lenient in the collection of their dues, which not unfrequently led to bloodshed. In alienating the other royalties, especially the transit duties, he was censured even by the zealots. Yet, however, [important such concessions, they were of subordinate value to the rights of sanctuary, which were extended to the whole of the towns in the grant, thereby multiplying the places of refuge for crime, already too numerous.

In all ages and countries the rights of sanctuary have been admitted, and however they may be abused, their institution sprung from humane motives. To check the impulse of revenge and to shelter the weak from oppression are noble objects, and the surest test of a nation's independence is the extent to which they are carried. From the remotest time *sirna* has been the most valued privilege of the Rajpoots, the lowest of whom deems his house a refuge against the most powerful. But we merely propose to discuss the sanctuary of holy places, and more immediately that of the shrine of Kaniya. When Moses, after the Exodus, made a division of the lands of Canaan amongst the Israelites, and appointed "six cities to be the refuge of him who had slain unwittingly, from the avenger of blood,"* the intention was not to afford facilities for eluding justice, but to check the hasty impulse of revenge; for the slayer was only to be protected "until he stood before the congregation of judgment or until the death of the high-priest," which event appears to have considered as the termination of revenge.† The infraction of political sanctuary (*sirna toorna*) often gives rise to the most inveterate feuds; and its abuse by the priest is highly prejudicial to society. Moses appointed but six cities of refuge to the whole Levite tribe; but the Rana has assigned more to one shrine than the entire possessions of that branch of the Israelites, who had but forty-two cities, while Kaniya has forty-six. The motive of sanctuary in Rajasthan may have been originally the same as that of the divine legislator; but the privilege has been abused, and the most notorious criminals deem the temple their best safe-guard. Yet some princes have been found hardy

ed; the Almighty will take cognizance of any innovation. Wherefore, let all chiefs, farmers of duties, beware of molesting the goods of Nath-ji (*the god*), and wherever such may halt, let guards be provided for their security, and let each chief convey them through his bounds in safety. If of my blood, or if my servants, this warrant will be obeyed forever and forever. Whoever resumes this grant will be a caterpillar in hell during 60,000 years.

By command—through the chief butler (*Panairi*) Eklingdas: written by Surut Sing, son of Nathji Pancholi, *Mah-sud* 1st, *Samvat* 1865, A. D. 1809.

* Numbers, chap. xxxv. v. 11. 12.

† Numbers, chap. xxxv. v. 25, and Joshua, chap. xx. v. 6. There was an ancient law of Athens analogous to the Mosaic, by which he who committed "*chance-medley*," should fly the country for a year, during which his relatives made satisfaction to the relatives of the deceased. The Greeks had *asyla* for every description of criminals, which could not be violated without infamy. Gibbon gives a memorable instance of disregard to the sanctuary of St. Julian in Auvergne, by the soldiers of the Frank king Theodoric, who divided the spoils of the altar, and made the priests captives: an impiety not only unsanctioned by the son of Clovis, but punished by the death of the offenders, the restoration of the plunder, and the extension of the right of sanctuary five miles around the sepulchre of the holy martyr.

enough to violate, though indirectly, the sacred *sirna*. Zalim Sing of Kotah, a zealot in all the observances of religion, had the boldness to draw the line when selfish priest-craft interfered with his police; and though he would not demand the culprit or, sacrilegiously drag him from the altar, he has forced him thence by prohibiting the admission of food, and threatening to build up the door of the temple. It was thus the Greeks evaded the laws and compelled the criminal's surrender by kindling fires around the sanctuary. The towns of Kaniya did not often abuse their privilege; but the author once had to interpose, where a priest of Eklinga gave asylum to a felon who had committed murder within the bounds of his domain of Pahona. As this town of eight thousand rupees annual revenue belonging to the fisc, had been gained by a forged charter, the author was glad to seize on the occasion to recommend its resumption, though he thereby incurred the penalty for seizing church land, namely, "*sixty thousand years in hell*." The unusual occurrence created a sensation, but it was so indisputably just that not a voice was raised in opposition.

Let us revert to the endowments of Nathdwara. Herodotus furnishes a powerful instance of the estimation in which sacred offerings were held by the nations of antiquity. He observes that these were transmitted from the remotest nations of Scythia to Delos in Greece; a range far less extensive than the offerings to the Dewul of Apollo in Mewar. The spices of the isles of the Indian archipilego; the balmy spoils of Araby the blest; the nard or frankincense of the Tartary; the raisins and pistachios of Persia; every variety of saccharine preparations, from the *sacarcand* (sugar-candy) of the celestial empire, with which the God sweetens his evening repast, to that more common sort which enters into the *peras* of Mathura, the food of his infancy; the shawls of Cashmere, the silks of Bengal, the scarfs of Benares, the brocades of Guzerat,

"————— the flower and choice
"Of many provinces from bound to bound,"

all contribute to enrich the shrine of Nathdwara. But it is with the votaries of the maritime provinces of India that he has most reason to be satisfied; in the commercial cities of Surat, Cambay, Muscatmandavi, etc., etc., where the Mookhias, or comptrollers deputed by the high priest, reside, to collect the benefactions, and transmit them as occasion requires. A deputy resides on the part of the high-priest at Mooltan, who invests the distant worshippers with the initiative cordon and necklace. Even from Samarcand the pilgrims repair with their offerings; and a sum, seldom less than ten thousand rupees, is annually transmitted by the votaries from the Arabian ports of Muscut, Mocha, and Jidda; which contribution is probably augmented not only by the votaries who dwell at the mouths of the Wolga,* but by the *Samayedet*† of Siberia

* Pallas gives an admirable and evidently faithful account of the worship of Krishna and other Hindu divinities in the city of Astracan, where a Hindu mercantile colony is established. They are termed *Mooltani*, from the place whence they migrated—Mooltan, near the Indus. This class of merchants of the Hindu faith is disseminated over all

† Other travellers besides Pallas have described Hinduism as existing in the remote parts of the Russian Empire, and if nominal resemblances may be admitted, we would instance the strong analogy between the *Samoyeds* and *Tchoudes* of Siberia and Finland, and the *Sama Yadus* and *Joudes* of India. The languages of the two former races are said to

There is not a petty retailer professing the Vishnu creed, who does not carry a tythe of his trade to the stores: and thus caravans of thirty and forty cars, double-yoked, pass twice or thrice annually by the upper road to Nathdwara. These pious bounties are not allowed to moulder in the *bindars*: the apparel is distributed with a liberal hand as the gift of the deity to those who evince their devotion; and the edibles enter daily into the various food prepared at the shrine.

the countries, from the Indus to the Caspian: and it would have been interesting had the professor given us any account of their period of settlement on the western shore of the Caspian sea. In costume and feature, as represented in the plate given by that author, they have nothing to denote their origin; though their divinities might be seated on any altaron the Ganges. The Mooltanis of Indeskoi Dvor, or '*Indian court*,' at Astracan, have erected a patheon, in which Krishna, the god of all Vishnue merchants, is seated in front of Juggernath, Rama, and his brothers, who stand in the back-ground; while Siva and his consort Ashta-bhooja '*the eight-armed*,' form an intermediate line, in which is also placed a statue which Pallas denominates *Moorli*; but Pallas mistook the flute (*moorali*) of the divine Crishna for a rod. The principal figure we shall describe in his own words. "In the middle was placed a small idol with a very high bonnet, called "*Gupaledshi*. At its right there was a large black stone, and on the left two smaller ones of the same colour, brought from the Ganges, and regarded by the Hindu as sacred. These fossils were of the species called *Sankara*, and appeared to be an impression of a bivalve muscle." Minute as is the description, our judgment is further aided by the plate. *Gupaledshi* is evidently Gopalji, the pastoral deity of Vrij (from *gao*, a cow and *pali*, a herdsman). The head-dress worn by him and all the others, is precisely that still worn by Crishna, in the sacred dance at Muttra: and so minute is the delineation, that even the *pera* or sugar-ball is represented, although the professor appears to have been ignorant of its use, as he does not name it. He has likewise omitted to notice the representation of the sacred mount of Girdhana, which separates him from the Hindu Jove and the turreted Cybele (Doorga), his consort. The black stone are the *Saligramas*, worshipped by all *Vishnues*. In the names of "*Nhandigana* and *Gori*," though the first is called a fion saddled, and the other a male divinity, we easily recognise Nandi, the bull-*attendant* (*Gana*) of Siva and his consort Gouri. Were all travellers to describe what they see with the same accuracy as Pallas, they would confer important obligations on society, and might defy criticism.

It is with heartfelt satisfaction I have to record, from the authority of a gentleman who has dwelt amongst the *Hindikis* of Astracan, that distance from their ancient abodes has not deteriorated their character for uprightness. Mr. Mitchell, from whose knowledge of Oriental languages the Royal Asiatic Society will some day derive benefit, says that the reputation of these Hindu colonists, of whom there are about five hundred families, stands very high, and that they bear a preference over all the merchants of other nations settled in this great commercial city.

have a strong affinity, and are classed as *Hindu-Germanic* by M. Klaproth, on whose learned work, "*Asia Polyglotta*," M. Remusat has given the world an interesting *critique*, in his *Mélanges Asiatiques* (tom. i. p. 267), in which he traces these tribes to Central Asia; thus approaching the land of the *Gete* or *Yuti*. Now the *Yutis* and *Yadus* have much

It has been remarked by the celebrated Goguet,* that the custom of offering food to the object of divine homage had its origin in principle of gratitude, the repast being deemed hallowed by presenting the first portion to him who gave it, since the devotee was unable to conceive aught more acceptable than that whereby life is sustained. From the earliest period such offerings have been tendered; and in the burnt-offering (*hom*) of Abel, of the firstling of the flock, and the first portion of the repast presented by the Rajpoot to Anadeva† 'the nourisher,' the motive is the same. But the *pursad* (such is the denomination of the food sacred to Kaniya) is deemed unlucky, if not unholy; a prejudice arising from the heterogenous sources whence it is supplied—often from bequests of the dead. The Mookhias of the temple accordingly carry the sacred food to wheresoever the votaries dwell, which proves an irresistible stimulus to backward zeal, and produces an ample return. At the same time are transmitted, as from the god, dresses of honour corresponding in material and value with the rank of the receiver: a diadem, or fillet of satin and gold, embroidered; a *dugla*, or quilted coat of gold or silver brocade for the cold weather; a scarf of blue and gold: or if to one who prizes the gift less for its intrinsic worth than as a mark of special favour, a fragment of the garland worn on some festival by the god; or a simple necklace, by which he is inaugurated amongst the elect.‡

It has been mentioned that the lands of Mewar appropriated to the shrine are equal in value to a baronial appanage, and as before observed, there is not a principality in India which does not assign a portion of its domain or revenue to this object. The Hara princes of Kotah and Boondi are almost exclusive worshippers of Kaniya, and the regent Zalim

in their early history to warrant the assertion of more than nominal analogy. The annals of the *Yadus* of Jessulmeer state, that long anterior to Vicrama they held dominion from Guzni to Samarcand: that they established themselves in those regions after the Mahabharat, or great war; and were again impelled, on the rise of Islamism, within the Indus. As *Yadus* of the race of Sham or Sam (a title of Crishna), they would be *Sama-Yadus*; in like manner as the *Bhatti* tribe are called *Shama Bhatti*, the *Ashambetti* of Abulfuzil. The race of *Joude* was existing near the Indus in the Emperor Baber's time, who describes them as occupying the mountainous range in the first Do-ab, the very spot mentioned in the annals of the *Yadus* as their place of halt, on quitting India twelve centuries before Christ, and thence called *Jadu* or *Yadu-ca-dung*, the 'hills of *Jadu* or *Yadu*.' The peopling of all these regions, from the Indus to remote Tartary, is attributed to the race of *Ayu* or *Indu*, both signifying the moon, of which are the *Hayas*, *Aswas* (*Asi*), *Yadus*, etc., who spread a common language over all Western Asia. Amongst the few words of *Hindu-Germanic* origin which M. Remusat gives to prove affinity between the Finnish and Samoyede languages is "*Miel*, *Mod*, dans le dialecte Caucasiens, et *Med*, en "Slave," and which, as well as *mead*, the drink of the Scandinavian warrior, is from the Sanscrit *Madhu*, a bee. Hence intoxicated beverage is termed *Madhva*, which supplies another epithet for Krishna, *Madhu* or *Madhava*.

* "Origin of Laws and Government."

† Literally "the giver of food."

‡ *Kaniya ca canti bhandhana*, to bind on [the neck] the chaplet of Kaniya is the initiatory step.

Sing is devoted to the maintenance of the dignity of the establishment. Every thing at Kotah appertains to Kaniya. The prince has but the usufruct of the palace, for which £12,000 are annually transmitted to the shrine. The grand lake east of the town, with all its finny tenants, is under his especial protection;* and the extensive suburb adjoining, with its rents, lands, and transit duties, all belong to the god. Zalim Sing moreover transmits to the high priest the most valuable shawls, broad-cloths, and horses; and throughout the long period of predatory warfare he maintained two Neshans† of a hundred firelocks each, for the protection of the temple. His favourite son also, a child of love, is called Gordhun-das, the 'slave of Gordhun,' one of the many titles of Kaniya. The prince of Marwar went mad from the murder of the high priest of Jaindra, the epithet given to Kaniya in that estate; and the Raja of Sheo-pur,‡ the last of the Gores, lost his sovereignty by abandoning the worship of Hur, for that of Heri. The 'slave' of Radha§ (such was the name of this prince) almost lived in the temple, and used to dance before the statue. Had he upheld the rights of him who wields the trident, the tutelary deity of his capital, Siva-pur, instead of the unwarlike divinity whose unpropitious title of Rinchor should never be borne by the martial Rajpoot, his fall would have been more dignified, though it could not have been retarded when the overwhelming torrent of the Mahrattas under Sindhia swept Rajwarah.¶

A distinction is made between the grants to the temple and those for the personal use of the pontiff, who at least affects never to apply any portion of the former to his own use, and he can scarcely have occasion to do so; but when from the stores of Apollo could be purchased the spices of the isles, the fruits of Persia, and brocades of Guzerat, we may indulge our scepticism in questioning this forbearance: but the abuse has been rectified, and traffic banished from the temple. The personal grant to the high priest¶ ought alone to have sufficed for his household expenditure, being twenty thousand rupees per annum, equal to £100,000 in

* I had one day thrown my net into this lake, which abounded with a variety of fish, when my pastime was interrupted by a message from the regent, Zalim Sing: "Tell Captain Tod that Kotah and all around it are at his disposal; but these fish belong to Kaniya." I of course immediately desisted, and the fish were returned to the safeguard of the deity.

† A Neshana, or standard, is synonymous with a company.

‡ Sheopur or Siva-pur, the city of Sheo or Siva, the god of war, whose battle-shout is *Hur*; and hence one of his epithets, as Heri is that of Crishna or Kaniya.

§ Radha was the name of the chief of the *Gopis* or nymphs of Vriji, and the beloved of Kaniya.

¶ In October 1807 I rambled through all these countries, then scarcely known by name to us. At that time Sheopur was independent, and its prince treated me with the greatest hospitality. In 1809, I witnessed its fall, when following with the embassy in the train of the Mahratta leader.

¶ No. XI. Personal grant to the high-priest, Damodurji Maharaj.

Swesta Sri, from the abode at Udyapur, Maharana Sri Bhim Sing-jji, commanding.

To all the chieftains, landholders, managers of the crown and *dori(a)* lands, to all *Patels*, etc., etc., etc. As an offering to the *Sri Gosaen-jji*

(a) Lands for the queens or others of the immediate household.

Europe. But the ten thousand towns of Mewar, from each of which he levied a crown, now exist only in the old rent-roll, and the heralds of Apollo would in vain attempt to collect their tribute from two thousand villages.

No. XII.* being a grant of privileges to a minor shrine of Kaniya, in his character of *Moorali* or 'flute-player,' contains much information on the minutiae of benefactions, and will afford a good idea of the nature of these revenues.

The predominance of the mild doctrines of Kaniya over the dark rites of Siva, is doubtless beneficial to Rajpoot society. Were the prevention of female immolation the sole good resulting from their prevalence, that alone would conciliate our partiality; a real worshipper of Vishnu should forbid his wife following him to the pyre, as did recently the Boondi prince. In fact, their tenderness to animal life is carried to nearly as great an excess as with the Jains, who shed no blood. Celibacy is not imposed upon the priests of Kaniya, as upon those of Siva: on the contrary, they are enjoined to marry, and the priestly office is hereditary by descent. Their wives do not burn, but are committed, like themselves, to the earth. They inculcate tenderness towards all beings; though whether this feeling influences the mass, must depend on the soil which receives the seed, for the outward ceremonies of religion cost far less effort than the practice or

two rupees have been granted in every village throughout *Mewar*, one in each harvest—let no opposition be made thereto. If of my kin or issue, none will revoke this—the *an* (oath of allegiance) be upon his head. By command, through Purihara Myaram, *Samvat* 1860 *Faet sud* 5th *Munlgulwar*. A. D. 1804.

At one side of the patent, in the Rana's own hand, "An offering to Sri Girdhar-ji(a) Maharaj—If of my issue none will disobey—who dares, may the Almighty punish!"

* No. XII. Maharana Bhim Sing, commanding.

To the Mindra (*Minister*) of Sri Murli Munohur (*flute delighting*), situated on the dam of the lake at Mandelgurh, the following grant has been made, with all the dues, income, and privileges, *viz.*,

1. The hamlet called Kotwal-khera, with all thereto appertaining.
2. Three rupees worth of saffron monthly from the transit duty *chabutra*.
3. From the police-office of Mandelgurh:
Three tunics (*bagha*) for the idol on each festival, *viz.*, *Ushtumi*, *Ful-jatra*, and *Vassunt Panchama*.

Five rupees worth of oil(b) on the *Ful-jatra*, and two and a half in the full moon of *Kartik*.

4. Both gardens under the dam of the lake, with all the fruits and flowers thereof.

5. The *Inch(c)* on all the vegetables appertaining to the prince.

6. *Kunchi* and *dalali*, or the handful at harvest, and all brokerage.

7. The income arising from the sale of the estates is to be applied to the repairs of the temple and dam.*

Megsir sud 1, *Samvat* 1866; A. D. 1810.

(a) Father of the present high-priest, Damodur-ji.

(b) Amongst the items of the Chartulary of Dumfermline, is the title of the oil of the Greenland whale fisheries.

(c) A handful of every basket of vegetables sold in the public markets.

essentials. I have often smiled at the incessant aspirations of the Macchia-velli of Rajasthan, Zalim Sing, who, while he ejaculated the name of the god as he told his beads, was inwardly absorbed by mundane affairs; and when one word would have prevented a civil war, and saved his reputation from the stain of disloyalty to his prince, he was, to use his own words, "at fourscore years and upwards, laying the foundation for another century of life." And thus it is with the prince of Marwar, who esteems the life of a man or a goat of equal value when prompted by revenge to take it. Hope may silence the reproaches of conscience, and gifts and ceremonies may be deemed atonement for a deviation from the first principle of their religion—a benevolence which should comprehend every animated thing. But fortunately the princely worshippers of Kaniya are few in number: it is to the sons of commerce we must look for the effects of these doctrines; and it is my pride and duty to declare that I have known men of both sects, Vishnue and Jain, whose integrity was spotless, and whose philanthropy was unbounded.

CHAPTER XX.

HERI, Krishna, familiarly Kaniya, was of the celebrated tribe of Yadu, the founder of the fifty-six tribes* who obtained the universal sovereignty of India, and descended from Yayati, the third son† of Swayambhuva‡Manu,§ or "The man, Lord of the earth," whose daughter Ella§ (Terra) was espoused by the Budha (Mercury), son of Chandra|| (the Moon), whence the Yadus are styled Chandra-vansi, or "children of the moon." Budha was therefore worshipped as the great ancestor (Pitriswara) of the lunar race: and previous to the apotheosis of Krishna, was adored by all the Yudu race. The principal shrine of Budha was at Dwarica, where he still receives adoration as Budha Trivicrama.¶ Kaniya lived towards the conclusion of the brazen age, calculated to have been about 1100 to 1200 years before Christ.** He was born to the inheritance of Vrij, the country of the Suraseni, comprehending the territory round

* *Chappun cula Yadu.*

† *Qu.*, Japhet?

‡ Also called *Vaiva-swata Manu*—"the man, son of the sun."

§ Ella, the earth—the Saxon *Ertha*. The Germans chiefly worshipped Tuisco or Teutates and Ertha, who are the Budha and Ella of the Rajpoots.

|| A male divinity with the Rajpoots, the Tatars, and ancient Germans.

¶ 'Triple Fnergy,' the *Hermes Triplex* of the Egyptians.

** I shall here subjoin an extract of the rise and progress of Vishnuism as written at my desire by the Mukhia of the temple:

"Twenty-five years of the *Dwapur* (the brazen age) were yet unexpired, when the incarnation (*Avatar*) of Sri Krishna took place. Of these, eleven were passed at Gokul, (a) and fourteen at Mathura. There he used to manifest himself personally, especially at Goverdhun. But when the *Kaliyug* (the iron age) commenced, he retired to Dwarica, an island

(a) A small town and island in the Jumna, below Mathura Hence one of Krishna's titles is Gokul Nath, 'Lord of Gokul.'

Mathura for a space of eighty miles, of which he was unjustly deprived in his infancy by his relative Kansa. From its vicinity to Delhi we may infer, either that there was no lord paramount amongst the Yadus of this period, or that Krishna's family held as vassals of Hastinapur; then, with Indra-prastha or Delhi, [the chief seat of Yadu power. There were two princes named Surasen amongst the immediate predecessors of Krishna: one, his grandfather, the other eight generations anterior. Which of these was the founder of Surapur on the Yamuna, the capital of the Yadus,* we know not, but we may assume that the first gave his name to the region around Mathura, described by Arrian as the country of the Suraseni. Alexander was in India probably about eight centuries after the deification of Krishna, and it is satisfactory to find that the inquiries he instituted into the genealogy of the dynasty then ruling on the Yamuna correspond very closely with those of the Yadus of this distant period; and combined with what Arrian says of the origin of the Pandus, it appears indisputable that the descendants of this powerful branch of the Yadus ruled on the Yamuna when the Macedonian erected the altars of Greece on the Indus. That the personage whose epithets of Krishna-Sham designate his colour as 'the Black Prince' was in fact a distinguished chief of the Yadus, there is not a shadow of doubt; nor that, after his death, they placed him among the gods as an incarnation of Vishnu or the Sun; and from this period we may deduce the Hindu notion of their Trinity. Arrian enumerates the names of *Budæus* and *Cradevas* amongst the early ancestors of the tribe then in power, which would alone convince us that Alexander had access to the genealogies of the *Puranas*; for we can have little hesitation in affirming these to be Budha and Crosthtdeva,

separated by the ocean from Bharatkhand, (a) where he passed a hundred years before he went to heaven. In Samvat, 937 (A.D. 881) God decreed that the Hindu faith should be overturned, and that the Turishka (b) should rule. Then the *jezeva* or capitation-tax, was inflicted on the head of the Hindu. Their faith also suffered much from the Jains and the various infidel (*asura*) sects which abounded. The Jains were so hostile, that Brahma manifested himself in the shape of Sancara Acharya who destroyed them and their religion at Benares. In Guzerat, by their magic, they made the moon appear at Amavus (c). Sancara foretold to its prince, Sid Raj, (d) the flood then approaching, who escaped in a boat and fled to Thoda, on which occasion all the Vedyas (e) (magicians) in that country perished."

* For an account of the discovery of the remains of this ancient city, see *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I., p. 314.

(a) The Channel which separates the island of Dwarica from the main land is filled up, except in spring tides. I passed it when it was dry.

(b) We possess no record of the invasion of India in A. D. 881, by the Turki tribes, half a century after Mahmoud's expedition from Zabulistan against Cheetore, in the reign of Rawul Khoman.

(c) The ides of the month, when the moon is obscured.

(d) He ruled Samvat 1151 (A.D. 1095) to S. 1201 (A.D. 1145).

(e) Still used as a term of reproach to the Jains and Budhists, in which, and others points, as *Ari* (the foe, qu. *Aria*?) they bear a strong resemblance to the followers of the Arian Zerdusht, or Zoroaster. Amongst the other peculiarities the ancient Persian fire-worshipper, like the present Jain, placed a bandage over the mouth while worshipping.

ancestors of Krishna; and that "Mathoras and Clisobaras, the chief cities of the "Suraseni," are the Mathura and Surpur occupied by the descendants of Sursen. Had Arrian afforded as many hints for discussing the analogy between the Hindu and Grecian Apollos as he has for the Hercules of Thebes and India, we might have come to a conclusion that the three chief divinities* of Egypt, Greece, and India, had their altars first erected on the Indus, Ganges, and Jumna.

The earliest objects of adoration in these regions were the sun and moon, whose names designated the two grand races, Surya, and Chandra or Indu. Budha, son of Indu, married Ella, a grandchild of Surya, from which union sprung the Indu race. They deified their ancestor Budha, who continued to be the chief object of adoration until Krishna: hence the worship of Bal-nath† and Budha‡ were coeval. That the Nomadic tribes of Arabia, as well as those of Tartary and India, adored the same objects, we learn from the earliest writers; and Job, the probable contemporary of Hasti, the founder of the first capital of the Yadus on the Ganges, boasts in the midst of his griefs that he had always remained uncorrupted by the Sabeism which surrounded him. "If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my mouth has kissed my hand, this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge, for I should have denied the God that is above."§ That there were many Hindus who, professing a pure monotheism like Job, never kissed the hand either to Surya or his herald Budha, we may easily credit from the sublimity of the notions of the 'One God;' expressed both by the ancients and moderns, by poets and by princes, of both races;|| but more especially by the sons of Budha, who for ages bowed not before graven images, and deemed it impious to raise a temple to

"The Spirit in whose honour shrines are weak."

Hence the Jains, the chief sect of the Budhists, so called from adoring the spirit (Jin), were untinctured with idolatry until the apotheosis of Krishtna,¶ whose mysteries superseded the simpler worship of Budha. Nemnath (*the deified Nemi*) was the pontiff of Budha, and not only the the contemporary of Krishna, but a Yadu, and his near relation; and both had epithets denoting their complexion; for *Arishta*, the surname of Nemi, has the same import as Sham or Krishna, '*the black*,' though the latter is of a less Ethiopic hue than Nemi. It was anterior to the

* Hercules, Mercury, and Apollo; *Bala-ram*, *Budha*, and *Kaniya*.

† The 'God Bal,' the Vivifier, the Sun.

‡ Budha signifies 'wisdom.'

§ Job, Ch. xxxi., v. 16, 27, 28.

|| Chund, the bard, after having separately invoked the three persons of the Hindu triad, says, that he who believes them distinct, "hell will be his portion."

¶ A very curious cause was assigned by an eminent Jain priest for the innovation of enshrining and worshipping the forms of the twenty-four pontiffs: *vis.*, that the worship of Kaniya, before and after the apotheosis, became quite a rage amongst the women, who crowded his shrines, drawing after them all the youth of the Jains; and that, in consequence, they made a statue of Nemi to counteract a fervour that threatened the existence of their faith. It is seldom we are furnished with such rational reasons for religious changes.

schism amongst the sons of Budha that the creative power was degraded under sensual forms, when the pillar rose to Bal or Surya in Syria and on the Ganges: and the serpent, "subtlest beast of all the field," worshipped as the emblem of wisdom (Budha), was conjoined with the symbol of the creative power, as at the shrine of Eklinga, where the brazen serpent is wreathed round the lingam* Budha's descendants, the Indus, preserved the Ophite sign† of their race, when Krishna's followers adopted the eagle as his symbol. These, with the adorers of Surya, form the three idolatrous classes of India, not confined to its modern restricted definition but that of antiquity, when Indus than or Indu-Scythia, extended from the Ganges to the Caspian. In support of the position that the existing polytheism was unknown on the rise of Vishnuism, we may state, that in none of the ancient genealogies do the names of such deities appear as proper names in society, a practice now common; and it is even recorded that the rites of magic, the worship of the host of heaven, and of idols, were introduced from Cashmere, between the periods of Krishna and Vicrama. The powers of nature were personified, and each quality, mental and physical, had its emblem, which the Brahmins taught the ignorant to adopt as realities, till the pantheon became so crowded that life would be too short to acquire even the nomenclature of their "thirty-three millions of Gods."‡ No object was too high or too base, from the glorious Orb to the Rapimi, or paring-knife of the shoemaker. In illustration of the increase of polytheism, I shall describe the seven forms under which Krishna is worshipped, whose statues are established in the various capitals of Rajasthan, and are occasionally brought together at the festival of Anacuta at Nathdwara.

The international wars of the Suryas and the Yadu races, as described in the Ramayana and Mahabharata, are lost between allegory and literal interpretation. The Suryas, or Saivas were depressed; and the Indus, who counted "fifty-six" grand tribes, under the appellation of of takshac 'serpent,' aswa 'horse,' sassu 'hare,' etc., etc., had paramount sway. Krishna's schism produced a new type, that of eagle, and the wars of the schismatics were depicted under their respective emblems, the eagle and serpent, of which latter were the Curus and Takshacs,§ the political

* It was the serpent (Budha) who ravished Ella, daughter of Icshwacu, the son of Manu, whence the distinctive epithet of his descendants in the East, the *Manus*, or men, the very tradition on an ancient sculptured column in the South of India, which evidently points to the primeval mystery. In Portici there is an exact *lingam* entwined with a brazen serpent, brought from the temple of Isis at Pompeii: and many of the same kind, in mosaic, decorate the floors of the dwelling-houses. But the most singular coincidence is in the wreaths of *lingams* and the *yoni* over the door of the minor temple of Isis at Pompeii; while on another front is painted the rape of Venus by Mercury (Budha and Ella). The lunar race, according to the *Purans*, are the issue of the rape of Ella by Budha.

† *Aphah* is a serpent in Hebrew. *Ahi* and *Serp* are two of its many appellations in Sanscrit.

‡ *Tetivres croce devota.*

§ The *Mahabharat* records constant wars from ancient times amongst the children of *Surya* (the sun), and the *Tuk* or *Takshac* (serpent) races. The horse of the sun, liberated preparatory to sacrifice, by the father of Rama, was seized by the *Takshac Anunta*; and Janmejaya, king of Delhi, grandson of Pandu, was killed by one of the same race. In both instances the *Takshac* is literally rendered the *snake*.

adversaries of the Pandus, the relatives of Krishna. The allegory of Krishna's eagle pursuing the serpent Budha, and recovering the books of science and religion with which he fled, is an historical fact disguised : namely, that of Krishna incorporating the doctrines of Budha with his own after the expulsion of the sect from India. Dare we further attempt to lift the veil from this mystery, and trace from the seat of redemption of lost science its original source ?* The gulf of Kutch, the point where the serpent attempted to escape, has been from time immemorial to the present day the entrepot for the commerce of Sofala, the Red Sea, Egypt, and Arabia. There Budha Trivicrama, or Mercury, has been and is yet invoked by the Indian mariners, especially the pirates of Dwarica. Did Budha or Mercury come from, or escape to the Nile ? Is he the *Hermes* of Egypt to whom the "four books of science," like the four *Vedas*† of the Hindus, were sacred ? The statues of Nemi,‡ the representative of Budha, exactly resemble in feature the bust of young memnon.

I have already observed that Krishna, before his own deification, worshipped his great ancestor Budha ; and his temple at *Dwarica* rose over the ancient shrine of the latter, which yet stands. In an inscription from the cave of Gaya their characters are conjoined ; "*Heri who is Budha*." According to western mythology, Apollo and Mercury exchanged symbols, the *caduceus* for the *lyre* ; so likewise in India their characters intermingle : and even the *Saiva* propitiates Heri as the mediator and disposer of the 'divine spark' (*jote*) to its re-union with the 'parent flame' :—thus, like Mercury, he may be said to be the conveyer of the souls of the dead. Accordingly in funeral lamentation his name only is invoked, and *Heri-bol ! Heri-bol !* is emphatically pronounced by those conveying the corpse to its final abode. The *vahan* (*qu.*, the Saxon *van*) or celestial car of Krishna, in which the souls (*ansa*) of the just are conveyed

The successor of Janmejya carried war into the seats of this *Tak* or serpent race, and is said to have sacrificed 20,000 of them in revenge ; but although it is specifically stated that he subsequently compelled them to sign tributary engagements (*Panameh*), the Brahmins have nevertheless distorted a plain historical fact by a literal and puerile interpretation.

The *Parætacæ* (*Mountain-Tak*) of Alexander were doubtless of this race, as was his ally Taxiles, which appellation was titular, as he was called Omphis till his father's death. It is even probable that this name is the Greek *ophis*, (a snake) in which they recognized the tribe of the *Tak Snake*.

Taxiles may be compounded of *es*, 'lord or chief,' *silla*, 'rock or mountain,' and *Tak*, 'Lord of the mountain Tak,' whose capital was in the range west of the Indus. We are indebted to the Emperor Baber for the exact position of the capital of this celebrated race, which he passed in his route of conquest. We have, however, an intermediate notice of it between Alexander and Baber, in the early history of the *Yadu Bhatti*, who came in conflict with the *Taks* on their expulsion from Zabulistan and settlement in the Punjab. *

* The Budhists appeared in this peninsula and the adjacent continent was the cradle Buddhism, and here are three of the "*five*" sacred mounts of their faith, i. e., Girnar, Satrunja and Abu.

† The Budhists and Jains are stigmatized as *Vedyavan*, which, signifying 'possessed of science,' is interpreted 'magician.'

‡ He is called *Arishta-Nemi*, 'the black Nemi,' from his complexion.

to *Surya Mandal*, the 'mansion of the sun,' is painted like himself, blue (indicative of space, or as *Ouranos*), with the eagle's head; and here he partakes of the Mercury of the Greeks, and of *Oulios*, the preserver or saviour, one of the titles of Apollo at Delos.*

The Tartar nations, who are all of *Indu* race, like the Rajpoots and German tribes, adored the moon as a male divinity, and to his son, Budha, they assign the same character of mediator. The serpent is alike the symbol of the Budha of the Hindus, the Hermes of the Egyptians, and the Mercury of Greece: and the allegory of the *Dragon's teeth*, the origin of letters, brought by Cadmus from Egypt, is a version of the Hindu fable of Kaniya (Apollo) wresting the *Vedas* (*secrets*) from Budha or wisdom (*Hermes*), under his sign, the serpent or dragon. We might still further elucidate the resemblance, and by an analysis of the titles and attributes of the Hindu Apollo, prove that from the Yamuna may have been supplied the various incarnations of this divinity, which peopled the pantheons of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. As Nomios, who attended the herds of Admetus, we have Nonita,† the infantine appellation of Kaniya, when he pastured the kine of Cesava in the woods Vrinda, whence the ceremony of the sons of princes assuming the crook, and on particular days tending the flocks.‡ As Muralidhara, or the 'fluteholder,' Kaniya is the god of music; and in giving him the shepherd's reed instead of the *vina* or lyre, we may conjecture that the simple bamboo (*bans*) which formed the first flute (*bansi*) was in use before the *chhatara*,§ the Grecian *cithara*,|| the first invented lyre of Apollo. Thus from the *six-wired*

* The Sun-god (Kan, according to Diodorus) is the Minos of the Egyptians. The hieroglyphics at Turin represent him with the head of an Ibis, or eagle, with an altar before him, on which a shade places his offerings, *vis*, a goose, cakes of bread, and flowers of the lotus, and awaits in humble attitude his doom. In Sanskrit the same word means *soul*, *goose*, and *swan*, and the Hindu poet is always punning upon it; though it might be deemed a levity to represent the immaterial portion under so unclassical an emblem. The lotus flowers are alike sacred to the Kan of the Egyptians as to Kaniya the mediator of the Hindus, and both are painted blue and bird-headed. The claims of Kanaiya (contracted Kan) as the sun divinity of the Hindus, will be abundantly illustrated in the account of the festivals.

† I do not mean to derive any aid from the resemblance of names, which is here merely accidental.

‡ When I heard the octogenarian ruler of Kotah ask his grandson, "Bappa-lal, have you been tending the cows to-day!" my surprise was converted into pleasure on the origin of the customs being thus classically explained.

§ From *chha*, 'six'; and *tar*, 'a string or wire.'

|| Strabo says, the Greeks consider music as originating from Thrace and Asia, of which countries were Orpheus, Musæus, etc.; and that others "who regard *all Asia, as far as India*, as a country sacred to *Dionysius* (Bacchus), attribute to that country the invention of nearly all the science of music. We perceive them sometimes describing *cithara* of the Asiatic, and sometimes applying to flutes the epithet of Phrygian. The names of certain instruments, such as the *nabla*, and others likewise, are taken from barbarous tongues." This *nabla* of Strabo is possibly the *tabla*, the small tabor of India. If Strabo took his orthography from the Persian or Arabic, a single point would constitute the difference between the *N* (*Nu*) and the *T* (*Te*).

instrument of the Hindus we have the Greek *cithara*, the English *cithern*, and the Spanish *guitar* of modern days. The Greeks, following the Egyptians, had but six notes, with their lettered symbols; and it was reserved for the Italians to add a seventh. Guido Aretime, a monk in the thirteenth century, has the credit of this. I however believe the Hindus numbered theirs from the heavenly bodies—the Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn,—hence they had the regular octave, with its semitones: and as, in the pruriency of their fancy, they converted the ascending and descending notes into *grahas*, or planetary bodies, so they may have added them to the harmonious numbers, and produced the *no-ragini*, their *nine* modes of music.* Could we affirm that the hymns composed and set to music by Jayadeva, nearly three thousand years ago, and still chaunted in honour of the Apollo of Vrij, had been handed down with the sentiments of these mystic compositions (and Sir W. Jones sanctions the idea), we should say, from their simplicity that the musicians of that age had only the diatonic scale; but we have every reason to believe, from the very elaborate character of their written music, which is painful and discordant to the ear from its minuteness of subdivision, that they had also the chromatic scale, said to have been invented by Timotheus in the time of Alexander, who might have carried it from the banks of the Indus. In the mystic dance, the *Ras-mandala*, yet imitated on the annual festival sacred to the sun-god Heri, he is represented with a radiant crown in a dancing attitude, playing on the flute to the nymphs encircling him, each holding a musical instrument.

“ In song and dance about the sacred hill ;
Mystical dance, which yonder starry sphere
Of planets, and of fixed, in all her wheels
Resembles nearest, mazes intricate,
Eccentrick, intervolved, yet regular
Then most, when most irregular they seem ;
And in their motions harmony divine
So smooths her charming tones, that God's own ear
Listens delighted.”

Milton, *Book V.* 156.

These nymphs are also called the *no-ragini*, from *raga*, a mode of song over which each presides, and *no-rasa*, or ‘nine passions,’ excited by the powers of harmony. May we not in this trace the origin of Apollo and the sacred nine? In the manner described above, the *ras-mandal* is typical of the zodiacal phenomena; and in each sign a musical nymph is

* An account of the state of musical science amongst the Hindus of early ages, and a comparison between it and that of Europe is yet a desideratum in Oriental literature. From what we already know of the science, it appears to have attained a theoretical precision yet unknown to Europe, and that, at a period when even Greece was little removed from barbarism. The inspirations of the bards of the first ages were all set to music; and the children of the most powerful potentates sang the episodes of the great epics of Valmiki and Vysa. There is a distinguished member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and perhaps the only one who could fill up this *hiatus*; and we may hope that the leisure and inclination of the Right Honourable Sir Ousley will tempt him to enlighten us on this most interesting point.

sculptured, in *alto-relievo*, in the vaulted temples dedicated to the god,* or in secular edifices by way of ornament, as in the triumphal column of Cheetore. On the festival of the Janam, or 'birth-day,' there is a scenic representation of Kaniya and the Gopis: when are rehearsed in the mellifluous accents of the Ionic land of Vrij, the songs of Jayadeva, as addressed by Kaniya to Radha and her companions. A specimen of these, as translated by that elegant scholar Sir W. Jones, may not be considered inappropriate here.

I have had occasion to remark elsewhere,† that the Rajpoot bards, like the heroic Scalds of the north, lose no opportunity of lauding themselves; of which Jayadeva, the bard of the Yadus, has set an eminent example in the opening of "the songs of Govinda."

"If thy soul be delighted with the remembrance of Heri, or sensible to the raptures of love, listen to the voice of Jayadeva, whose notes are both sweet and brilliant."

The poet opens the first interview of Krishna and Radha with an animated description of a night in the rainy season, in which Heri is represented as a wanderer, and Radha, daughter of the shepherd Nanda, is sent to offer him shelter, in their cot. Nanda thus speaks to Radha: "The 'firmament is obscured by clouds; the woodlands are black with Tamala trees; that youth who roves in the forest will be fearful in the gloom of night; go, my daughter, bring the wanderer to my rustic mansion.' Such was the command of Nanda the herdsman, and hence arose the love of Radha and Madhava."‡

The poet proceeds to apostrophize Heri, which the Hindu bard terms *rupaca*, or 'personal description:'

"Oh thou who reclinest on the bosom of Kamala, whose ears flame with gems, and whose locks are embellished with sylvan flowers; thou, from whom the day-star derived his effulgence, who slewest the venom-breathing Kaliya, who beamest like a sun on the tribe of Yadu, that flourished like a lotus; thou, who sittest on the plumage of Garuda, who sippest nectar from the radiant lips of Padma, as the fluttering chacora drinks the moon-beams; be victorious, O Heri."

Jayadeva then introduces Heri in the society of the pastoral nymphs of Vrij, whom he groups with admirable skill, expressing the passion by which each is animated towards the youthful prince with great warmth and elegance of diction. But Radha, indignant that he should divide with them the affection she deemed exclusively her own, flies his presence. Heri, repentant and alarmed, now searches the forest for his beloved, giving vent at each step to impassioned grief. "Woe is me? she feels a sense of injured honour, and has departed in wrath. How will she conduct herself? How will she express her pain in so long a separation? What is wealth to me? What are numerous attendants? What the pleasures of the world? How can I invite thee to return? Grant me but a sight

* I have often been struck with a characteristic analogy in the sculptures of the most ancient Saxon cathedrals in England and on the Continent, to Kaniya and the Gopis. Both may be intended to represent divine harmony. Did the Asi and Jits of Scandinavia, the ancestors of the Saxons, bring them from Asia?

† *Trans. Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. i. p. 146.

‡ *Madhu* in the dialect of Vrij.

of thee, oh! lovely Radha, for my passion torments me. O God of love! mistake me not for Siva. Wound me not again. I love already, but too passionately; yet have I lost my beloved. Brace not thy bow, thou conqueror of the world! My heart is already pierced by arrows from Radha's eyes, black and keen as those of the antelope."

Radha relents and sends a damsel in quest of Heri, whom she finds in a solitary arbour on the banks of the Yamuna. She described her mistress as animated by the same despair which controls him:

"Her face is like a water-lily veiled in the dew of tears, and her eyes are as moons eclipsed. She draws thy picture and worships it, and at the close of every sentence exclaims, 'O Madhava, at thy feet am I fallen! Then she figures the standing before her: she sighs, she smiles, she mourns, she weeps. Her abode, the forest—herself through thy absence is become a timid roe, and love is the tiger who springs on her, like Yama, the genius of death. So emaciated in her beautiful body, that even the light garland which waves over her bosom is a load. The palm of her hand supports her aching temple, motionless as the crescent rising at eve. Thus, O divine healer, by the nectar of thy love must Radha be restored to health; and if thou refusest, thy heart must be harder than the thunder-stone."*

The damsel returns to Radha and reports the condition of Heri, mourning her absence: "Even the hum of the bee distracts him. Misery sits fixed in his heart, and every returning night adds anguish to anguish." She then recommends Radha to seek him. "Delay not, O, loveliest of women; follow the lord of thy heart. Having bound his locks with forest flowers he hastens to yon arbour, where a soft gale breathes over the banks of Yamuna, and there pronouncing thy name, *he modulates his divine reed*. Leave behind thee, O friend, the ring which tinkles on thy delicate ankle when thou sported in the dance. Cast over thee thy azure mantle and run to the shady bower."

But Radha too weak to move, is thus reported to Heri by the same fair mediator. She looks eagerly on all sides in hope of thy approach: she "advances a few steps and falls languid to the ground. She weaves bracelets of fresh leaves, and looking at herself in sport, exclaims, behold the vanquisher of Madha! Then she repeats the name of Heri, and catching at a dark blue cloud,† strives to embrace it, saying, 'it is my beloved who approaches.'"

Midnight arrives, but neither Heri nor the damsel returns, when she gives herself up to the frenzy of despair, exclaiming: "the perfidy of my friend rends my heart. Bring disease and death, O gale of Malaya! Receive me in thy azure wave, O sister of Yama,‡ that the ardour of my heart may be allayed."

The repentant Heri at length returns, and in speech well calculated to win forgiveness, thus pleads his pardon.

"Oh! grant me a draught of honey from the lotus of thy mouth: or if thou art inexorable, grant me death from the arrows of thine eyes;

* We meet with various little philosophical phenomena used as similes in this rhapsody of Jayadeva. These *aerolites*, mentioned by a poet the contemporary of David and Solomon, are but recently known to the European philosopher.

† This is, in allusion to the colour of Krishna, a dark blue.

‡ The Indian Pluto; she is addressing the Yamuna.

make thy arms my chains: thou art my ornaments; thou art the pearl in the ocean of my mortal birth: Thine eyes, which nature formed like blue water-lilies, are become through thy resentment like petals of the crimson lotus. Thy silence affects me; oh! speak with the voice of music, and let thy sweet accents allay my ardour."

"Radha with timid joy, darting her eyes on Govinda, while she musically sounded the rings of her ankles and the *the bells of her zone*,* entered the mystic bower of her beloved. His heart was agitated by her sight, as the waves of the deep are affected by the lunar orb.† From his graceful waist flowed a pale yellow robe,‡ which resembled the golden dust of the water-lily scattered over its blue petals.§ His locks interwoven with blossoms, were like a cloud variegated by the moon-beam. Tears of transport gushed in a stream from the full eyes of Radha, and their watery glances beamed on her best beloved. Even shame, which had before taken its abode in their dark pupils, was itself ashamed.|| and departed when the fawn-eyed Radha gazed on the bright face of Krishna."

The poet proceeds to describe Apollo's bower on the sable Yamuna, as Love's recess; and sanctifies it as,

"The ground
"Where early Love his Psyche's zone unbound."¶

In the morning the blue god aids in Radha's simple toilet. He stains her eye with antimony "which would make the blackest bee envious," places "a circle of musk on her forehead," and intertwines "a chaplet of flowers and peacock's feathers in her dark tresses," replacing "the zone of golden bells." The bard concludes as he commenced, with an eulogium on the inspirations of his muse, which it is evident were set to music. "Whatever is delightful in the modes of music, whatever is graceful in the fine strains of poetry, whatever is exquisite in the sweet art of love, let the happy and wise learn from the songs of Jayadeva."

This mystic dance, the *ras-mandal*, appears analogous to the Pyrrhic dance, or the *fire-dance* of the Egyptians. The movements of those who personate the deity and his fair companions are full of grace, and the dialogue is replete with harmony.** The Chobist†† of Mathura and

* Thus the ancient statues do not present merely the sculptor's fancy in the zone of bells with which they are ornamented.

† This is a favourite metaphor with the bards of India, to describe the alternations of the exciting causes of love; and it is yet more important as shewing that Jayadeva was the philosopher as well as the poet of nature, in making the action of the moon upon the tides the basis of this beautiful simile.

‡ This *yellow robe* or mantle furnishes another title of the Sun-god, viz., *Pitambara*, typical of the resplendence which precedes his rising and setting.

§ It will be again necessary to call to mind the colour of Krishna, to appreciate this elegant metaphor.

|| This idea is quite new.

¶ *Childe Harold*, Canto III.

** The anniversary of the birth of Kaniya is celebrated with splendour at Sindhia's court, where the author frequently witnessed it; during a ten years' residence.

†† The priests of Kaniya, probably so called from the *chob* or club with which, on the annual festival, they assault the castle of Kansa, the

Vrindavana have considerable reputation as vocalists; and the effect of the modulated and deep tones of the adult blending with the clear treble of the juvenile performers, while the time is marked by the cymbal or the soothing monotony of the tabor, accompanied occasionally by the *moorali* or flute, is very pleasing.

We have a Parnassus in Girdhana, from which sacred hill the god derives one of his principal epithets, (Girdhum or Gordhun-nath, '*God of the mount of wealth.*' Here he first gave proofs of miraculous power, and a cave in this hill was the first shrine, on his apotheosis, whence his miracles and oracles were made known to the Yadus. From this cave (*gopha*) is derived another of his titles—*Goph-nath*, 'Lord of the cave,' distinct from his epithet *Gopinath*, 'Lord of Gopis' or pastoral nymphs. On the annual festival held at Girdhana, the sacred mount is purified with copious oblations of milk, for which all the cows of the district are in requisition.

The worship of Krishna in ancient days, like that of Apollo amongst the Greeks, was chiefly celebrated in caves, of which there were many scattered over India. The most remarkable were those of Girdhana in Vrij; Gaya in Behar: *Goph-nath* on the shores of Saurashtra; and *Jalindra** on the Indus. In these dark and mysterious retreats superstition had her full influence over the votaries who sought the commands and deprecated the wrath of the deity: but, as the Mookhia told the author, "the age of oracles and miracles is past;" and the new wheel, which was miraculously furnished each revolving year to supply the place of that which first indicated his desire to abide at Nathdwara, is no longer forthcoming. The old one, which was the signal of his wish, is, however, preserved as a relic, and greatly revered. The statue now worshipped at Nathdwara, as the representative of 'the god of the mount' is said to be the identical image raised in the cave of Girdhana, and brought thence by the high-priest Balba.

As the destroyer of *Kali-nag*, 'the black serpent,' which infested the waters of the Yamuna, Kaniya has the character of the Pythic Apollo. 'He is represented dragging the monster from the black stream,' and bruising him with his foot. He had, however, many battles with his hydra-foe ere he vanquished him, and he was once driven by *Kal-yamun* from Vrij to Dwarica, whence his title of *Rinchor*. Here we have the old allegory of the schismatic wars of the Budhists and Vishnues.

Diodorous informs us that *Kan* was one of the titles of the Egyptian Apollo as the sun; and this is the common contraction for Kaniya, whose colour is a dark cerulean blue (*nila*): and hence his name *Nila-nath*, who, like the Apollo of the Nile, is depicted with the human form and eagle-head, with a lotus in his hand. S and H are permutable letters in the

tyrant usurper of Krishna's birthright, who, like Herod, ordered the slaughter of all the youth of Vrij, that Krishna might not escape. These *Chobis* are most likely the *Sobii* of Alexander, who occupied the chief towns of the Punjab, and who, according to Arrian, worshipped Hercules (*Heri-cul-es*, chief of the race of *Heri*), and were armed with clubs. The mimic assault of Kanoo's castle by some hundreds of these robust church militants, with their long clubs covered with iron rings, is well worth seeing.

* *Jalindra* on the Indus is described by the Emperor Baber is a very singular spot, having numerous caves. The deity of the caves of *Jalindra* is the tutelary deity of the Prince of Marwar,

Bhakka, and Sam or Sham, the god of the Yamuna, may be the *Ham* or *Hammon* of Egypt. Heri accompanied Ramesa to Lanka as did the Egyptian Apollo, Rameses-Sesostris, on his expedition to India? both were attended in their expedition by an army of Satyrs, or tribes bearing the names of different animals: and as we have the *Aswas*, the *Takshaas*, and the *Sassus* of the *Yadu* tribes, typified under the horse, the serpent, and the hare, so the races of *Surya*, of which Rama was the head, may have been designated *Rishi* and *Hanuman*, or bears and monkeys. The distance of the Nile from the Indian shore forms no objection; the sail spread for Ceylon could waft the vessel to the Red Sea, which the fleets of Tyre, of Solomon, and Hiram covered about this very time. That the Hindus navigated the ocean from the earliest ages, the traces of their religion in the isles of the Indian archipelago sufficiently attest; but on this subject we have already said enough.

The coincidence between the most common epithets of the Apollos of Greece and India, as applied to the sun, are peculiarly striking. Heri, as Bhan-nath, 'the lord of beams,' is Phœbus, and his heaven is *Heripur* (Heliopolis), or 'city of Heri.* *Helios* was a title of Apollo, whence the Greeks had their Elysium, the *Heripur* or *Bhan-than* (the abode of the sun), the highest of the heavens or abodes of bliss of the martial Rajpoot. Hence the eagle (the emblem of Heri as the sun)† was adopted by the western warrior as the symbol of victory.

The *Dii Majores* of the Rajpoot are the same in number and title as amongst the Greeks and Romans, being the deities who figuratively preside over the planetary system. Their grades of bliss are therefore in unison with the eccentricity of orbit of the planet named. On this account Chandra or Indu, the moon, being a mere satellite of Ella, the earth, though probably originating the name of the *Indu* race, is inferior in the scale of blissful abodes to that of his son Budha or Mercury, whose heliacal appearance gave him importance even with the sons of Vaiva, the sun. From the poetic seers of the martial races we learn that there are two distinct places of reward; the one essentially spiritual, the other of a material nature. The bard inculcates that the warrior who falls in battle in the fulfilment of his duty, "who abandons life through the wave of steel," will know no "second birth," but that the unconfined spark (*jote*) will reunite to the parent orb. The doctrine of transmigration through a variety of hideous forms, may be considered as a series of purgatories.

* "In Hebrew *heres* signifies the sun, but in Arabic the meaning of the radical word is to guard, preserve; and of *haris*, guardian, preserver." —Volney's *Ruins of Empires*, p. 316.

† The heaven of *Vishnu*, *Vaicuntha* is entirely of gold, and 80,000 miles in circumference. Its edifices, pillars, and ornaments, are composed of precious stones. The crystal waters of the Ganges form a river in *Vaicuntha*, where are lakes filled with blue, red, and white water-lilies, each of a hundred and even of a thousand petals. On a throne glorious as the meridian sun resting on water-lilies, is *Vishnu* with *Lakshmi* or *Sri*, the goddess of abundance (the *Ceres* of the Egyptians and Greeks), on his right hand, surrounded by spirits who constantly celebrate the praise of *Vishnu* and *Lakshmi*, who are served by his votaries, and to whom the eagle (*Garuda*) is door-keeper.—Extract from the *Mahabharat*,—See *Ward On the History and Religion of the Hindus*, Vol. ii. p. 14.

The Greeks and Celts worshipped Apollo under the title of Carneios, which "selon le scholiaste de Theocrite" is derived from Carnos, "qui ne prophetisoit que des malheurs aux Heraclides lors de leur incursion dans le Peloponnese. Un deux appelle *Hippotes*, le tua dun coup de fileche." Now one of the titles of the Hindu Apollo is Carna, 'the radiant'; from *carna*, 'a ray:' and when he led the remains of the *Heri*culas in company with Baldeva (*the god of strength*), and Yudhishthira, after the great international war, into the Peloponnesus of Saurashtra, they were attacked by the aboriginal Bhills, one of whom slew the divine Carna with an arrow. The Bhills claim to be of *Hayavansa*, or the race of *Haya*, whose chief seat was at Maheswar on the Nerbudda: the assassin of Carna would consequently be Hiputa, or descendant of *Haya*.*

The most celebrated of the monuments commonly termed Druidic, scattered throughout Europe, is at Carnac in Brittany, on which coast the Celtic Apollo had his shrines, and was propitiated under the title of Carneus; and this monument may be considered at once sacred to the manes of the warriors and the sun-god Carneus. Thus the Roman Saturnalia, the *carnivale*, has a better etymology in the festival to Carneus, as the sun, than in the "adieu to flesh" during the fast. The character of this festival is entirely oriental, and accompanied with the licentiousness which belonged to the celebration of the powers of nature. Even now, although Christianity has banished the grosser forms, it partakes more of a Pagan than a Christian ceremony.

Of the festivals of Krishna the *Anacuta* is the most remarkable; when the seven statues were brought from the different capitals of Rajasthan, and mountains (*cuta*) of food (*ana*) piled up for their repast, at a given signal are levelled by the myriads of votaries assembled from all parts.—About eighty years ago, on a memorable assemblage at the Anacuta, before warfare had devastated Rajasthan, and circumscribed the means of the faithful disciples of Heri, amongst the multitude of *Vishnues* of every region were almost all the Rajpoot princes; Rana Ursi of Mewar, Raja Beejy Sing of Marwar, Raja Guj Sing of Bikaner, and Bahadur Sing of Kishengurh. Rana Ursi presented to the god a *tora*, or massive golden anklet-chain set with emeralds: Beejy Sing a diamond necklace worth twenty-five thousand rupees: the other princes according to their means. They were followed by an old woman of Surat, with infirm step and shaking head, who deposited four coppers in the hand of the high-priest, which were received with a gracious smile, not vouchsafed to the lords of the earth. "The Rana is in luck," whispered the chief of Kishengurh to the Rana. Soon afterwards the statue of Heri was brought forth, when the same old woman placed at its feet a bill of exchange for seventy thousand rupees. The mighty were humbled, and the smile of the *Gosaen* was explained. Such gifts, and to a yet greater amount, are, or were, by no means uncommon from the sons of commerce, who are only known to belong to the flock from the distinguishing necklace of the sect.†

* Supposing these coincidences in the fabulous history of the ancient nations of Greece and Asia to be merely fortuitous, they must excite interest, when compared with various others in the history of the *Heri*culas of India and the *Heracles* of Greece, I cannot resist the idea that they were connected.

† Gibbon records a similar offering of 200,000 sesterces to the Roman church, by a stranger, in the reign of Decius.

The predatory system which reduced these countries to a state of the most degraded anarchy, greatly diminished the number of pilgrimages to Nathdwara; and the gods of Vrij had sufficient prescience to know that they could guard neither their priests nor followers from the Pathan and Mahratta, to whom the crown of the god, or the *nutna* (nose-jewel) of Radha, would be alike acceptable: nor would they have scrupled to retain both the deities and priests as hostages for such imposition as they might deem within their means. Accordingly, of late years, there had been no congress of the gods of Vrij, who remained fixtures on their altars till the halcyon days of A.D. 1818 permitted their liberation.*

The seven statues of Kaniya were brought together by the high-priest Balba, who established the festival of the Anacuta. They remained in the same sanctuary until the time of Girdhari, the grandson of Balba, who having seven sons, gave to each a *rupa* or statue, and whose descendants continue in the office of priest. The names and present abodes of the gods are as follows:

Nath-ji, the god, or Gordhan-Nath, god of the mount.....Nathdwara.

1. Nonita	...	...	Nathdwara.
2. Mathura-Nath...	...	...	Kotah.
3. Dwar-ca-Nath...	...	...	Kankerowli.
4. Gokul-Nath, or Gokul-Chandrama	...	...	Jeypur.
5. Yadu-Nath	...	...	Surat.
6. Vital-Nath	...	...	Kotah.
7. Mudun Mohuna	...	...	Jeypur.

Nath-ji is not enumerated amongst the forms; he stands supreme.

Nonita, or Nonanda, the juvenile Kaniya, has his altar separate, though close to Nath-ji. He is also styled Bala-mokund, 'the blessed child,' and is depicted as an infant with a *pera** or comit-ball in his hand. This image, which was one of the *penates* of a former age, and which, since the destruction of the shrines of Krishna by the Islamites, had lain in the Yamuna, attached itself to the sacerdotal zone (*sunn*) of the high-priest Balba, while he was performing his ablutions, who, carrying it home, placed it in a niche of the temple and worshipped it; and Nonanda yet receives the peculiar homage of the high-priest, and his family as their household divinity. Of the second image, Mathura Nath,

* I enjoyed no small degree of favour with the supreme pontiff of the shrine of Apollo and all his votraies, for effecting a meeting of the seven statues of Vishnu in 1820. In contriving this I had not only to reconcile ancient animosities between the priests of the different shrines, in order to obtain a free passport for the gods, but to pledge myself to the princes in whose capitals they were established, for their safe return; for they dreaded lest bribery might entice the priests to fix them elsewhere, which would have involved their loss of sanctity, dignity, and property. It cost me no little trouble, and still more anxiety, to keep the assembled multitudes at peace with each other, for they are as quarrelsome as any sectarians in contesting the supreme power and worth of their respective forms (*rupa*). Yet they all separated, not only without any quarrel, but without even any attempt at robbery, so common on such occasions.

* The *pera* of Mathura can only be made from the waters of the Yamuna, from whence it is still conveyed to Nonanda at Nathdwara, and with curds forms his evening repast.

there is no particular mention ; it was at one time at Kamnorh in Mewar, but is now at Kotah.

Balkrishna, the third son, had Dwar-ca-Nath, which statue, now Kankerowli in Mewar, is asserted to be the identical image that received the adoration of Raja Umrika, a prince of the solar race who lived in the *Satya-Yuga*, or silver age. The 'god mount' revealed himself in a dream to his high-priest, and told him of the domicile of this his representative at Kanouj. Thither Balba repaired, and having obtained it from the *Brahmin*, appointed Damodur-das Khetri to officiate at his altar.

The fourth statue, that of Gokul Chandrama (i.e., the *moon* of Gokul), had an equally mysterious origin, having been discovered in a deep ravine on the banks of the river ; Balba assigned it to his brother-in-law. Gokul is an island on the Jumna, a few miles below Mathura, and celebrated in the early history of the pastoral divinity. The residence of this image at Jeypur does not deprive the little island of its honours as a place of pilgrimage ; for the '*god of Gokul*' has an altar on the original site, and his rites are performed by an aged priestess, who disowns the jurisdiction of the high-priest of Nathdwara, both in the spiritual and temporal concerns of her shrine ; and who, to the no small scandal of all who are interested in Appollo, appealed from the fiat of the high-priest to the British court of justice. The royal grants of the Mogul emperors were produced, which proved the right to lay in the high-priest, though a long period of almost undisturbed authority had created a feeling of independent control in the family of the priestess, which they desired might continue. A compromise ensued, when the author was instrumental in restoring harmony to the shrines of Appollo.

The fifth, Yadu-Nath, is the deified ancestor of the whole *Yadu* race. This image, now at Surat, formerly adorned the shrine of Mahavan near Mathura, which was destroyed by Mahmud.

The sixth, Vitul-Nath, or Pandurang, was found in the Ganges at Benares. *Samvat* 1572, from which we may judge of their habit of multiplying divinities.

The seventh, Modun Mohuna. "he who intoxicates with desire," the seductive lover of Radha and the *Gopis*, has his rites performed by a female. The present priestess of Mohuna is the mother of Damodara, the supreme head of all who adore the Appollo of Vrij.

I am not aware of the precise period of Balba Acharya, who thus collected the seven images of Krishna now in Rajasthan ; but he must have lived about the time of the last of the Lodi kings, at the period of the conquest of India by the Moguls. The present pontiff, Damodara, as before said, is his lineal descendant ; and whether in addressing him verbally or by letter, he is styled *Moharaja* or 'great prince.'*

* *Gosaen* is a title more applicable to the *celibataire* worshippers of Hari than of Heri—of Jupiter than of Appollo. It is alleged that the Emperor Akbar first bestowed this epithet on the highest priest of Krishna, whose rites attracted his regard. They were previously called *Dikhit* 'one who performs sacrifice,' a name given to very numerous class of Brahmins.

The *Gotra Acharya*, or genealogical creed of the high-priest, is as follows : "*Tylung Brahmin, Bhardwaja gotra, Guracula, Tyturi sakha, i.e., Brahmin of Telingana, of the tribe of Bhardwaja, of the race of Guru, of the branch Tyturi.*"

As the supreme head of the Vishnu sect, his person is held to be *Ansa*, or "a portion of the divinity;" and it is maintained that so late as the father of the present incumbent, the god manifested himself and conversed with the high-priest. The present pontiff is now about thirty years of age. He is of a benign aspect, with much dignity of demeanour: courteous, yet exacting the homage due to his high calling: meek, as becomes the priest of the Govinda, but with the finished manners of one accustomed to the first society. His features are finely moulded, and his complexion good. He is about the middle size, though as he rises to no mortal, I could not exactly judge of his height. When I saw him he had one only daughter, to whom he is much attached. He has but one wife, nor does Krishna allow polygamy to his priest. In times of danger, like some of his prototypes in the dark ages of Europe, he poised the lance, and found it more effective than spiritual anathemas, against those who would first adore the god, and then plunder him. Such were the Mahratta chiefs Jesswunt Rao Holkar and Bapoo Sindhia. Damodara accordingly made the tour of his extensive diocese at the head of four hundred horse, two standards of foot, and two field-pieces. He rode the finest mares in the country; laid aside his pontificals for the quilted *dugla*, and was summoned to matins by the kettle-drum instead of the bell and cymbal. In this he only imitated Kaniya, who often mixed in the ranks of battle, and "died his saffron robe in the red-stained field." Had Damodara been captured on one of these occasions by any marauding Pathan, and incarcerated, as he assuredly would have been, for ransom, the marauder might have replied to the Rana, as did the Plantagenet king to the Pope, when the surrender of the captive church-militant bishop was demanded, "Is this thy son Joseph's coat?" But, notwithstanding this display of martial principle, which covered with a helmet the shaven crown, his conduct and character are amiable and unexceptionable, and he furnishes a striking contrast to the late head of the Vishnu establishments in Marwar, who commenced with the care of his master's conscience, and ended with that of the state; meek and unassuming till he added temporal* to spiritual power, which developed unlimited pride, with all the qualities that too often wait on "a little brief authority," and to the display of which he fell a victim. Damodara,† similarly circumstanced, might have evinced the same failings, and have met the same end; but though endeavours were made to give him political influence at the Rana's court, yet, partly from his own good sense, and partly through the dissuasion of the Nestor of Kotah (Zalim Sing), he was not entrained in the vortex of its intrigues, which must have involved the sacrifice of wealth and the proper dignity of his station.

* The high-priest of Jalindra-nath used to appear at the Head of a cavalcade far more numerous than any feudal lord of Marwar.—See *Dict. de l' Anc. Regime*, p. 380.

† The first letter I received on reaching England after my long residence in India was from this priest, filled with anxious expressions for my health, and speedy return to protect the lands and sacred kine of Apollo.

CHAPTER XXI.

IT has been observed by that philosophical traveller Dr. Clarke, that, "by a proper attention to the vestiges of ancient superstition, we are sometimes enabled to refer a whole people to their original ancestors, with as much, if not more certainty, than by observations made upon their language; because the superstition is engrafted upon the stock, but the language is liable to change."* Impressed with the justness, as well as the originality of the remark, I shall adopt it as my guide in the observations I propose to make on the religious festivals and superstitions of Mewar. However important may be the study of military, civil, and political history, the science is incomplete without mythological history; and he is little imbued with the spirit of philosophy, who can perceive in the fables of antiquity nothing but the extravagance of a fervid imagination. Did no other consequence result from the study of mythology, than the fact, that, in all ages and countries, man has desecrated his reason, and voluntarily reduced himself below the level of the brutes that perish, it must provoke inquiry into the cause of this degradation. Such an investigation would develop, not only the source of history, the handmaid of the arts and sciences, but the origin and application of the latter, in a theogony typical of the seasons, their changes, and products. Thus mythology may be considered the parent of all history.

With regard, however, to the rude tribes who still inhabit the mountains and fastnesses of India, and who may be regarded as the aborigines of that country, the converse of this doctrine is more probable. Not their language only, but their superstitions, differ from those of the Rajpoots: though, from a desire to rise above their natural condition, they have engrafted upon their own the most popular mythologies of their civilized conquerors, who from the north gradually spread themselves over the continent and peninsula, even to the remote isles of the Indian ocean. Of the primitive inhabitants we may enumerate the Meenas, the Meras, the Goonds, the Bhils, the Seryas, the Sarjas, the Ahiras, the Goojurs, and those who inhabit the forests of the Nerbudda, the Sone, the Mahanadi, the mountains of Sargooja, and the lesser Nagpur; many of whom are still but little removed from savage life, and whose dialects are as various as their manners. These are content to be called the 'sons of the earth,'† or children of the forest,‡ while their conquerors, the Rajpoots, arrogate celestial descent.§ How soon after the flood the Suryas, or sun worshippers, entered India Proper, must ever remain uncertain. It is sufficient that they were anterior in date to the Indus, or races tracing their descent from the moon (Ind); as the migration of the latter from the central lands of Indo-Scythia was antecedent to that of the Agniculas, or fire-worshippers, of the Snake race, claiming Takshac as their original progenitor. The Suryas,|| who migrated both to the East and West, as population became

* *Travels in Scandinavia*, Vol. I. p. 33.

† *Bhumaputra*. ‡ *Vanaputra*. § *Surya*-, and *Induputras*.

|| The Sauromatia, or Sarmatians of early Europe, as well as the Syrians, were most probably colonies of the same Suryavansi, who simultaneously peopled the shores of the Caspian and Mediterranean, and the banks of the Indus and Ganges. Many of the tribes described by Strabo as dwelling around the Caspian, are enumerated amongst the thirty-six royal races of India. One of these, the *Sacaseni*, supposed to be the ancestors of our own Saxon race, settled themselves on the Araxes in Armenia, adjoining Albania.

redundant in these fertile regions, may be considered the *Celtic*, as the Indu-Getæ may be accounted the *Gothic*, races of India. To attempt to discriminate these different races, and mark the shades which once separated them, after a system of priestcraft has amalgamated the mass, and identified their superstitions, would be fruitless; but the observer of ancient customs may, with the imperfect guidance of peculiar rites, discover things, and even names, totally incongruous with the Brahminical system, and which could never have originated within the Indus or Uttuc—the Rubicon of Gangetic antiquarians, who fear to look beyond that stream for the origin of tribes. A residence amongst the Rajpoots would lead to a disregard of such boundaries, either to the moral or physical man, as the annals of Mewar abundantly testify.

Sir Wm. Jones remarks, "if the festivals of the old Greeks, Persians, Romans, Egyptians and Goths, could be arranged with exactness in the same form with the Indian, there would be found a striking resemblance, among them; and an attentive comparison of them all, might throw great light on the religion, and perhaps on the history, of the primitive world."

In treating of the festivals and superstitions of the Rajpoots, wherever there may appear to be a fair ground for supposing an analogy with those of other nations of antiquity, I shall not hesitate to pursue it. The proper names of many of the martial Rajpoots would alone point out the necessity of seeking for a solution of them out of the explored paths; and where Sanskrit derivation cannot be assigned, as it happens in many instances, we are not, therefore, warranted in the hasty conclusion that the names must have been adopted since the conquests of Mahmoud or Shabudin, events of comparatively modern date. Let us at once admit the hypothesis of Pinkerton,—the establishment of an original Indu-Getic or Indo-Scythic empire, "extending from the Caspian to the Ganges;" or if this conjecture be too extensive or too vague, let us fix the centre of this *Madhya-Bhumi* in the fertile region of Sogdiana;* and from the lights which modern history affords on the many migrations from this nursery of mankind, even since the time of Mahomed, let us form an opinion of those which have not been recorded, or have been conveyed by the Hindus only in imperfect allegory; and with the aid of ancient customs, obsolete words and proper names, trace them to Indo-Scythic colonies grafted on the parent stock. The *Purans* themselves bear testimony to the incorporation of Scythic tribes with the Hindus, and to the continual irruptions of the Sacæ, the Pelavi, the Yavans,† the Turshkas, names conspicuous amongst the races of Central Asia, and recorded in the pages of the earliest Western historians. Even so early as the period of Rama, when furious international wars were carried on between the military and sacerdotal classes for supremacy, we have the names of these tribes recorded as auxiliaries to the priesthood; who, while admitting them to fight under the banners of Siva, would not scruple to

* Long after the overthrow of the Greek kingdom of Bactria by the Yuti or Getes, this region was populous and flourishing.—See *Hist. Gen. des Huns*, Vol. I. p. 51.

† Yavan or Javan is a celebrated link of the Indu (*lunar*) genealogical chain; nor need we go to Ionia for it, though the Ionians may be a colony descended from Javan, the ninth from Yayati, who was the third son of Ayu, the ancestor of the Hindu as well as of the Tatar Indu-vansi. The *asuras*, who are so often described as invaders of India, and which word has ordinarily a mere irreligious acceptation, I firmly believe to mean the Assyrians.

stamp them with the seal of Hinduism. In this manner, beyond a doubt, at a much later period than the events in the *Ramayana*, these tribes from the North either forced themselves among, or were incorporated with, the races of the sun. When therefore, we meet with rites in Rajpootana and in ancient Scandinavia, such as were practised amongst the Getic nations on the Oxus, why should we hesitate to assign the origin of both to this region of earliest civilization? When we see the ancient Asi, and the Yeuts, or Juts, taking omens from the white steed of Thor, shut up in the temple at Upsala; and in like manner, the Rajpoot of past days offering the same animal in sacrifice to the sun, and his modern descendant taking the omen from his neigh, why are we to refuse our assent to the common origin of the superstition practised by the Getae of the Oxus? Again, when we find the "*homage to the sword*" performed by all the Getic races of antiquity in Dacia, on the Baltic, as well as by the modern Rajpoot, shall we draw no conclusion from this testimony of the father of history, who declares that such rites were practised on the Jaxartes in the very dawn of knowledge? Moreover, why hesitate to give Eastern etymologies for Eastern rites, though found on the Baltic? The antiquarian of the North (Mallet) may thus be assisted to the etymon of '*Tir-sing*,' the enchanted sword of Angantyr, in *tir* 'water,' and *sing* 'a lion'; i. e., in water or spirit like a lion; for even *pani*, the common epithet for water, is applied metaphorically to 'spirit.'

It would be less difficult to find Sanskrit derivations for many of the proper names in the *Edda*, than to give a Sanskrit analysis of many common amongst the Rajpoots, which we must trace to an Indo-Scythic root: * such as Eyvorsel, Udila, Attitai, Pujoon, Hamira, and numerous other proper names of warriors. Of tribes: the Cathi, Rajpali, Mohila, Sariaspah, Aswaria (*qu.*, Assyrian), Binafur, Camari, Silara, Dahima, etc. Of mountains: Drunadhar, Arabudha, Aravali, Aravindhha (the root *ara*, or mountain, being Scythic, and the expletive adjunct Sanskrit,) 'the hill of Budha,' 'of strength,' 'of limit.' To all such as cannot be resolved into the cognate language of India, what origin can we assign but Scythic?†

* See Turner's *Hist. of Anglo-Saxons* for Indo-Scythic words.

† There were no less than four distinguished leaders of this name amongst the vassals of the last Rajpoot emperor of Delhi; and one of them, who turned traitor, to his sovereign and joined Shabudin, was actually a Scythian, and of the Ghiker race, which maintained their ancient habits of polyandrisms even in Babar's time. The *Haoli Rao* Hamira was lord of Kangra and the Ghikers of Pamer.

‡ Turner, when discussing the history of the *Sakai* or *Sacaseni*, of the Caspian, whom he justly supposes to be the Saxons of the Baltic, takes occasion to introduce some words of Scythic origin (preserved by ancient writers), to almost every one of which, without straining etymology, we may give a Sanskrit origin.

Scythic.

Sanskrit or Bakha.

Exampaiois ... sacred ways ... *Agham* is the sacred book; *pai* and *pada*, a foot; *pante*, a path.

Arimu ... one ... *Ad* is the first; whence *Adima*, or man.

Spou ... an eye.

Oior ... a man.

Pata ... to kill ... *Badha*, to kill.

Tahiti ... the chief deity, *Tapi* is heat or flame; the type of is *Vesta*. *Vesta*.

In a memoir prepared for me by a well-informed public officer in the Rana's court, on the chief festivals celebrated in Mewar, he commenced with those following the autumnal equinox, in the month Asoj or Aswini, opening with the *Noratri*, sacred to the god of war. Their fasts are in general regulated by the moon; although the most remarkable are solar, especially those of the equinoxes and solstices, and the *Sancrantis*, or days on which the sun enters a new sign. The Hindu solar year anciently commenced on the winter solstice, in the month Posha, and was emphatically called "*the morning of the gods*;" also Sivrat, or night of Siva, analogous, as has been before remarked, to the '*mother night*,' which ushered in the new year of the Scandinavian Asi, and other nations of Asiatic origin dwelling in the north.

They term the summer solstice in the month of Asar, '*the night of the gods*,' because Vishnu (as the sun) reposes during the four rainy months on his serpent couch. The lunar year of 360 days was more ancient than the solar, and commenced with the month of Asoj or Aswini: "the moon being at the full when that name was imposed on the first lunar station of the Hindu ecliptic."*

According to another authority, the festivals commenced on Amavus, or the '*ides*' of Cheyt, near which the vernal equinox falls, the opening of the modern solar year; when, in like manner as at the commencement of the lunar year in Asoj, they dedicate the first nine days of Cheyt (also called *Noratri*) to Iswara and his consort Isa.

Having thus specified both modes of reckoning for the opening of the solar and lunar years, I shall not commence the abstract of the festivals of Mewar with either, but follow the more ancient division of time, when the year closed with the winter solstice in the month of Posh, consequently opening the new year with Magh. By this arrangement, we shall commence with the spring-festivals, and let the days dedicated to mirth and gaiety follow each other; preferring the natural to the astrological year, which will enable us to preserve the analogy with the northern nations of Europe, who also reckoned from the winter solstice. The Hindu divides the year into six seasons, each of two months; *vis*., Vassanta, Greeshma, Varsha, Sharat, Shishira, Sheeta; or spring, summer, rainy, sultry, dewy, and cold.

Papaïos ...	... Jupiter ...	... Baba, or Bapa, the universal father. The Hindu Jivapitri, or <i>Father of Life</i> .
Oitosuros	... Apollo ...	... Aitishwara, or <i>sun-God</i> , applicable to Vishnu, who has every attribute of Apollo; from <i>ait</i> contraction of <i>aditya</i> , the sun.
Artimpasa, or Aripasa.....	Venus...	Apsara, because born from the froth or essence, ' <i>sara</i> ,' of the waters, ' <i>ap</i> .'
Thamimasadus ...	Neptune	... Thoenatha; or, <i>God of the Waters</i> .
Apiā ...	... Wife of Papaïos or Earth.	Amba, Ama, Omia is the <i>universal mother</i> : wife of "Baba Adam," as they term the universal father.

See Turners' *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. I. p. 35.

* Sir W. Jones, '*On the Lunar Year of the Hindus*,'—*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III. p. 57.

It is not, however, my intention to detail all the fasts and festivals which the Rajpoot of Mewar holds in common with the Hindu nation, but chiefly those restricted to that state, or such as are celebrated with local peculiarity, or striking analogies to those of Egypt, Greece, or Scandinavia. The goddess who presides over mirth and idleness, preferred holding her court amidst the ruins of Oodipur, to searching elsewhere for a dwelling. This determination to be happy amidst calamity, individual and national, has made the court proverbial in Rajwara, in the adage, "*sath daram our no tahwara*" i. e., nine holidays out of seven days. Although many of these festivals are common to India, and their maintenance is enjoined by religion, yet not only the prolongation and repetition of some, but the entire institution of others, as well as the peculiar splendour of their solemnization, originate with the prince; proving how much individual example may influence the manners of a nation.

By the arrangement we have adopted, the lovely VASSANTI, goddess of the spring, will usher in the festivals of Mewar. In 1819 her rites were celebrated in the kalends of January, and even then, on the verge of the tropic, her birth was premature.

The opening of the spring being on the 5th of the month Magha, is thence called the Vassant *panchami*, which in 1819 fell on the 30th of January; consequently the first of Posh (the antecedent month) the beginning of the old Hindu year, or "*the morning of the gods*," fell on the 25th of December. The Vassant continues forty days after the *panchami*, or initiative fifth, during which the utmost license prevails in action and in speech; the lower classes regale even to intoxication on every kind of stimulating confection and spirituous beverage, and the most respectable individuals, who would at other times be shocked to utter an indelicate allusion, roam about with the groups of bacchanals, reciting stanzas of the warmest description in praise of the powers of nature, as did the conscript fathers of Rome during the Saturnalia. In this season, when the barriers of rank are thrown down, and the spirit of democracy is let loose, though never abused, even the wild Bhil, or savage Meer, will leave his forest or mountain shade to mingle in the revelries of the capital; and decorating his ebon hair or tattered turban with a garland of jessamine, will join the clamorous parties which perambulate the streets of the capital. These orgies are, however, reserved for the conclusion for the forty days sacred to the goddess of nature.

Two days following the initiative fifth, is the *bhan septimi* or 'seventh [day] of the sun,' also called 'the birth of the sun,' with various other metaphorical denominations.* On this day there is a grand procession of the Rana, his chiefs and vassals, to the Chougan, where the sun is worshipped. At the Jeypur court, whose princes claim descent from COSH, the second son of RAMA, the *bhan septimi* is peculiarly sacred. The chariot of the sun, drawn by eight horses, is taken from the temple dedicated to that orb, and moves in procession: a ceremony otherwise never observed but on the inauguration of a new prince.

In the mythology of the Rajpoots, of which we have a better idea from their heroic poetry than from the legends of the Brahmins, the

* *Bhascara septimi*, in honour of the sun, as a form of Vishnu.—*Varaha Purana*. *Macari*, from the sun entering the constellation *Macara* (Pisces), the first of the solar Magha.—See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III., p. 273.

sun-god is the deity they are most anxious to propitiate; and in his honour they fearlessly expend their blood in battle, from the hope of being received into his mansion. Their highest heaven is accordingly the *Bhan-than* or *Bhanuloca*, the 'region of the sun:' and like the Indu-Scythic Gete, the Rajpoot warrior of the early ages sacrificed the horse in his honour, and dedicated to him the first day of the week, *vis.*, *Aditwar*, contracted to *Aitwar*, also called *Thawara*,*

The more we attend to the warlike mythology of the north, the more apparent is its analogy with that of the Rajpoots, and the stronger ground is there for assuming that both races inherited their creed from the common land of the *Yuti* of the Jaxartes. What is a more proper etymon for Scandinavia, the abode of the warriors who destroyed the Roman power, than *Scanda* the Mars or Ku-mara of the Rajpoots? Perhaps the origin of the *Kimbri*, derived by Mallet from *Kœmpfer*, 'to fight.'

Thor, in the eleventh fable of the *Edda*, is denominated Asa-Thor,† the 'lord Thor' called the Celtic Mars by the Romans. The chariot of Thor is ignobly voked compared with the car of Surya; but in the substitution of the *he-goats* for the seven-headed horse *Septaswa*, we have but the change of an adjunct depending on clime, when the *Yuti* migrated from the plains of Scythia, of which the horse is a native, to *Yutland*, of whose mountains the goat was an inhabitant prior to any of the race of *Asi*. The northern warrior makes the palace of the sun-god Thor the most splendid of the celestial abodes, "in which are five hundred and forty halls;" vying with the *Surya-Mandala*, the supreme heaven of the Rajpoot. Whence such notions of the *Aswa* races of the Ganges, and the *Asi* of Scandinavia, but from the Scythic Sacæ, who adored the solar divinity under the name of "*Gæto-Syrus*,"‡ the *Surya* of the *Sacha* Rajpoot: and as, according to the commentator on the *Edda*, the ancient people of the north pronounced the *th* as the English now do, the sun-god Thor becomes *Sor*, and is identified still more with *Surya*, whose worship no doubt gave the name to that extensive portion of Asia called *Syria*, as it did to the small peninsula of the *Sauras*, still peopled by tribes of Scythic origin. The *Sol* of the Romans has probably the same Celto-Etrurian origin; with those tribes the sun was the great object of adoration, and their grand festival, the winter solstice, was called *Yule*, *Hiul*, *Houl*, "which even at this day signifies the SUN, in the language of Bas-Bretagne and Cornwall."§ On the conversion of the descendants of these Scythic Yents, who, according to Herodotus, sacrificed the horse (*Hi*) to the sun (*El*), the name of the Pagan jubilee

* This word appears to have the same import as Thor, the sun-god and the war divinity of the Scandinavians.

† Odin is also called *As* or 'lord;' the Gauls also called him *Æs* or *Es*; and with a Latin termination *Hesus*, whom Lucan calls *Esus*.—*Edda*, Vol. II., pp. 45 6. The celebrated translator of these invaluable remnants of ancient superstitions, by which alone light can be thrown on the origin of nations, observes that *Es* or *Æs*, is the name for *God* with all the Celtic races. So it was with the Tuscans, doubtless from the Sanskrit, or rather from a more provincial tongue, the common contraction of *Esuar* the Egyptian *Osiris*, the Persian *Syr*, the sun-God.

‡ Which Mallet, from Hesychius, interprets 'good star.'

§ Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, Vol. II., p. 42.

of the solstice was transferred to the day of Christ's nativity, which is thus still held in remembrance by their descendants of the north.

At Oodipur the sun has universal precedence; his portal (*Surya-pol*) is the chief entrance to the city; his name gives dignity to the chief apartment or hall (*Surya-mahal*) of the palace; and from the balcony of the sun (*Surya-gokra*) the descendant of Rama shews himself in the dark monsoon as the sun's representative. A huge painted sun of gypsum in high relief, with gilded rays, adorns the hall of audience, and in front of it is the throne. As already mentioned, the sacred standard bears his image, as does that Scythic part of the regalia called the *changi*, a disc of black felt or ostrich feathers, with a plate of gold to represent the sun in its centre, borne upon a pole. The royal parasol is termed *kirnia*, in allusion to its shape, like a ray (*carna*) of the orb. The last day but one of the month of Magha is called *Sivrat* (night of Siva), and is held pecuniary sacred by the Rana, who is styled the Regent of Siva. It is a rigid fast, and the night is passed in vigils, and rites to the phallic representative of Siva.

The merry month of Phalgun is ushered in with the *Ahairea*, or spring-hunt.* The preceeding day the Rana distributes to all his chiefs and servants either a dress of green, or some portion thereof, in which all appear habited on the morrow, whenever the astrologer has fixed the hour for sallying forth to slay the boar to *Gowri*, the Ceres of the Rajpoots: the *Ahairea* is therefore called the *Muhoorut ca sikar*; or the chase fixed astrologically. As their success on this occasion is ominous of future good, no means are neglected to secure it, either by scouts previously discovering the lair, or the desperate efforts of the hunters to slay the boar when roused. With the sovereign and his sons all the chiefs sally forth, each on his best steed, and all animated by the desire to surpass each other in acts of prowess and dexterity. It is very rare that in some one of the passes or recesses of the valley the hog is not found; the spot is then surrounded by the hunters, whose vociferations soon start the *dhokra*,† and frequently a drove of hogs. Then each cavalier impels his steed, and with lance or sword, regardless of rock, ravine, or tree, presses on the bristly foe, whose knowledge of the country is of no avail when thus circumvented, and the ground soon reeks with gore, in which not unfrequently is mixed that of horse or rider. On the last occasion, there occurred fewer casualties than usual; though the Chondawut Hamira, whom we nicknamed the "*Red Riever*," had his leg broken, and the second son of Sheodan Sing, a near relation of the Rana, had his neighbour's lance driven through his arm. The young chief of Saloombra was amongst the distinguished of this day's sport. It would appal even an English fox-hunter to see the Rajpoots driving their steeds

* In his delight for his diversion, the Rajpoot evinces his Scythic propensity. The grand hunts of the last Chohan emperor often led him into warfare, for Prithwi Raj was a *poacher* of the first magnitude, and one of his battles with the Tatars was while engaged in field sports on the *Ravi*.

The heir of Gengis Khan was chief huntsman, the highest office of the state amongst the Scythic Tatars; as Ajanubahu, alike celebrated in either field, of war and sport, was chief huntsman to the Chohan Emperor of Delhi, whose bard enters minutely into the subject, describing all the variety of dogs of chase.

† A hog in Hindu: in Persian *hoog*, nearly our *hog*.

at full speed, bounding like the antelope over every barrier,—the thick jungle covert, or rocky steep bare of soil or vegetation,—with their lances balanced in the air, or leaning on the saddle-bow slashing at the boar.

The royal kitchen moves out on this occasion, and in some chosen spot the repast is prepared, of which partake, for the hog is the favourite food of the Rajpoot, as it was of the heroes of Scandinavia. Nor is the *munwar piala*, or invitation cup, forgotten; and having feasted, and thrice slain their birstly antagonist, they return to the capital, where fame had already spread their exploits,—the deeds done by the *birchi* (lance) of Pudma,* or the *khanda* (sword) blow of Hamira,† which lopped the head of the foe of Gouri. Even this martial amusement, the *Ahairea*, has a religious origin. The boar is the enemy of Gouri of the Rajpoots; it was so held of Isis by the Egyptians, of Ceres by the Greeks, of Freya by the north-man, whose favourite food was the hog: and of such importance was it deemed by the Franks, that the second chapter of the Salic law is entirely penal with regard to the stealers of swine. The heroes of the *Edda*, even in Valhalla, feed on the fat of the wild boar Serimner, while “the illustrious father of armies fattens his wolves *Geri* and *Freki*, and takes no other nourishment himself than the uninterrupted quaffing of wine:” quite the picture of Hur, the Rajpoot god of war, and his sons the Bhyrus, Gora and Kala, metaphorically called the “*sons of slaughter*.” We need hardly repeat that the cup of the Scandinavian god of war, like that of the Rajpoots, is the human skull (*khupra*).

As Phalgun advances, the bacchanalian mirth increases; groups are continually patrolling the streets, throwing a crimson powder at each other, or ejecting a solution of it from syringes, so that the garments and visages of all are one mass of crimson. On the 8th, emphatically called the *Phag*, the Rana joins the queens and their attendants in the palace, when all restraint is removed and mirth is unlimited. But the most brilliant sight is the playing of the *holi* on horse back, on the terrace in front of the palace. Each chief who chooses to join has a plentiful supply of missiles, formed of thin plates of mica or talc, enclosing this crimson powder, called *abira* which with the most graceful and dexterous horsemanship they dart at each other, pursuing, caprioling, and jesting. This part of it much resembles the Saturnalia of Rome of this day, when similar missiles are scattered at the *Carnivale*. The last day of *Purnum* ends the *holi*, when the Nakarras from the *Tripolia* summon all the chiefs with their retinues to attend their prince, and accompany him in procession to the Chougan, their *Champ de Mars*. In the centre of this is a long *sala* or hall, the ascent to which is by a flight of steps: the roof is supported by square columns without any walls, so that the court is entirely open. Here, surrounded by his chiefs, the Rana passes an hour, listening to the songs in praise of *Holika*, while a scurrilous *cavya* or couplet from some wag in the crowd reminds him, that exalted rank is no protection against the license of the spring Saturnalia; though “the Dewan of Eklinga” has not to reproach himself with a failure of obedience to the rites of the goddess, having fulfilled the command “to multiply,” more than any individual in his kingdom.‡ While the Rana and his chiefs are thus amused above, the buffoons and itinerant groups

* Chief of Saloombra.

† Chief of Hamirgurh.

‡ He has been the father of more than one hundred children, legitimate and illegitimate, though very few are living.

mix with the cavalcade, throw powder in their eyes, or deluge their garments with the crimson solution. To resent it would only expose the sensitive party to be laughed at, and draw upon him a host of these bacchanals: so that no alternative exists between keeping entirely aloof or mixing in the fray.*

On the last day, the Rana feasts his chiefs, and the camp breaks up with the distribution of *khanda nareal*, or swords and cocoanuts, to the chiefs and all "whom the king delighteth to honour." These *khandas* are but "of lath," in shape like the Andrea Ferrar, or long cut and thrust, the favourite weapon of the Rajpoot. They are painted in various ways, like Harlequin's sword, and meant as a burlesque, in unison with the character of the day, when war is banished, and the multiplication,† not the destruction, of man is the behest of the goddess who rules the spring. At night-fall, the forty days conclude with "*the burning of the holi*" when they light large fires, into which various substances, as well as the crimson *abira*, are thrown, and around which groups of children are dancing and screaming in the streets like so many infernals. Until three years after sun-rise of the new month of Cheyt, these orgies are continued with increased vigour, when the natives bathe, change their garments, worship, and return to the rank of sober citizens; and princes and chiefs receive gifts from their domestics.‡

CHEYT. The first of this month is the Samvatsiri (vulg. *Chamchari*), or anniversary of the death of the Rana's father, to whose memory solemn rites are performed both in the palace and at *Ara*, the royal cemetery, metaphorically termed '*Maha Sati*,' or place of '*great faith*.' Thither the Rana repairs, and offers oblations to the *names* of his father; and after purifying in the *Gungabhava*, rivulet which flows through the middle of "the abode of silence," he returns to the palace.

On the third, the whole of the royal insignia proceeds to Baidla, the residence of the Chohan chief (one of the *sixteen*), within the valley of the capital, in order to convey the *Rao* to court. The Rana advances to the *Genesa Deori*§ to receive him; when, after salutation, the sovereign and his chief return to the great hall of assembly, hand in hand, but that of the *Chohan* above or upon his sovereign's. In this ceremony we have another singular memorial of the glorious days of Mewar, when almost every

* That this can be done without any loss of dignity by the *Sahib log* (a name of European gentlemen have assumed) is well known to those who may have partaken of the hospitalities of that honourable man, and brave and zealous officer, Colonel James Skinner, C.B., at Hansi. That his example is worthy of imitation in the mode of commanding, is best evinced by the implicit and cheerful obedience his men pay to his instructions when removed from his personal control. He has passed through the ordeal of nearly thirty years of unremitted service, and from the glorious days of Delhi and Laswari under lake, to the last siege of Bhurtpore, James Skinner has been second to none. In obtaining for this gallant and modest officer the order of the Bath, Lord Combermere must have been applauded by every person who knows the worth of him who bears it which includes the whole army of Bengal.

† Evincing in the presentation of the *sriphala*, the 'fruit of *Sri*, which is the cocoanut, emblematic of fruitfulness.

‡ Another point of resemblance to the Roman Saturnalia.

§ A hall so called in honour of Ganesa, or Janus, whose effigies adorn the entrance.

chieftain established by deeds of devotion a right to the eternal gratitude of their princes; the decay of whose power but serves to hallow such reminiscences. It is in these little acts of courteous condescension, deviations from the formal routine of reception, that we recognize the traces of Rajpoot history; for inquiry into these customs will reveal the incident which gave birth to each, and curiosity will be amply repaid, in a lesson at once of political and moral import. For my own part, I never heard the kettle-drum of my friend Raj Kulian strike at the sacred barrier, the *tripolia*, without recalling the glorious memory of his ancestor at the Thermopylæ of Mewar; nor looked on the autograph lance, the symbol of the Chondawuts, without recognizing the fidelity of the founder of the clan; nor observed the honors paid to the Chohans of Baidla and Kotario, without the silent tribute of applause to the manes of their sires.

Cheyti badi sath, or '7th of Cheyt,' is in honour of the goddess *Sitla*, the protectress of children: all the matrons of the city proceed with their offerings to the shrine of the goddess, placed upon the very pinnacle of an isolated hill in the valley.* In every point of view, this divinity is the twin-sister of the *Mater Montana*, the guardian of infants amongst the Romans, the Grecian or Phrygian *Cybele*.

This is also the Rana's birth-day,† on which occasion all classes flock with gifts and good wishes that "the king may live for ever;" but it is in the penetralia of the *Rawalula*, where the profane eye enters not, that the greatest festivities of this day are kept.

Cheyti Sudi 1st (15th of the month) is the opening of the *luni-solar* year of Vicramaditya. Ceremonies, which more especially appertain to the *Noratri* of Asoj, are performed on this day; and the sword is worshipped in the palace. But such rites are subordinate to those of the fair divinity, who still rules over this the smiling portion of the year. Vassanti has ripened into the fragrant *Flora*, and all the fair of the capital, as well as the other sex, repair to the gardens and groves, where parties assemble, regale, and swing, adorned with chaplets of roses, Jessamine, or oleander, when the *Nolakhu* gardens may vie with the *Trivoli* of Paris. They return in the evening to the city.

"*The Festival of Flowers*."—The Rajpoot *Floralia* ushers in the rites of the beneficent *Gouri*, which continue nine days, the number sacred to the creative power. These vie with the *Cerealia* of Rome, or the more ancient rites of the goddess of the Nile: I shall therefore devote some space to a particular account of them.

GANGORE.—Among the many remarkable festivals of Rajasthan kept with peculiar brilliancy at Oodipur, is that in honour of *Gouri*, or *Isani*, the goddess of abundance, the *Isis* of Egypt, the *Ceres* of Greece. Like the Rajpoot *Saturnalia*, which it follows, it belongs to the vernal equinox, when nature in these regions proximate to the tropic is in the full expanse of her charms, and the matronly *Gouri* casts her golden mantle over the beauties of the verdant *Vassanti*.‡ Then the fruits exhibit their promise to the eye; the kokil fills the ear with melody; the air is impregnated with aroma, and the crimson poppy contrasts with the spikes of golden grain, to form a wreath for the beneficent *Gouri*.

* The vignette view shews the peak of *Sitla Mata*.

† It fell on the 18th March 1819.

‡ Personification of Spring.

Gouri is one of the names of *Isa* or *Parvati*, wife of the greatest of the gods, *Mahadeva* or *Iswara*, who is conjoined with her in these rites, which almost exclusively appertain to the women. The meaning of *gouri* is 'yellow,' emblematic of the ripened harvest, when the votaries of the goddess adore her effigies, which are those of a matron painted the colour of ripe corn; and though her image is represented with only two hands, in one of which she holds the lotus, which the Egyptians regarded as emblematic of reproduction, yet not unfrequently they equip her with warlike conch, the discus, and the club, to denote that the goddess, whose gifts sustain life, is likewise accessory to the loss of it: uniting, as *Gouri* and *Cali*, the characters of life and death, like the *Isis* and *Cybele* of the Egyptians. But here she is only seen as *Ana-purana*, the benefactress of mankind. The rites commence when the sun enters *Aries* (the opening of the Hindu year), by a deputation to a spot beyond the city, "to bring earth for the image of *Gouri*."* When this is formed, a smaller one of *Iswara* is made, and they are placed together; a small trench is then excavated, in which barley is sown; the ground is irrigated and artificial heat supplied till the grain germinates, when the females join hands and dance round it, invoking the blessings of *Gouri* on their husbands. The young corn is then taken up, distributed, and presented by the females to the men, who wear it in their turbans. Every wealthy family has its image, or at least every *poorwa* or sub-division of the city. These and other rites, known only to the initiated, having been performed for several days within doors, they decorate the images, and prepare to carry them in procession to the lake. During these days of preparation, nothing is talked of but *Gouri's* departure from the palace; whether she will be as sumptuously apparelled as in the year gone by; whether an additional boat will be launched on the occasion; though not a few forget the goddess altogether in the recollection of the gazelle eyes (*mirg-naeni*) and serpentine locks (*nagini-soolf*)† of the beauteous handmaids who are selected to attend her. At length the hour arrives, the martial *nakaras* give the signal "to the cannonier without," and speculation is at rest when the guns on the summit of the castle of *Eklingsurh* announce that *Gouri* has commenced her excursion to the lake.

The cavalcade assembles on the magnificent terrace, and the "Rana," surrounded by his nobles, leads the way to the boats, of a form as primitive as that which conveyed the Argonauts to *Colchis*. The scenery is admirably adapted for these fetes, the ascent being gradual from the margin of the lake, which here forms a fine bay, and gently rising to the crest of the ridge on which the palace and dwellings of the chiefs are built. Every turret and balcony is crowded with spectators, from the palace to the water's edge; and the ample flight of marble steps which intervene from the *Tripolia*, or triple portal, to the boats, is a dense mass of females in variegated robes, whose scarfs but half conceal their ebon tresses adorned with the rose and the jessamine. A more imposing or more exhilarating sight cannot be imagined than the entire population of a city thus assembled for the purpose of rejoicing; the countenance of every individual, from the prince to the peasant, dressed in smiles. Carry the eye to heaven, and it rests on "a sky without a cloud:" below is a magnificent lake, the even surface of the deep blue waters broken only by palaces of marble, whose arched piazzas are seen through the

* Here we have *Gouri* as the type of the earth.

† Here the Hindu mixes Persian with his Sanskrit, and produces the mongrel dialect *Hindee*.

foliage of orange groves, plantain, and tamarind; while the vision is bounded by noble mountains, their peaks towering over each other, and composing an immense amphitheatre. Here the deformity of vice intrudes not; no object is degraded by inebriation; no tumultuous disorder or deafening clamour, but all await patiently, with eyes directed to the *Tripolia*, the appearance of GOURI. At length the procession is seen winding down the steep, and in the midst, borne on a *path*,* or throne, gorgeously arrayed in yellow robes, and blazing with "barbaric pearl and gold," the goddess appears; on either side the two beauties wave the silver *chamara* over her head, while the more favoured damsels act as harbingers, preceding her with wands of silver: the whole chaunting hymns. On her approach, the Rana, his chiefs and ministers rise and remain standing till the goddess is seated on her throne close to the water's edge, when all bow, and the prince and court take their seats in the boats. The females then form a circle around the goddess, unite hands, and with a measured step and various graceful inclination of the body, keeping time by beating the palms at particular cadences, move round the image singing hymns, some in honour of the goddess of abundance, others on love and chivalry; and embodying little episodes of national achievements, occasionally sprinkled with *double entendre*, which excites a smile and significant nod from the chiefs, and an inclination of the head of the fair choristers. The festival being entirely female, not a single male mixed in the immense groups, and even Iswara himself, the husband of Gouri, attracts no attention, as appears from his ascetic or mendicant form begging his dole from the bounteous and universal *mother*. It is taken for granted that the goddess is occupied in bathing all the time she remains, and ancient tradition says death was the penalty of any male intruding on these solemnities; but the present prince deems them so fitted for amusement, that he has even instituted a second *Gangore*. Some hours are thus consumed, while easy and good-humoured conversation is carried on. At length, the ablutions over, the goddess is taken up, and conveyed to the palace with the same forms and state. The Rana and his chiefs then unmoor their boats, and are rowed round the margin of the lake, to visit in succession the other images of the goddess, around which female groups are chaunting and worshipping, as already described, with which ceremonies the evening closes, when the whole terminates with a grand display of fireworks, the *finale* of each of the three days dedicated to Gouri.

Considerable resemblance is to be discerned between this festival of *Gouri* and that in honour of the Egyptian *Diana*† at Bubastis, and *Isis* at Busiris, within the Delta of the Nile, of which Herodotus says: "They

* *Tukht*, *Path*, Persian and Sanskrit, alike meaning *board*.

† The Ephesian *Diana* is the twin-sister of *Gouri*, and can have a Sanskrit derivation in *Devi-ana*, 'the goddess of food,' contracted *De-ana*, though commonly *Ana-de* or *Ana-devi*, and *Anapurna*, 'filling with food,' or the nourisher, the name applied by "the mother of mankind," when she places the repast before the messenger of heaven:

"Heavenly stranger, please to taste
 "These bounties, which our Nourisher, from whom
 "All perfect good, unmeasured out, descends,
 "To us for food and for delight, hath caused
 "The earth to yield."

Paradise Lost, Book v. 397-401.

who celebrate those of Diana embark in vessels; the women strike their tabors, the men their flutes; the rest of both sexes clap their hands, and join in chorus. Whatever city they approach, the vessels are brought on shore; the women use ungracious language, dance, and indelicately throw about their garments."* Wherever the rites of Isis prevailed, we find the boat introduced as an essential emblem in her worship, whether in the heart of Rajasthan, on the banks of the Nile, or in the woods of Germany. Bryant† furnishes an interesting account from Diodorus and Curtius, illustrated by drawings from Pocock, from the temple of Luxor, near Carnæ, in the Thebaid, of "the ship of Isis," carrying an ark; and from a male figure therein, this learned person thinks it bears a mysterious allusion to the deluge. I am inclined to deem the personage in the ark *Osiris*, husband of Isis, the type of the sun arrived in the sign of Aries, (of which the rams' heads ornamenting both the prow and stem of the vessel are typical), the harbinger of the annual fertilizing inundation of the Nile: evincing identity of origin as an equinoctial festival with that of *Gouri* (Isis) of the *Indu-Scythic* races of Rajasthan.

The German Suevi adored Isis, and also introduced a ship in her worship, for which Tacitus is at a loss to account, and with his usual candour says, he has no materials whence to investigate the origin of a worship denoting the foreign origin of the tribe. This Isis of the Suevi was evidently a form of Ertha, the chief divinity of all the Saxon races, who, with her consort Teutates or Hesus‡ (*Mercury*) were the chief deities of both the Celtic and early Gothic races: the Budha and Ella of the Rajpoots; in short, the earth,§ the prolific mother, the Isis of Egypt, the Ceres of Greece, the Ana-purna (*giver of food*) of the Rajpoots. On some ancient temples dedicated to this Hindu Ceres, we have sculptured on the frieze and pedestal of the columns the emblem of abundance, termed the *camacumpu*, or *vessel of desire*, a vase of elegant form, from which branches of the palm are gracefully pendent. Herodotus says that similar watervessels, filled with wheat and barley, were carried in the festival of Isis; and all who have attended to Egyptian antiquities are aware, that the god Canopus is depicted under the form of a *water-jar*, or Nilometer, whose covering bears the head of Osiris.

To render the analogy perfect between the vessels emblematic of the Isis of the Nile and the Ganges, there is a festival sacred to the sage *Agastya*, who presides over the star Canopus, when the sun enters *Virgo*

* Euterpe, 281.

† *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, p. 312.

‡ Hesus is probably derived from Eswara, or Esa the god. Toth was the Egyptian, and Teutates the Scandinavian, Mercury. I have elsewhere attempted to trace the origin of the Suevi, Su, or Yeuts of Yeutland (Jutland), to Yute, Gete, or Jit, of Central Asia, who carried thence the religion of Budha into India as well as to the Baltic. There is little doubt that the races called Jotner, Jæter, Jotuns, Jaets, and Yeuts, who followed the *Asi* into Scandinavia, migrated from the Jaxartes, the land of the *great Gete* (Massagetæ); the leader was supposed to be endued with supernatural powers, like the Buddhist, the called *Vedyanan*, or magician, whose haunts adjoined *Aria*, the cradle of the Magi. They are designated *Ari-punta*, under the sign of a serpent, the type of Budha; or *Ari-manus*, 'the foe of man.'

§ The German *Ertha*; to shew her kindred to the *Ella* of the Rajpoots, had her drawn by a cow, under which form the Hindus typify the earth (*prithwi*).

(Kaniya). The *camacumpa* is then personified under the epithet *cumbha-yoni*, and the votary is instructed to pour water into a sea-shell, in which having placed *white flowers and unground rice*, turning his face to the south, he offers it with this incantation ; "Hail, CUMBHAYONI, born in sight of MITRA and VARUNA (the sun and water divinities), bright as the blossom of the *cusa* (grass), who sprung from *Agni* (fire) and *Maruta*." By the prefix of *Ganga* (the river) to *Gouri*, we see that the *Gangore* festivals is essentially sacred to a river-goddess, affording additional proof of the common origin of the rites of the Isis of Egypt and India.

The Egyptians, according to Plutarch, considered the Nile as flowing from Osiris, in like manner as the Hindu poet describes the fair *Ganga* flowing from the head of *Iswara*, which Sir W. Jones thus classically paints in his hymn to *Ganga* :

"Above the reach of mortal ken,
On blest *Coilasa's* top, where every stem
Flowed with a vegetable gem,
Mahesa stood, the dread and joy of men ;
While *Parvati*, to gain a boon,
Fixed on his locks a beamy moon,
And hid his frontal eye in jocund play,
With reluctant sweet delay ;
All nature straight was locked in dim eclipse,
Till *Brahmin's* pure, with hallowed lips
And warbled prayers, restored the day,
When *Ganga* from his brow, with heavenly fingers prest,
Sprang radiant, and descending, graced the caverns of
the west."

Ganga, the river goddess, like the Nile, is the type of fertility, and like that celebrated stream, has her source amidst the eternal glaciers of *Chundragiri* or *Somadri* (the mountains of the moon) ; the higher peaks of the gigantic Himalaya, where *Parvati* is represented as ornamenting the tiara of *Iswara* "with a beamy moon." In this metaphor, and in his title of *Somanatha* (lord of the moon), we again have evidence of *Iswara*, or *Siva*, after representing the sun having the satellite moon as his ornament.* His Olympus, *Cailasa*, is studded with that majestic pine, the *cedar* ; thence he is called *Cedar-nath*, 'lord of the cedar-trees.' The mysteries of *Osiris* and those of *Eleusis*† were of the same character, commemorative of the first germ of civilization, the culture of the earth, under a variety of names, *Ertha*, *Isis*, *Diana*, *Ceres*, *Ella*. It is a curious fact, that in the *terra cotta* images of *Isis*, frequently excavated about her temple at *Pæstum*,‡ she holds in her right hand an exact representation of the Hindu lingam and yoni combined ; and on the Indian expedition to Egypt, our Hindu soldiers deemed themselves amongst the

* Let it be borne in mind that *Indu*, *Chundra*, *Sōma*, are all epithets for the 'moon,' or as he is classically styled (in an inscription of the famous *Komarpal*, which I discovered in *Cheetore*), "*Nisa Nath*," the ruler of darkness (*Nisa*).

† I have before remarked, that a Sanskrit etymology might be given to this word, in *Ella* and *Isa*, i.e., 'the goddess of the earth.'

‡ I was informed at *Naples* that four thousand of these were dug out of one spot, and I obtained while at *Pæstum* many fragments and heads of this goddess.

altars of their own god Iswara (*Osiris*), from the abundance of his emblematic representatives.

In the festival of *Gangore*, as before mentioned, Iswara yields to his consort Gouri, and occupies an unimportant position near her at the water's edge, meanly clad, smoking intoxicating herbs, and, whether by accident or design, holding the stalk of an onion in full blossom as a mace or club—a plant regarded by some of the Egyptians with veneration, and held by the Hindus generally in detestation: and why they should on such an occasion thus degrade Iswara, I know not. Onion-juice is reluctantly taken when prescribed medicinally, as a powerful stimulant, by those who would reject spirituous liquors; and there are classes, as the *Aghori*, that worship Iswara in his most degraded form, who will not only devour raw flesh, but that of man; and to whom it is a matter of perfect indifference whether the victim was slaughtered or died a natural death. For the honour of humanity, such monsters are few in number; but that they practise these deeds I can testify, from a personal visit to their haunts, where I saw the cave of one of these Troglodyte monsters, in which by his own command he was inhumed; and which will remain closed, until curiosity and incredulity greater than mine may disturb the bones of the *Aghori* of Aboo.

The *Omophagia*, or eating raw flesh with the blood, was a part of the secret mysteries of *Osiris*, in commemoration of the happy change in the condition of mankind from savage to civilized life, and intended to deter by disgust the return thereto.*

The Buddhists pursued this idea to excess; and in honour of *Ad-Iswara* the *First*, who from his abode of Meru taught them the arts of agriculture, they altogether abandoned that type of savage life, the eating of the flesh of animals,† and confined themselves to the fruits of the earth. With these sectarian anti-idolaters, who are almost all of *Rajpoot* descent, the beneficent *Lacshmi*, *Sri*, or *Gouri*, is an object of sincere devotion.

But we must close this digression; for such is the affinity between the mythology of India, Greece, and Egypt, that a bare recapitulation of the numerous surnames of the Hindu goddess of abundance would lead us beyond reasonable limits: all are forms of *Parvati* or *Doorga Mata*, the *Mater Montana* of Greece and Rome, an epithet of *Cybele* or *Vesta* (according to *Diodorus*), as the guardian goddess of children, one of the characters of the *Rajpoot* "Mother of the Mount," whose shrine crowns many a pinnacle in Mewar:‡ and who, with the prolific *Gouri* is amongst the amiable forms of the universal mother, whose functions are more varied and extensive than her sisters of Egypt and of Greece. Like the Ephesian *Diana*, *Doorga* wears the crescent on her head. She is also "the turreted *Cybele*," the guardian goddess of all places of strength (*doorga*),§ and like her she is drawn or carried by the lion. As *Mata Jannavi* 'the Mother of Births,' she is *Juno Lucina*: as *Pudma*, 'whose throne is the lotus,' she is the fair *Isis* of the Nile: as *Tri-pura*|| 'governing the three worlds,' and *Atma-devi*, 'the Goddess of Souls,' she is the *Hecate Triformis* of the Greeks. In short, her power is manifested under

* Prichard's *Researches into the Physical History of Man*, p. 309.

† The *Baudhas* of Tartary make no scruple of eating flesh.

‡ The vignette view in the valley of Oodipur shews one of these pinnaced temples dedicated to *Amba*.

§ *Doorga* 'a fort,' as *Suwarna doorg*, 'the golden castle,' etc., etc. Literally *Tripoli*, 'the three cities,' *poora*, *polis*.

every form from the birth, and all the intermediate stages until death; whether Jannavi, Gouri, or the terrific Cali, the Proserpine or Calligenia of the West.

Whoever desires to witness one of the most imposing and pleasing of Hindu festivals, let him repair to Oodipur, and behold the rites of the lotus-queen Pudma, the Gouri of Rajasthan.

Cheynt (*Sudi*) 8th, which, being after the *ides*, is the 23rd of the month, is sacred to *Devi*, the goddess of every tribe; she is called *Asokashtami*, and being the ninth night (*noratri*) from the opening of their Floralia, they perform the *homa*, or sacrifice of fire. On this day, a grand procession takes place to the *Chougan*, and every Rajpoot worships his tutelary divinity.

Cheynt (*Sudi*) 9th is the anniversary of Rama, the grand beacon of the solar race, kept with great rejoicings at Oodipur. Horses and elephants are worshipped, and all the implements of war. A procession takes place to the *Chougan*, and the succeeding day, called the *Dussera* or tenth, is celebrated in Asoj.

The last days of spring are dedicated to *Camdeva*, the god of love. The scorching winds of the hot season are already beginning to blow, when Flora droops her head, and "the god of love turns anchorite;" yet the rose continues to blossom, and affords the most fragrant chaplets for the Rajpootnis, amidst all the heats of summer. Of this the queen of flowers, the jessamine (*chameli*) white and yellow, the magra, the champaca, that flourish in extreme heat, the ladies form garlands, which they twine in their dark hair, weave into bracelets, or wear as pendent collars. There is no city in the East where the adorations of the sex to *Camdeva* are more fervent than in "the city of the rising sun" (*Udyapura*). On the 13th and 14th of Cheyt they sing hymns handed down by the sacred bards:—

"Hail, god of the flowery bow!* hail, warrior with a fish on thy banner! hail, powerful divinity, who causeth the firmness of the sage to forsake him!"

"Glory to MADANA, to Cama,† the god of gods; to HIM by whom Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, and Indra are filled with emotions of rapture! —*Bhavishya Purana*.‡

Vysakh.—There is but one festival in this month of any note, when the grand procession denominated the "*Nakarra ca aswari*," (from the equestrians being summoned, as already described, by the grand kettle-drums from the Tripolia), takes place; and this is against the canons of the Hindu church, being instituted by the present Rana in S. 1847, a memorable year in the calender. It was in this year, on the 2nd of Vysakh, that he commanded a repetition of the rites of GOURI, by the name of the *Little Gangore*; but this act of impiety was marked by sudden rise of the waters of the Peshola, the bursting of the huge embankment, and the inundation of the lake's banks, to the destruction of one-third of the capital: life, property, mansions, trees, all were swept away in the tremendous rush of water, whose ravages are still marked by the site of

* Cupid's bow is formed of a garland of flowers.

† *Madana*, he who intoxicates with desire (*cama*) both epithets of the god of love. The festivals on the 13th and 14th are called *Madana triodasi* (the thirteenth) and *chaturdasi* (fourteenth).

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III., p. 278.

streets and bazars now converted into gardens or places of recreation, containing thousands of acres within the walls, subdivided by hedges of the *cactus*, the natural fence of Mewar, which alike thrives in the valley or covers the most barren spots of her highest hills. But although the superstitious look grave, and add that a son was also taken from him on this very day, yet the Rana persists in maintaining the fete he established: the barge is manned, he and his chiefs circumnavigate the Peshola, regale on majaom, and terrify Varuna (the water-god) with the pyrotechnic exhibitions.

Although the court calender of Oodipur notices only those festivals on which state processions occur, yet there are many minor fetes, which are neither unimportant nor uninteresting. We shall enumerate a few, both in Vysakh, Jeyt, and Asar, which are blank as to the "*Nakarra Aswari*."

On the 29th Vysakh, there is a fast common to India peculiar to the women, who perform certain rites under the sacred fig-tree (the *vata* or *peepul*), to preserve them from widowhood: and hence the name of the fast *Savitri-vrata*.

On the second of Jeyt, when the sun is in the zenith, the Rajpoot ladies commemorate the birth of the sea-born goddess *Rambha*, the queen of the naiads or *Apsaras*,* whose birth, like that of Venus, was from the froth of the waters; and hence the Rajpoot bards designate all the fair messengers of heaven by the name of *Apsaras*, who summon the "chosen" from the field of battle, and convey him to the "mansion of the sun."†

On the 6th of Jeyt, the ladies have another festival called the *Aranya shashti*, because on this day those desirous of offspring walk in the woods (*aranya*) to gather and eat certain herbs. Sir W. Jones has remarked the analogy between this and the *Druidic* ceremony of gathering the mistletoe, (also on the *shashti*, 6th day of the moon) as a preservative against sterility.

Asar, the initiative month of the periodical rains, has no particular festivity at Oodipur, though in other parts of India the *Ratha yatra*, or procession of the car of Vishnu or *Jagannatha* (lord of the universe) is well known: this is on the 2nd and the 11th, "the night of the gods," when Vishnu (the sun) reposes four months.

Sawun, classically *Shavana*. There are two important festivals, with processions, in this month.

The third, emphatically called "*the teej*" (*third*), is sacred to the mountain goddess *Parvati*, being the day on which, after long austerities, she was re-united to Siva: she accordingly declared it holy, and proclaimed that whoever invoked her on that day should possess whatever was desired. The *teej* is accordingly revered by the women, and the husbandman of Rajasthan, who deems it a most favourable day to take possession of land, or to re-inhabit a deserted dwelling. When on the expulsion of the predatory powers from the devoted lands of Mewar,

* *Ap*, 'water,' and *sara*, 'froth or essence.'

† The Romans held the calends of June (generally Jeyt) sacred to the goddess *CARNA*, significant of the sun. *Carneus* was the sun-god of the Celts, and a name of Apollo at Sparta, and other Grecian cities. The *Carneia* was a festival in honour of Apollo.

proclamations were disseminated far and wide, recalling the expatriated inhabitants, they shewed their love of country by obedience to the summons. Collecting their goods and chattels, they congregated from all parts, but assembled at a common rendezvous to make their entry to the *bapota*, 'land of their sires,' on the *teej* of Sawun. On this fortunate occasion, a band of three hundred men, women, and children, with colours flying, drums beating, the females taking precedence with brass vessels of water on their heads, and chaunting the *suhailea*, (song of joy), entered the town of Kapasan, to revisit their desolate dwellings, and return thanks on their long-abandoned altars to *Parvati** for a happiness they had never contemplated.

Red garments are worn by all classes on this day and at Jeypur clothes of this colour are presented by the Raja to all the chiefs. At that court the *teej* is kept with more honour than at Oodipur. An image of Parvati on the *teej*, richly attired, is borne on a throne by women chaunting hymns, attended by the prince and his nobles. On this day, fathers present red garments and stuffs to their daughters.

The 5th is the *Nagpanchami*, or day set apart for the propitiation of the chief of the reptile race, the Naga or serpent. Few subjects have more occupied the notice of the learned world than the mysteries of Ophite worship, which are to be traced wherever there existed a remnant of civilization, or indeed of humanity; among the savages of the savannahs† of America, and the magi of Fars, with whom it was the type of evil,—their *Ahrimanes*‡. The *Nagas*, or serpent-genii of the Rajpoots, have a semi-human structure, precisely as Diodorus describes the snake-mother of the Scythæ, in whose country originated this serpent-worship, engrafted on the tenets of Zerdusht, of the *Puranas* of the priesthood of Egypt, and on the fables of early Greece. Dupuis, Volney, and other expounders of the mystery, have given an astronomical solution to what they deem a varied ramification of an ancient fable, of which that of Greece, "the dragon guarding the fruits of Hesperides," may be considered the most elegant version. Had these learned men seen those ancient sculptures in India, which represent "the fall," they might have changed their opinion. The traditions of the Jains or Budhists (originating in the land of the Takyacs,§ or Turkisthan) assert the creation of the human species in pairs, called *joogal*, who fed of the ever-fructifying, *Calpa-Vriksha*, which possesses all the characters of the Tree of Life, like it bearing

"Ambrosial fruit of vegetable gold;"

which was termed *amrita*, and rendered them immortal. A drawing, brought by Colonel Coombs, from a sculptured column in a cave temple in the south of India, represents the first pair at the foot of this ambrosial tree, and a serpent entwined among the heavily laden boughs, presenting to them some of the fruit from his mouth. The tempter appears to be at that part of his discourse, when

"———his words, replete with guile,

* The story of the vigils of Parvati, preparatory to her being re-united to her lord, consequent to her sacrifice as *Sati*, is the counterpart of the Grecian fable of Cybele, her passion for, and marriage with, the youth *Alys* or *Papas*, the *Baba* or universal father, of the Hindus.

† How did a word of Persian growth come to signify "the boundless brake" of the new world?

‡ *Ari*, 'a foe;' *manoos*, 'man.'

§ This is the snake-race of India, the foes of the Pandus.

" Into her heart too easy entrance won ;

" Fixed on the fruit she gazed."

This is a curious subject to be engraved on an ancient pagan temple ; if Jain or Buddhist, the interest would be considerably enhanced. On this festival, at Oodipur, as well as throughout India, they strew particular plants about the threshold, to prevent the entrance of the reptiles.

RAKHI.—This festival, which is held on the last day of Sawun, was instituted in honour of the good genii, when Durvasa the sage instructed Salone (the genius or nymph presiding over the month of Sawun,) to bind on *rakhis*, or bracelets, as charms to avert evil. The ministers of religion and females alone are privileged to bestow these charmed wristbands. The ladies of Rajasthan, either by their handmaids or the family priests, send a bracelets as the token of their esteem to such as they adopt as brothers, who return gifts in acknowledgment of the honour. The claims thus acquired by the fair are far stronger than those of consanguinity : for illustration of which I may refer to an incident already related in the annals of this house. Sisters also present their brothers with clothes on this day, who make an offering of gold in return.*

This day is hailed by the Brahmins as indemnifying them for their expenditure of silk and spangles, with which they decorate the wrists of all who are likely to make a proper return.

Bhadoo.—On the 3rd there is a grand procession to the Chougan ; and the 8th, or Ashtami, is the birth of Krishna, which will be described at large in an account of Nathdwara. There are several holidays in this month, when the periodical rains are in full descent ; but that on the last but one (sudi, 14, or 29th) is the most remarkable.

On this day† commences the worship of the ancestral manes (the Pitriswara, or (*father-gods*), of the Rajpoots, which continues for fifteen days. The Rana goes to the cemetery at Ara, and performs at the cenotaph of each of his forefathers the rites enjoined, consisting of ablutions, prayers, and the hanging of garlands of flowers, and leaves sacred to the dead, on their monuments. Every chieftain does the same amongst the altars of the " great ancients" (*burra boora*) ; or, if absent from their estates, they accompany their sovereign to Ara.

* I returned from three to five pieces of gold for the *rakhis* sent by my adopted sisters ; from one of whom, the sister of the Rana, I annually received this pledge by one of her handmaids ; three of them I have yet in my possession, though I never saw the donor, who is now no more. I had, likewise, some presented through the family priest, from the Boondi queen-mother, with whom I have conversed for hours, though she was invisible to me ; and from the ladies of rank of the chieftains' families, but one of whom I ever beheld, though they often called upon me for the performance of brotherly offices in consequence of such tie. There is a delicacy in this custom, with which the bond uniting the cavaliers of Europe to the service of the fair, in the days of chivalry, will not compare.

† Sacred to Vishnu, with the title of *Ananta*, or infinite—*Bhavishattara*. (See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III., p. 291). Here Vishnu appears as ' lord of the manes.'

CHAPTER XXII.

KHARGA SHAPNA, *Worship of the Sword*.—The festival in which this imposing rite occurs is the *Noratri*.* sacred to the god of war, commencing on the first of the month Asoj. It is essentially martial, and confined to the Rajpoot, who on the departure of the monsoon finds himself at liberty to indulge his passion whether for rapine or revenge, both which in these tropical regions are necessarily suspended during the rains. Arguing from the order of the passions, we may presume that the first objects of emblematic worship, were connected with war, and we accordingly find the highest revenues paid to arms by every nation of antiquity. The Scythic warrior of Central Asia, the intrepid Gete, admitted no meaner representative of the god of battle than his own scimitar.† He worshipped it, he swore by it; it was buried with him, in order that he might appear before the martial divinity in the other world as became his worshipper on earth: for the Gete of Transoxiana, from the earliest ages, not only believed in the soul's immortality, and in the doctrine of rewards and punishments hereafter, but according to the father of history, he was a monotheist; of which fact he was a left memorable proof in the punishment of the celebrated Anacharsis, who, on his return from a visit to Thales and his brother philosophers of Greece, attempted to introduce into the land of the Sacæ (*Sakatai*) the corrupted polytheism of Athens.

If we look westward from this the central land of earliest civilization, to Dacia, Thrace, Pannonia, the seats of the Thyssagetæ or western Getes, we find the same form of adoration addressed to the emblem of Mars, as mentioned by Xenophon in his memorable *Retreat*, and practised by Alaric and his Goths, centuries afterwards, in the Acropolis of Athens. If we transport ourselves to the shores of Scandinavia, amongst the Cimbri and Getes of Jutland, to the *Ultima Thule*, wherever the name of Gete prevails, we shall find the same adoration paid by the Getic warrior to his sword.

The Frisian Frank, also of Gothic race, adhered to this worship, and transmitted it with the other rites of the Getic warrior of the Jaxartes; such as the adoration of the steed, sacred to the sun, the great god of the Massagetæ, as well as of the Rajpoot, who sacrificed it at the annual feast, or with his arms and wife burnt it on his funeral pile. Even the kings of the 'second race' kept up the religion of their Scythic sire from the Jaxartes, and the bones of the war-horse of Chilperic were

* *Noratri* may be interpreted the *nine days'* festival, or the '*new night*.'

† "It was natural enough," says Gibbon, "that the Scythians should adore with peculiar devotion the god of war; but as they were incapable of forming either an abstract idea, or a corporeal representation, they worshipped their tutelar deity under the symbol of an iron scimitar. If the rites of Scythia were practised on this solemn occasion, (a) a lofty altar, or rather pile of faggots, three hundred yards in length and in breadth, was raised in a spacious plain; and the sword of Mars was placed erect on the summit of this rustic altar, which was annually consecrated by the blood of sheep, horses, and of the hundredth captive."—Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, Vol. VI. p. 43.

(a) Attila dictating the terms of peace with the envoys of Constantinople, at the city of Margus, in Upper Mœsia.

exhumed with those of the monarch. These rites, as well as those long-cherished chivalrous notions, for which the Salian Franks have ever been conspicuous, had their birth in Central Asia; for though contact with the more polished Arab softened the harsh character of the western warrior, his thirst for glory, the romantic charm which fed his passion, and his desire to please the fair, he inherited from his ancestors on the shores of the Baltic, which were colonized from the Oxus. Whether Charlemagne addressed his sword as *Joyeuse*,* or the Scandinavian hero Angantyr as the enchanted blade *Tirsing* (*Hialmar's bane*), each came from one common origin, the people which invented the custom of *Kharga Shapna*, or 'adoration of the sword.' But neither the faulchion "made by the dwarfs for Suafurlama," nor the redoubted sword of Bayard with which he dubbed the first Francis,—not even the enchanted brand of Ariosto's hero, can for a moment compare with the double-edged *khanda* (scimitar) annually worshipped by the chivalry of Mewar. Before I descant on this monstrous blade, I shall give an abstract of the ceremonies on each of the *nine days* sacred to the god of war.

On the 1st of Asoj, after fasting, ablution, and prayer, on the part of the prince and his household, the double-edged *khanda* is removed from the hall of arms (*ayudhasala*), and having received the homage (*pooja*) of the court, it is carried in procession to the *Kishenpol* (gate of Kishen), where it is delivered to the *Raj-Yogi*,† the *Mahunts*, and band of *Yogis* assembled in front of the temple of Devi 'the goddess,' adjoining the portal of Kishen.‡ By these, the monastic militant adorers of Heri, the god of battle, the brand emblematic of the divinity is placed§ on the altar before the image of his divine consort. At three in the afternoon the *nakarras*, or grand kettle-drums, proclaim from the *Tripolia*|| the signal for the assemblage of the chiefs with their retainers; and the Rana and his cavalcade proceed direct to the stables, when a buffalo is sacrificed in honour of the war-horse. Thence the procession moves to the temple of Devi, where the Raja Krishen (*Godi*), has preceded. Upon this, the Rana seats himself close to the *Raj-Yogi*, presents two pieces of silver and a cocoanut, performs homage to the sword (*kharga*), and returns to the palace.

Asoj 2d. In similar state he proceeds to the Chougan, their *Champ de Mars*, where a buffalo is sacrificed; and on the same day another buffalo victim is felled by the nervous arm of a Rajpoot, near the *Tcrunpol*, or triumphal gate. In the evening the Rana goes to the temple of AMBA MATA, the universal mother, when several goats and buffaloes bleed to the goddess.

The 3d.—Procession to the Chougan, when another buffalo is offered; and in the afternoon five buffaloes and two rams are sacrificed to *Harsid Mata*.

On the 4th, as on every one of the nine days, the first visit is to the *Champ de Mars*: the day opens with the slaughter of a buffalo. The

* St. Palaye, *Memoirs of Ancient Chivalry*, p. 305.

† *Raj-Yogi* is the chief of the ascetic warriors; the *Mahunts* are commanders. More will be said of this singular society when we discuss the religious institutions of Mewar.

‡ The GOD KRISHNA is called *Kishen* in the dialects.

§ This is the *shapna* of the sword, literally its *inauguration* or *induction*, for the purposes of adoration. || *Tripolia*, or triple portal.

Rana proceeds to the temple of Devi, when he worships the sword, and the standard of the *Raj-Jogi*, to whom, as the high priest of Siva, the *god of war*, he pays homage, and makes offering of a sugar, and a garland of roses. A buffalo having been previously fixed to a stake near the temple, the Rana sacrifices him with his own hand, by piercing him from his travelling throne (raised on men's shoulders and surrounded by his vassal) with an arrow. In the days of his strength, he seldom failed almost to bury the feather in the flank of the victim; but on the last occasion, his enfeebled arm made him exclaim with Prithwi-Raj, when, captive and blind, he was brought forth to amuse the Tatar despot: "I draw not the bow as in the days of yore."

On the 5th, after the usual sacrifice at the Chougan, and an elephant-fight, the procession marches to the temple of *Asapurna* (Hope); a buffalo and a ram are offered to the goddess adored by all the Rajpoots, and the tutelary divinity of the Chohans. On this day, the lives of some victims are spared at the intercession of the Nuggur-Seth, or chief-magistrate, and those of his faith, the Jains.

On the 6th, the Rana visits the Chougan, but makes no sacrifice. In the afternoon, prayers and victims to Devi; and in the evening the Rana visits *Bikhiari Nath*, the chief of the *Kanfara-Jogis*, or split-ear ascetics.

The 7th.—After the daily routine at the Chougan, and sacrifices to Devi (the goddess of destruction), the chief equerry is commanded to adorn the steeds with their new caparisons, and lead them to be bathed in the lake. At night, the sacred fire (*homa*) is kindled, and a buffalo and a ram are sacrificed to Devi; the *Jogis* are called up and feasted on boiled rice and sweetmeats. On the conclusion of this day, the Rana and his chieftains visit hermitage of Sukria Baba, an anchorite of the *Jogi* sect.

8th.—There is the *homa*, or fire-sacrifice in the palace. In the afternoon, the prince, with a select cavalcade, proceeds to the village of Sameena, beyond the city-walls, and visits a celebrated *Gōsaen*.*

9th.—There is no morning procession. The horses from the royal stables, as well as those of the chieftains, are taken to the lake, and bathed by their grooms, and on return from purification they are caparisoned in their new housings, led forth, and received the homage of their riders, and the Rana bestows a largess on the master of the horse, the equeries, and grooms. At three in the afternoon, the *nakarras* having thrice sounded, the whole state insignia, under a select band, proceed to Mount Matalchal, and bring home the sword. When its arrival in the court of the palace is announced, the Rana advances and receives it with due homage from the hands of the *Raj-Jogi*, who is presented with a *khelat*; while the *mahunt*, who has performed all the austerities during the nine days, has his *patera*† filled with gold and silver coin. The whole of the *Jogis* are regaled, and presents are made to their chiefs. The elephants and horses again receive homage, and the sword, the shield,

* On this day, sons visit and pay adoration to their fathers. The diet is chiefly of vegetables and fruits. Brahmins with their unmarried daughters are feasted, and receive garments called *chondurees* from their chiefs.

† The *Jogi's patera* is not so revolting as that of their divinity Hari (the god of war), which is the human *cranium*; this is a hollow gourd.

and spear, are worshipped within the palace. At three in the morning the prince takes repose.

The 10th, or *Dussera*,* is a festival universally known in India, and respected by all classes, although entirely military, being commemorative of the day on which the deified Rama commenced his expedition to Lanka for the redemption of Seeta; † the "tenth of Asoj" is consequently deemed by the Rajpoot a fortunate day for warlike enterprize. The day commences with a visit from the prince or chieftain to his spiritual guide. Tents and carpets are prepared at the Chougan or Matachal mount, where the artillery is sent; and in the afternoon, the Rana, his chiefs and their retainers, repair to the *field of Mars*, worship the *kajri* tree, liberate the *niltach* or jay (sacred to Rama), and return amidst a discharge of guns.

11th. In the morning, the Rana, with all the state insignia, the kettle-drums sounding *in the rear*, proceeds towards the Matachal mount, and takes the muster of his troops, amidst discharges of cannon, tilting, and display of horsemanship. The spectacle is imposing even in the decline of this house. The hilarity of the party, the diversified costume, the various forms, colours, and decorations of the turbans, in which some have the heron plume, or sprigs from some shrub sacred to the god of war; the clusters of lances, shining matchlocks, and black bucklers, the scarlet housings of the steeds, and waving pennons, recall forcibly the glorious days of the devoted Sanga, or the immortal Pertap, who on such occasions collected round the black *changi* and crimson banner of Mewar a band of sixteen thousand of his own kin and clan, whose lives were their lord's and their country's. The shops and bazars are ornamented with festoons of flowers and branches of trees, while the costliest cloths and brocades are extended on screens, to do honour to their prince; the *torun* (or triumphal arch) is placed before the tent, on a column of which he places one hand as he alights, and before entering makes several circum-bulations. All present offer their *nussurs* to the prince, the artillery fires, and the bards raise "the song of praise," celebrating the glories of the past; the fame of Samra, who fell with thirteen thousand of his kin on the Caggar; of Ursi and his twelve brave sons, who gave themselves as victims for the salvation of Cheetore; of Koombho, Lakha, Sanga, Pertap, Umra, Raj, all descended of the blood of Rama, whose exploits, three thousand five hundred years before, they are met to celebrate. The situation of Matachal is well calculated for such a spectacle, as indeed is the whole ground from the palace through the Delhi portal to the mount, on which is erected one of the several castles commanding the approaches to the city. The ford is dedicated to *Mata*, though it would not long remain stable (*achal*) before a battery of thirty-six pounders. The guns

* From *dus* or *dos*, the numeral *ten*: the tenth.

† In this ancient story we are made acquainted with the distant maritime wars which the princes of India carried on. Even supposing Ravana's abode to be the insular Ceylon, he must have been a very powerful prince to equip an armament sufficiently numerous to carry off from the remote kingdom of *Koshula*, the wife of the great king of the *Suryas*. It is most improbable that a petty king of Ceylon could wage equal war with a potentate who held the chief dominion of India; whose father, *Dasaratha*, drove his victorious car (*ratha*) over every region (*desa*), and whose intercourse with the countries beyond the *Brahmaputra* is distinctly to be traced in the *Ramayana*.

are drawn up about the termination of the slope of the natural glacis; the Rana and his court remain on horseback half up the ascent; and while every chief or vassal is at liberty to leave his ranks, and "witch the world with noble horsemanship," there is nothing tumultuous, nothing offensive in their mirth.

The steeds purchased since the last festival are named, and as the cavalcade returns, their grooms repeat the appellations of each as the word is passed by the master of the horse; as *Baj Raj*, 'the royal steed'; *Hymor* 'the chief of horses'; *Manika*, 'the gem'; *Bujra*, 'the thunderbolt,' &c. &c. On returning to the palace, gifts are presented by the Rana to his chiefs. The Chohan chief of Kotario claims the apparel which his prince wears on this day, in token of the fidelity of his ancestor to the minor, Oody Sing, in Akbar's wars. To others, a fillet or *balabund* for the turban is presented; but all such compliments are regulated by precedent or immediate merit.

Thus terminates the *noratri* festival sacred to the god of war, which in every point of view is analogous to the autumnal festival of the Scythic warlike nations, when these princes took the muster of their armies, and performed the same rites to the great celestial luminary. I have presented to the antiquarian reader these details, because it is in minute particulars that analogous customs are detected. Thus the temporary *torun*, or triumphal arch, erected in front of the tent at *Mount Matachal*, would scarcely claim the least notice, but that we discover even in this emblem the origin of the triumphal arches of antiquity, with many other rites which may be traced to the Indo-Scythic races of Asia. The *torun* in its original form consisted of two columns and an architrave, constituting the number *three*, sacred to Hari, the god of war. In the progress of the arts, the architrave gave way to the Hindu arch, which consisted of two or more ribs without the key-stone, the apex being the perpendicular junction of the archivaults; nor is the arc of the *torun* semicircular, or any segment of a circle, but with that graceful curvature which stamps with originality one of the arches of the Normans, who may have brought it from their ancient seats on the Oxus, whence it may also have been carried within the Indus. The cromlech, or trilithic altar in the centre of all those monuments called Druidic, is most probably *toruns*, sacred to the Sun-god Belonus, like Hur, or Bal-siva, the god of battle, to whom as soon as a temple is raised, the *torun* is erected, and many of these are exquisitely beautiful.

An interesting essay might be written on *portes* and *toruns*, their names and attributes and the genii presiding as their guardians. Amongst all the nations of antiquity, the portal has had its peculiar veneration: to pass it was a privilege regarded as a mark of honour. The Jew Haman, in the true oriental style, took post at the king's gate as an inexpugnable position. The most pompous court in Europe takes its title from its *porte*,* where as at Oodipur, all alight. The *tripolia*, or triple portal, the entry to the magnificent terrace in front of the Rana's palace, consists, like the Roman arcs of triumph, of three arches, still preserving the numeral sacred to the god of battle, one of whose titles *Tatpouni*, which may be rendered *Tripoli*, or lord of the *three places of abode*, or cities, but applied in its extensive sense to the three worlds, heaven, earth, and hell. From the Sanskrit *Pola*, we have the Greek *Poles*, a gate or pass;

* Hence may be found a good etymology of *Janigary*, the guardian of the *serai*, a title left by the lords of Eastern Rome for the *Porte*.

and in the guardian or *Polioh*, the *Puloros* or *porter*; while to this *langue mere* our own language is indebted, not only for its *portes* and *porters*, but its doors (*dwara*). *Pylos* signified also a pass; so in Sanskrit these natural barriers are called *Palas*, and hence the poetical epithet applied to the aboriginal mountain tribes of Rajasthan, namely, *Palipati* and *Palindra*, '*lords of the pass*.'

One of the most important of the Roman divinities was Janus, whence *Januæ*, or portals, of which he was the guardian. A resemblance between the Ganes of the Hindu pantheon and the Roman Janus has been pointed out by Sir W. Jones, but his analogy extended little beyond nominal similarity. The fable of the birth of *Ganesa* furnishes us with the origin of the worship of Janus, and as it has never been given, I shall transcribe it from the bard Chund. *Ganesa* is the chief of the *genii** attendant on the god of war, and was expressly formed by Oomia, the Hindu Juno, to guard the entrance of her caverned retreat in the Caucasus, where she took refuge from the tyranny of the lord of *Kailasa* (Olympus), whose throne is fixed amidst eternal snows on the summit of this peak of the gigantic Caucasus (*Kho-kasa*).†

"Strife arose between Mahadeva and the faithful Parvati: she fled to the mountains and took refuge in a cave. A crystal fountain tempted her to bathe, but shame was awakened; she dreaded being seen. Rubbing her frame, she made an image of man; with her nail she sprinkled it with the water of life, and placed it as guardian at the entrance of the cave." Engrossed with the recollection of Parvati,‡ Siva went to *Kartika*§ for tidings of his mother, and together they searched each valley and recess, and at length reached the spot where a figure was placed at the entrance of a cavern. As the chief of the gods prepared to explore this retreat, he was stopped by the *Polioh*. In a rage he struck off his head with his discus (*chakra*), and the gloom discovered the object of his search. Surprised and dismayed, she demanded how he obtained ingress: "was there no guardian at the entrance?" The furious Siva replied, that he had cut off his head. On hearing this, the mountain-goddess was enraged, and weeping, exclaimed, "you have destroyed my child." The god, determined to recall him to life, decollated a young elephant, replaced the head he had cut off, and naming him *Ganesa*, decreed that in every resolve his name should be the first invoked.

* In Sanskrit *gen* (pronounced as *gun*), the *jin* of the Persians, transmuted to *genii*; here is another instance in point of the alternation of the initial, and softened by being transplanted from Indo-Scythia to Persia, as *Ganes* was *Fanus* at Rome.

† The *Casia Montes* of Ptolemy.

‡ *Parvati*, 'the mountain goddess,' was called *Sati*, or 'the faithful' in her former birth. She became the mother of *Fanuvi*, the river (*Gunga*) goddess.

§ *Kartika*, the son of Siva and Parvati, the Jupiter and Juno of the Hindu theogony, has the leading of the armies of the gods, delegated by his father; and his mother has presented to him her peacock, which is the steed of this warlike divinity. He is called *Kartika* (*Kartikeya*) from being nursed by six females called *Krittika*, who inhabit six of the seven stars composing the constellation of the Wain, or Ursa Major. Thus the Hindu Mars, born of Jupiter and Juno, and nursed by Ursa Major, is, like all other theogonies, an astronomical allegory. There is another legend of the birth of Mars, which I shall give in the text.

Invocation of the Bard to Ganesa.

"Oh, Ganesa ! thou art a mighty lord ; thy singe tusk* is beautiful, and demands the tribute of praise from the Indra of song†. Thou art the chief of the Human race ; the destroyer of unclean spirits, the remover of fevers, whether daily or tertian. Thy bard sounds thy praise ; let my work be accomplished !"

Thus Ganesa is the chief of the *Diiminores* of the Hindu pantheon, as the etymology of the word indicates,‡ and like Janus, was entrusted with the gates of heaven ; while of his right to preside over peace and war, the fable related affords abundant testimony. Ganesa is the first invoked and propitiated§ on every undertaking, whether warlike or pacific. The warrior implores his counsel ; the banker indites his name at the commencement of every letter ; the architect places his image in the foundation of every edifice ; and the figure of Ganesa is either sculptured or painted at the door of every house as a protection against evil. Our Hindu Janus is represented as four-armed, and holding the disk (*chukra*), the war-shell, the club, and the lotus. Ganesa is not, however, *bifrons*, like the Roman guardian of portals. In every transaction he is *ad*, or the first, though the Hindu does not, like the Roman, open the year with his name. I shall conclude with remarking, that one of the portes of every Hindu city is named the *Ganesa Pol*, as well as some conspicuous entrance to the palace : thus Oodipur has its Ganesa *dwara*, who also gives a name to the hall, the *Ganesa deori* ; and his shrine will be found on the ascent of every sacred mount, as at Abou, where it is placed close to a fountain on the abrupt face about twelve hundred feet from the base. There is likewise a hill sacred to him in Mewar called *Ganesa Gir*, tantamount to the *mons janiculum* of the eternal city. The companion of this divinity is a rat, who indirectly receives a portion of homage, and with full as much right as the bird emblematic of Minerva.

We have abandoned the temple of the warlike divinity (*Devi*), the sword of Mars, and the triumphal *torun*, to invoke Ganesa. It will have been remarked that the Rana aids himself to dismount by placing his hand on one of the columns of the *torun*, an act which is pregnant with a martial allusion, as are indeed the entire ceremonies of the "worship of the sword."

It might be deemed folly to trace the rites and superstitions of so remote an age and nation to Central Asia ; but when we find the 'superstitions of the Indo-Scythic Gete prevailing within the Indus, in Dacia, and on the shores of the Baltic, we may assume their common origin ; for although the worship of arms has prevailed among all warlike tribes, there is a peculiar respect paid to the sword among the Getic races. The Greeks and Romans paid devotion to their arms, and swore by them. The Greeks brought their habits from ancient Thrace, where the custom existed of presenting as the greatest gift, that peculiar kind of sword called *acinaces*, which we dare not derive from the Indo-Scythic or Sanscrit *asi*, a sword. When Xenophon, on his retreat, reached the court of Seuthas, he agreed to attach his corps to the service of the Thracian. His officers on introduction, in the true oriental style, presented their *niussurs*, or

* This elephant-headed divinity has but one tusk.

† The Bard thus modestly designates himself.

‡ Chief (*esa, isa, or iswara*) of the *gana* (*gens*) or *tribe* of Siva.

§ So he was at Rome, and his statue held the keys of heaven in his right hand, and, like Ganesa, a rod (*the unkoos*) in his left.

gifts of homage, excepting Xenophon, who, deeming himself too exalted to make the common offering, presented his sword, probably only to be touched in recognition of his services being accepted. The most powerful oath of the Rajpoot, next to his sovereign's throne (*gadi ca an*), is by his arms, *ya sil ca an*, 'by this weapon!' as, suiting the action to the word, he puts his hand on his dagger, never absent from his girdle. *Dhal, turwar, ca an*, 'by my sword and shield!' The shield is deemed the only fit vessel or salver on which to present gifts; and accordingly at a Rajpoot court, shawls, brocades, scrabs, and jewels are always spread before the guest on bucklers.*

In the Runic "incantation of Hervor," daughter of Angantyr, at the tomb of her father, she invokes the dead to deliver the enchanted brand *Trising*, or "*Hialmar's bane*," which according to Gothic customs, was buried in his tomb; she adjures him and his brothers "*by all their arms, their shields, &c.*" It is depicted with great force, and, translated, would deeply interest a Rajpoot, who might deem it the spell by which the *Khanda* of HAMIRA, which he annually worships, was obtained.

INCANTATION.

Hervor. "Awake, Angantyr! Hervor, the only daughter of thee and Suafu, doth awaken thee. Give me out of the tomb the tempered sword which the dwarfs made for Suafurlama.

"Can none of Eyvors† sons speak with me out of the habitations of the dead? Hervardur,† Hurvardur?"‡

The tomb at length opens, the inside of which appears on fire, and a raptly is sung from within.

Angantyr.—"Daughter Hervor, full of spells to raise the dead, why dost thou call so? I was not buried either by father or friends; two who lived after me got *Tirsing*, one of whom is now in possession thereof."

Hervor.—"The dead shall never enjoy rest unless Angantyr deliver me *Tirsing*, that cleaveth shields, and killed Hialmar."‡

Angantyr.—"Young maid, thou art of manlike courage, who dost rove by night to tombs, with spear engraven with magic spells,§ with helm and coat of mail, before the door of our hall."

Hervor.—"It is not good for thee to hide it."

* The Gothic invaders of Italy inaugurated their monarch by placing him upon a shield, and elevating him on their shoulders in the midst of his army.

† All these proper names might have Oriental etymologies assigned to them; Eyvor-sail is the name of a celebrated Rajpoot hero of the Bhatti tribe, who were driven at an early period from the very heart of Scythia, and are of Yadu race.

‡ This word can have a Sanskrit derivation from *kya*, 'a horse;' *marna*, 'to strike or kill;' *Hialmar*, 'the horse-slayer.'

§ The custom of engraving incantations on weapons is also from the East, and thence adopted by the Mahomedan, as well as the use of phylacteries. The name of the goddess guarding the tribe is often inscribed, and I have had an entire copy of the *Bhagvat Gita* taken from the turban of a Rajpoot killed in action: in like manner the Mahomedans place therein the *Koran*.

Angantyr.—"The death of *Hialmar** lies under my shoulders; it is all wrapt up in fire: I know no maid that dares to take this sword in hand."

Hervor.—"I shall take in hand the sharp sword, if I may obtain it. I do not think that fire will burn which plays about the site of deceased men."†

Angantyr.—"Take and keep *Hialmar's bane*: touch but the edges of it, there is poison in them both; ‡ it is a most cruel devourer of men."§

Tradition has hallowed the two edged sword (*khanda*) of Mewar, by investing it with an origin as mysterious as "the bane of *Hialmar*." It is supposed to be the enchanted weapon fabricated by *Viswacarma*,|| with which the Hindu *Proserpine* girded the founder of the race, and led him forth to the conquest of Cheetore. It remained the great heir-loom of her princes till the sack of Cheetore by the Tatar Alla, when Rana Ursi and eleven of his brave sons devoted themselves at the command of the guardian goddess of their race, and their capital falling into the hands of the invader, the last scion of Bappa became a fugitive amidst the mountains of the west. It was then the Tatar inducted the *Sonigutta Maldeo*, as his lieutenant, into the capital of the *Gehlotes*. The most celebrated of the poetic chronicles of Mewar gives an elaborate description of the subterranean palace in Cheetore, in one of whose entrances the dreadful sacrifice was perpetuated to save the honour of *Pudmini* and the fair of Cheetore from the brutalised Tatars. The curiosity of *Maldeo* was more powerful than his superstition, and he determined to explore the hidden abodes, though reputed to be guarded by the serpent genii attendant on *Nagnecha*, the ancient divinity of its *Takshac* founders.¶ Whether it was through the identical caverned passage, and

* The metaphorical name of the sword *Tirsing*.

† These fires which the northern nations believed to issue from the tombs of their heroes, and which seemed to guard their ashes; them they called *Hauga Elldr*, or 'the sepulchral fires,' and they were supposed more especially to surround tombs which contained hidden treasures. These supernatural fires are termed *Shahaba* by the Rajpoots. When the intrepid Scandinavian maiden observes that she is not afraid of the flame burning her, she is bolder than one of the boldest Rajpoots, for *Sri-Kishen*, who was shocked at the bare idea of going near these sepulchral lights, was one of three non-commissioned officers who afterwards led thirty-two firelocks to the attack and defeat of 1,500 *Pindarries*.

‡ Like the Rajpoot *Khanda*, *Tirsing* was double-edged; the poison of these edges is a truly Oriental idea.

§ This poem is from the *Hervarar Sagha*, an ancient Icelandic history. See *Edda*, Vol. II. p. 192.

¶ The Vulcan of the Hindus.

|| The *Mori* prince, from whom Bappa took Cheetore, was of the *Tak* or *Takshac* race, of whom *Nagnecha*, or *Nagini Mata* was the mother, represented as half woman and half serpent; the sister of the mother of the Scythic race, according to their legends; so that the deeper we dive into these traditions, the stronger reason we shall find to assign a Scythic origin to all these tribes. As Bappa, the founder of *Gehlotes*, retired into Scythia and left his heirs to rule in India, I shall find fault with no antiquary, who will throw overboard all the connection between *Kanakshen*, the founder of the *Balabhi* empire, and *Sumitra*, the last of Rama's line. Many rites of the Rana's house are decidedly Scythic.

over the ashes of those martyred *Kāmunis*, that he made good his way into those rock-bound abodes, the legend says not; but though

"In darkness, and with danger's compassed round,
And solitude,"

the intrepid Maldeo paused not until he had penetrated to the very bounds of the abyss, where in a recess he beheld the snaky sorceress and her sister crew seated round a cauldron, in which the materials of their incantation were solving before a fire that served to illumine this abode of horror. As he paused, the reverberation of his footsteps caused the infernal crew to look athwart the palpable obscure of their abode, and beholding the audacious mortal, they demanded his intent. The valiant Sonigurra replied that he did not come as a spy,

"With purpose to explore or to disturb
The secrets of their realm,"

but in search of the enchanted brand of the founded of the Gehlotes. Soon they made proof of Maldeo's hardihood. Uncovering the cauldron, he beheld a sight most appalling: amidst divers fragments of animals was the arm of an infant. A dish of this horrid repast was placed before him, and a silent signal made for him to eat. He obeyed, and returned the empty platter; it was proof sufficient of his worth to wear the enchanted blade, which, drawn forth from its secret abode, was put into the hand of Maldeo, who bowing, retired with the trophy.

Rana Hamira recovered this heir-loom of the house, and with it the throne of Cheetore, by his marriage with the daughter of the Sonigurra, as related in the annals. Another version says it was Hamira himself who obtained the enchanted sword, by his incantations to Charuni Devi, or the goddess of the bards, whom he worshipped.

We shall conclude this account of the military festival of Mewar with the birth of *Kumara*, the god of war, taken from the most celebrated of their mythological poems, the *Ramayana*, probably the most ancient book in the world. "Mera, daughter of Meru, became the spouse of Himavati, from whose union sprung the beauteous Ganga, and her sister Ooma. Ganga was sought in marriage by all the celestials; while Ooma, after a long life of austerity, was espoused by *Roodra*.* But neither sister was fortunate enough to have offspring, until Ganga became pregnant by HUTASHANA (regent of fire), and "KUMARA, resplendent as the sun, illustrious as the moon, was produced from the side of Ganga." The gods, with Indra at their head, carried him to the *Krittika*† to be nursed, and he became their joint care. "As he assembled the fire in brightness, he received the name of Scanda, when the immortals, with AGNI (fire) at their head, anointed him as general of the armies of the gods."‡—"Thus

* One of the names of the divinity of war, whose images are covered with vermillion in imitation of blood. (*Qu.*, the German *roodur*, 'red.')

† The Pleiades.

‡ The festival of the birth of this son of Ganga, or *Fannuni*, is on the 10th of *Feyt*. Sir W. Jones gives the following couplet from the *Sancha*: "On the 10th of *Fyaishta*, on the bright half of the month, on the day of MANGALA, (a) son of the earth, when the moon was in Hasta, this daughter of *Fahnu* brought from the rocks, and ploughed over the land inhabited by mortals."

(a) MANGALA is one of the names (and perhaps one of the oldest) of the Hindu Mars (*Kumara*); to whom the *Wodensdag* of the Northmen,

(the bard Valmiki speaks), Oh! Rama, have I related the story of the production of *Kumar*."

This is a very curious relic of ancient mythology, in which we may trace the most material circumstances of the birth of the Roman divinity of war. Kumara (Mars) was the son of Jannuvi (Juno), and born, like the Roman, without sexual intercourse, but by the agency of Vulcan (regent of fire). Kumara has the peacock (sacred to Juno likewise) as his companion; and as the Grecian goddess is feigned to have her car drawn by peacocks, so *Ku-mara* (the evil-striker) was a peacock for his steed.

Ganga, 'the river goddess,' has some of the attributes of Pallas, being like the Athenian maid (*Ganga* never married) born from the head of Jove. The bard of the silver age makes her fall from a glacier of Kailas (Olympus) on the head of the father of the gods, and remain many years within the folds of his tiara (*jata*), until at length being liberated, she was precipitated into the plains of Aryavarta. It was in this escape that she burst her rocky barrier (the Himalaya), and on the birth of Kumara exposed those veins of gold called *Fambunadi*, in colour like the jambu fruit, probably alluding to the veins of gold discovered in the rocks of the Ganges in those distant ages.

The last day of the month Asoj ushers in the Hindu winter (*Surd-rit*). On this day, nothing but white vestments and silver (*chandi*) ornaments are worn, in honour of the moon (*Chandra*), who gives his* name to the

" ————— Pale and common drudge

" 'Tween man and man,"

This year there was an entire intercalary month: such are called *Luna*. There is a procession of all the chiefs to the Chougan; and on their return a full court is held in the great hall, which breaks up with "obeisance to the lamp" (*jote ca mooyra*), whose light each reverences when the candles are lit at home, every Rajoot, from the prince to the owner of a "skin (*chursa*) of land," seated on a white linen cloth, should worship his tutelary divinity, and feed the priests with sugar and milk.

the *Mardi* of the French, the *dies Martis* of the Romans, are alike sacred. *Mangala* also means 'happy,' the reverse of the origin of *Mangul*, said to mean 'sad.' The juxta-position of the Rajpoot and Scandinavian days of the week will shew that they have the same origin:

Rajpoot.		Scandinavian and Saxon.
Surya-war	...	... Sun-day.
Som, or Indu-war	...	... Moon-day.
Mangal-war	...	... Tuis-day.
Bud-war	...	... Wodens-day.
Vrishpat-war (a)	...	... Thors-day.
Sucra-war (b)	...	... Frey-day.
Sani or Sanichara-war	...	... Satur-day.

* It will be recollected that the moon with the Rajpoots as with the Scandinavians is a male divinity. The Tatars, who also consider him a male divinity, pay him especial adoration in this autumnal month.

(a) *Vrihus pati*, 'he who rides on the bull;' the steed of the Rajpoot god of war.

(b) *Sucra* is a Cyclop, regent of the planet Venus.

CARTICA.—This month is peculiarly sacred to *Lakshmi*, the goddess of wealth, the *Funo Moneta* of the Romans. The 13th is called the *Dhunterus*, or thirteenth [day] of wealth when gold and silver coin are worshipped, as the representatives of the goddess, by her votaries of all classes, but especially by the mercantile. On the 14th, all anoint with oil, and make libations thereof to *Yama*, the judge of departed spirits. Worship (*poofa*) is performed to the lamp, which represents the god of hell, and is thence *Yama dipa*, 'the lamp, of Pluto;' and on this day partial illumination takes place throughout the city.

DEWALI, or Festival of Lamps.—On the *Amavus*, or *ides* of *Cartica*, is one of the most brilliant fetes of Rajasthan, called the *Dewali*, when every city, village, and encampment, exhibits a blaze of splendour. The potters' wheels revolve for weeks before solely in the manufacture of lamps (*dipa*), and from the palace to the peasant's hut, every one supplies himself with them, in proportion to his means, and arranges them according to his fancy. Stuffs, pieces of gold, and sweetmeats, are carried in trays and consecrated at the temple of *Lakshmi*, the goddess of wealth, to whom the day is consecrated. The Rana on this occasion honours his prime minister with his presence to dinner; and this chief officer of the state, who is always of the mercantile caste, pours oil into a *terra cotta* lamp, which his sovereign holds; the same libation of oil is permitted by each of the near relations of the minister. On this day, it is incumbent upon every votary of *Lakshmi* to try the chance of the dice, and from their success in the *dewali*, the prince, the chief, the merchant, and the artizan, foretell the state of their coffers for the ensuing year.

Lakshmi, though on this festival depicted under by the type of riches is evidently the beneficent *Annapurna* in another garb, for the agricultural community place a corn-measure filled with grain and adorned with flowers as her representative; or, if they adorn her effigies, they are those of *Padma*, the water-nymph, with a lotus in one hand, and the *pashu* (or fillet for the head) in the other. As *Lakshmi* was produced at "the Churning of the Ocean," and hence called one of the "fourteen gems," she is confounded with *Rambha*, chief of the *apsaras*, the Venus of the Hindus. Though both were created from the froth (*sara*) of the waters (*ap* or *up*), they are as distinct as the representations of riches and beauty can be. *Lakshmi* became the wife of *Vishnu*, or *Kaniya*, and is placed at the feet of his marine couch when he is floating on the chaotic waters. As his consort, she merges into the character of *Sarasvati*, the goddess of eloquence, and here we have the combination of *Minerva* and *Apollo*. As of *Minerva*, the owl is the attendant of *Lakshmi*; and when we reflect that the Egyptians, who furnished the Grecian pantheon, held these solemn festivals, also called "the feast of lamps," in honour of *Minerva* at *Sais*, we may deduce the origin of this grand Oriental festival from that common mother-country in Central Asia, whence the *Dewali* radiated to remote China, the Nile, the Ganges, and the shores of the Tigris; for the *shebrat* of Islam is but "the feast of lamps" of the Rajpoots. In all these there is a mixture of the attributes of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, of *Plutus* and *Pluto*. *Lakshmi* partakes of the attributes of both the first, while *Cuvera*,* who is conjoined with her, is *Plutus*: as *Yama* is *Pluto*, the infernal judge. The consecrated lamps and the libations of oil are all dedicated to him; and torches and flaming brands are likewise kindled and consecrated, to burn the bodies of kinsmen who may be dead in battle in a foreign

* The Hindu god of riches.

land, and light them through the shades of death to the mansion of Yama.*

To the infernal god Yama, who is "the son of the sun, the second day following the Amavus, or *ides* of Cartica, is also sacred; it is called the *Bhratri dwitya*, or 'the brothers,' because the river goddess *Yamuna* on this day entertained her brother (*bhratri*) Yama, and is therefore consecrated to fraternal affection. At the hour of curfew *goodaluk*,† when the cattle return from the fields,) the cow is worshipped, the herd having been previously tended. From this ceremony no rank is exempted on the preceding day, dedicated to Krishna: prince and peasant, all become pastoral attendants on the cow, as the form of *Prithwi*, or the earth.

The 1st (*Sudi*), or 16th of Cartica, is the grand festival of ANNACUTA sacred to the Hindu Ceres, which will be described with its solemnities at Nathdwara. There is a state procession, horse-races, and elephant-fights, at the Chougan, the evening closes with a display of fire-works.

The 14th (*Sudi*), or 29th, is another solemn festival in honour of Vishnu. It is called the *Ful-jatra*, from being performed on the water (*Ful*). The Rana, chiefs, ministers, and citizens, go in procession to the lake, and adore the "spirit of the waters," on which floating lights are placed, and the whole surface is illuminated by a grand display of pyrotechny. On this day, "*Vishnu rises from his slumber of four months*;"‡ a figurative expression to denote the sun's emerging from the cloudy months of the periodical flood.

The next day (the *poornum*, or last day of Cartica), being the *macara sancranti*, or autumnal equinox, when the sun enters the zodiacal sign *Macara*, or Pisces, the Rana and chiefs proceed in state to the Chougan, and play at ball on horseback. The entire last half of the month Cartica, from Amavus (the *ides*) to the *Poornum*, is sacred to Vishnu; who is declared by the *Puranas* to represent the sun, and whose worship, that of water, and the floating-lights placed thereon,—all objects emblematic of fecundity,—carry us back to the point whence we started,—the adoration of the powers of nature: clearly proving all mythology to be universally founded on an astronomical basis.

In the remaining months of *Aghun* or *Magsir*, and *Posh*, there are no festivals in which a state procession takes place, though in each there are marked days, kept not only by the Rajpoots, but generally by the Hindu nation; especially that on the 7th of Aghun, which is called *Mitra Saptimi*, or seventh of *Mithras*, and like the *Bhascara Saptimi* or the 7th of Magha, is sacred to the sun as a form of Vishnu. On this seventh day occurred the descent of the river-goddess (*Ganga*) from the food of Vishnu; or the genius of fertilization, typified under the form of the river goddess, proceeding from the sun, the vivifying principle, and impended over the head of Iswara, the divinity presiding over generation, in imitation of which his votary pours libations of water (if possible from the sacred river *Ganga*) over his emblem, the lingam or phallus: a comparison which is made by the bard Chand in an invocation to this god, for the sake of contrasting his own inferiority "to the mighty bards of old."

"The head of Ees§ is in the skies; on his crown falls the everflowing

* Yamala is the great god of the Finlanders—(Clarke.)

† From *goo*, 'a cow.'

‡ *Matsya Purana*.

§ Iswara, Isa or as pronounced, *Ees*.

stream (*Ganga*); but on his statue below, does not his votary pour the fluid from his *patra*?"

No satisfactory etymology has ever been assigned for the *phallic* emblem of generation, adored by Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and even by the *Christian*, which may be from the same primeval language that formed the Sanskrit.

Phalisa is the 'fructifier,' from *phala* 'fruit,' and *Isa* 'the god.' Thus the type of Osiris can have a definite interpretation, still wanting to the *lingam* of Iswara. Both deities presided over the streams which fertilized the countries in which they received divine honours; Osiris over the *Nile*, from 'the mountains of the moon,' in *Æthiopia*;* Iswara over the Indus.† (also called the Nil), and the Ganges from *Chandragiri*, 'the mountains of the moon,' on a peak of whose glaciers he has his throne.

Siva occasionally assumes the attributes of the sun-god; they especially appertain to Vishnu, who alone is styled "*immortal, the one, creator, and uncreated*;" and in whom centre all the qualities (*goonan*), which have peopled the Hindu pantheon with their ideal representatives. The bard Chand, who embodied the theological tenets of the Rajpoots in his prefatory invocation to every divinity who can aid his intents, apostrophizes Ganesa, and summons the goddess of eloquence (*Sarasvati*), "to make his tongue her abode;" deprecates the destroying power, "him whom wrath inhabits," lest he should be cut off ere his hook was finished; and lauding distinctly each member of the triad (*tri-murti*), he finishes by declaring them *one* and that "*whoever believes them separate, hell will be his portion.*" Of this *One* the sun is the great visible type, adored under a variety of names, as *Surya*, *Mitra*, *Bhaskar*, *Viava*, *Vishnu*, *Karna*, or *Kana*, likewise an Egyptian epithet for the sun.‡

The emblem of Vishnu is *Garuda*, or the eagle,§ and the Sun-god both of the Egyptians and Hindus is typified with the bird's head. *Aruna* (the dawn), brother of *Garuda*, is classically styled the charioteer of Vishnu, whose two sons, *Sumpati* and *Fatayu*, attempting in imitation of their father to reach the sun, the wings of the former were burnt and he fell to the earth; of this the Greeks may have made their fable of *Icarus*||

In the chief zodiacal phenomena, observation will discover that Vishnu is still the object of worship. The *Phula-dola*,¶ or *Floralia*, in the vernal equinox, is so called from the image of Vishnu being carried in a *dola* or ark, covered with garlands of flowers (*phula*). Again, in the month of Asar, the commencement of the periodical rains, which date from the summer solstice, the image of Vishnu is carried on a car, and brought forth on the first appearance of the moon, the 11th of which being the solstice, is called "*the night of the gods.*" Then Vishnu reposes on

* "The land of the sun" (*ast*).

† Ferishta calls the Indus the *Nil-ab*, or 'blue waters;' it is also called *Abg-sin*, the 'father of streams.'

‡ According to Diodorus Siculus.

§ The vulture and crane, which soar high in the heavens, are also called *garuda*, and vulgarly *geed*. The ibis is of the crane or heron kind.

|| Phæton was the of Cephalus and Aurora. The former answers of the Hindu bird-headed messenger of the sun. *Aruna* is the Aurora to the Greeks, who with more taste have given the dawn a female character.

¶ Also called *Dola yatra*.

his serpent-couch until the cessation of the flood on the 11th of Bhadoon, when "he turns on his side."*

The 4th is also dedicated to Vishnu under his infantine appellation *Hari* (*Fluos*), because when a child "he hid himself in the moon." We must not derogate from Sir W. Jones the merit of drawing attention to the analogy between these Hindu festivals on the equinoxes, and the Egyptian, called the *entrance of Osiris into the moon*, and his *confinement in an ark*. But that distinguished writer merely gives the hint, which the learned Bryant aids us to pursue, by bringing modern travellers to corroborate the ancient authorities: the drawings of Pocock from the sun temple of Luxor to illustrate Plutarch, Curtius, and Diodorus. Bryant comes to the same conclusion with regard to Osiris enclosed in the ark, which we adopt regarding *Vishnu's* repose during the four months of inundation, the period of fertilization. I have already, in the rites of *Annapurna*, the Isis of the Egyptians, noticed the *crescent* form of the ark of Osiris, as well as the *ram's-head* ornaments, indicative of the vernal equinox, which the Egyptians called *Phamenoth*, being the birth-day of Osiris, or the sun; the *Phag*, or *Phalgun* month of the Hindus; the *Phagesia* of the Greeks, sacred to Dionysius.

The expedition of Argonauts in search of the golden fleece is a version of the arkite worship of Osiris, the *Dolayatra* of the Hindus; and Sanscrit etymology, applied to the vessel of the Argonauts, will give the sun (*argha*) god's (*natha*) entrance into the sign of the *Ram*.

The Tauric and Hydra foes, with which Jason had to contend before he obtained the fleece of *Aries*, are the symbols of the sun-god, both of the Ganges and the Nile; and this fable, which has occupied almost every pen of antiquity, is clearly astronomical, as the names alone of the *Argha-Nath* sons of *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, *Sol*, *Arcus* or *Argus*,† *Jupiter*, *Bacchus*, etc., sufficiently testify, whose voyage is entirely celestial.

If it be destined that any portion of the veil which covers these ancient mysteries, connecting those of the Ganges with the Nile, shall be removed, it will be from the interpretation of the expedition of Rama hitherto deemed almost as allegorical as that of the *Arghanaths*. I shall at once assume an opinion I have long entertained, that the western coast of the Red Sea was the *Lanka* of the memorable exploit in the history of the Hindus. If Alexander from the mouths of the Indus ventured to navigate those seas with his frail fleet of barks constructed in the Punjab, what might we not expect from the resources of the King of Coahala, the descendant of *Sagara*, emphatically called the *sea-king*, whose "60,000 sons" were so many mariners, and who has left his name as a memorial of his marine power at the island (*Sagar*) at the embouchure of the main arm of the Ganges, and to the ocean itself, also called *Sagara*. If the embarkation of *Ramesa* and his heroes for the redemption of *Sita* had been from the Gulf of Cutch, the grand emporium from the earliest ages, the voyage of *Rama* would have been but the prototype of that of the Macedonians; but local tradition has sanctified *Rameswara*, the southern part of the peninsula, as the rendezvous of his armament. The currents in the Straits of Manar, curiosity or a wish to obtain auxiliaries

* *Bhagvat* and *Matsya Puranas*. See W. Jones on the lunar year of the Hindus, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III. p. 286.

† *Argha*, 'the sun,' in Sanskrit.

from this insular kingdom, may have prompted the visit to Ceylon; and hence the vestiges there found of this event. But even from this "*utmost isle, Taprobane*," the voyage across the Erythrean Sea is only twenty-five degrees of longitude, which with a flowing sail they would run down in ten or twelve days. The only difficulty which occurs is in the synchronical existence of Rama and the Pharaoh* of Moses, which would tend to the opposite of my hypothesis, and shew that India received her Phallic rites, her architecture, and symbolic mythology, from the Nile, instead of planting them there.

"Est-ce l'Inde, la Phenicie, l'Ethiopie, la Chaldee, ou l'Egypte, qui a vu naître ce culte ? ou bien le type en a-t-il été fourni aux habitans de ces contrées, *par une nation plus ancienne encore ?*" asks an ingenious, but anonymous French author, on the origin of the Phallic worship. *Ramesa*, chief of the *Suryas*, or sun-born race, was king of the city designated from his mother, *Caushalya*, of which *Ayodhya* was the capital. His sons were Lava and Cush, who originated the races we may term the *Lavites* and *Cushites*, or *Cushwas* of India.† Was then *Caushalya* the mother of *Ramesa*, a native of Æthiopia,‡ or *Cusha-dwipa*, 'the land of Cush ?' Rama and Krishna are both painted blue (*nila*), holding the lotus, emblematic of the Nile. Their names are often identified. Ram-Krishna, the birdheaded divinity, is painted as the messenger of each, and the historians of both were contemporaries. That both were real princes there is no doubt, though Krishna assumed to be an incarnation of Vishnu, as Rama was of the sun. Of Rama's family was *Trisankha*, mother of the great apostle of Budha, whose symbol was the serpent; and the followers of Budha assert that Krishna and this apostle, whose statues are *fac-similes* of those of Memnon, were cousins. Were the *Hermetic* creed and Phallic rites therefore received from the Ethiopic Cush ? Could emblematic relics be discovered in the caves of the Troglodytes, who inhabited the range of mountains on the Cushite shore of the Arabian straits, akin to those of Ellora and Elephanta,§ whose style discloses physical, mythological, as well as architectural affinity to the Egyptian, the question would at once be set at rest.

I have derived the Phallus from *Phalisa*, the *chief fruit*. The Greeks, who either borrowed it from the Egyptians or had it from the same source, typified the *Fructifier* by a *pine-apple*, the form of which resembles the *Sitaphala*|| or fruit of Sita, whose rape by Ravana carried Rama from the Ganges over many countries ere he recovered her.¶ In like manner *Gouri* the Rajpoot Ceres, is typified under the coconut, or *siphala*,** the *chief of fruit*, or *fruit* sacred to *Sri*, or *Isa* (Isis), whose other elegant emblem of abundance, the *camacampa*, is drawn with

* *Pha-va* is but a title, 'the king.'

† Of the former race the *Rahas* of Mewar, of the latter the princess of Nirwar and Ambar, are the representatives.

‡ Æthiopia, 'the country of the sun; from *Ast*, contraction of *Aditya*. Egypt may have the same etymology, *Astia*.

§ It is absurd to talk of these being modern; decypher the characters thereon, and then pronounce their antiquity.

|| *Vulg. Sureefa*.

¶ Rama subjected her to the fiery ordeal, to discover whether her virtue had suffered while thus forcibly separated.

** *Vulg. Naryal*.

branches of the palmyra,* or cocoa-tree, gracefully pendent from the vase (*cumbha*).

The *Sripphala*† is accordingly presented to all the votaries of Iswara and Isa on the conclusion of the spring-festival of *Phalguna*, the *Pagesia* of the Greeks, the *Phamenoth* of the Egyptian, and the *Saturnalia* of antiquity; a rejoicing at the renovation of the powers of nature; the empire of heat over cold—of light over darkness.‡

The analogy between the goddess of the spring *Saturnalia*, *Phalguni*, and the *Phagesia* of the Greeks, will excite surprise; the word is not derived from *Phagein* eating, with the Rajpoot votaries of *Holica*, as with those of the *Dionysia* of the Greeks; but from *phalguni*, compounded of *guna*, 'quality, virtue, or characteristic,' and *phala*, 'fruit;' in short, the *fructifier*. From *Phallos*, to which there is no definite meaning, the Egyptian had the festival *Phallica*, the *Holica* of the Hindus. *Phula* and *phala*, flower and fruit, are the roots of all, *Floralia* and *Phalaria*, the *Phallus* of *Osiris*, the *Thyrsus* of *Bacchus*, *Lingam* of *Iswara*, symbolized by the *Sripphala*, or *Annas*, the 'food of the gods,'§ or the *Sita-phala* of the *Helen* of *Ayodhya*.

From the existence of this worship in Congo at this day, the author already quoted, asks if it may not have originated in ETHIOPIA: "qui comme le temoignent plusieurs ecrivains de l'antiquite, a fourni sex dieux a l'Egypte." On the first of the five complementary days called "*epagomenes*," preceding new-year's day, the Egyptians celebrated the birth of the sun-god, *Osiris*, in a similar manner as the Hindus do their solstitial festival "the morning of the gods," the *Hilul* of Scandinavia; on which occasion, "on promenait en procession une figure d'*Osiris*, dont le *Phallus* etait triple;" a number, he adds, expressing "la pluralite indefinee." The number *three* is sacred to *Iswara*, chief of the *Tri-murti* or *Triad*,

* *Palmyra* is Sanskrit corrupted, and affords the etymology of Solomon's city of the desert, *Tadmor*. The *p*, by the retrenchment of a single diacritical point, becomes; and the *l* and *d* being permutable, *Pal* becomes *Tad* or *Tal*—the *Palmyra*, which is the *Mor*, or chief of trees; hence *Tadmor*, from its date-trees.

† The *Fayaphala*, 'the fruit of victory,' is the nutmeg; or, as a native of Java, *Favuphala*, 'fruit of Java,' is most probably derived from *Fayadvipa*, 'the victorious isle.'

‡ The *Camari* of the *Saura* tribes, or sun-worshippers of *Saurashtra*, claims descent from the bird-god of *Vishnu* (who aided *Rama* (a) to the discovery of *Sita*), and the *Macara* (b) or crocodile, and date the monstrous conception from that event, and their original abode from *Sancodra* Bate, or island of *Sancodra*. Whether to the *Dioscorides* at the entrance of the Arabian Gulf this name was given, evidently corrupted from *Sanc-ha-dwara* to *Socotra*, we shall not stop to inquire. Like the isle in the entrance of the gulf of *Cutch*, it is the *dwara* or portal to the *Sinus Arabicus*, and the pearl-shell (*sankha*) there abounds. This tribe deduce their origin from *Rama's* expedition, and allege that their *Ichthyopic* mother landed them where they still reside. Wild as is this fable, it adds support to this hypothesis.

§ 'Anna, food,' and *asa*, or *isa*, 'the god.'

(a) *Rama* and *Vishnu* interchange characters.

(b) It is curious, that the designation of the tribe *Camari* is a transposition of *Macar*, for the final letter of each is mute.

whose statue adorns the junction (*sangum*) of all triple streams; hence called *Trivent*, who is *Trinetra*, or 'three-eyed,' and *Tridenta*, or 'god of the trident;' *Triloka*, 'god of the triple abode, heaven, earth, and hell;' *Tripura*, of the triple city, to whom the *Tripoli* or triple gates are sacred, and of which he has made *Ganes* the Janitor, or guardian. The grotesque figure placed by the Hindus during the Saturnalia in the highways, and called *Natha-Rama* (the god Rama), is the counterpart of the figure described by Plutarch as representing Osiris, "*ce soleil printanier*," in the Egyptian Saturnalia or *Phamenoth*. Even Ram-isa and Ravana may, like Osiris and Typhon, be merely the ideal representatives of light and darkness; and the chaste *Sita*, spouse of the *Surya* prince, the astronomical Virgo, only a zodiacal sign.

That a system of Hinduism pervaded the whole Babylonian and Assyrian empires, Scripture furnished abundant proofs, in the mention of the various types of the sun-god *Balnath*, whose pillar adorned "every mount" and "every grove;" and to whose other representative, the brazen calf (*nanda*), the 15th of each month (*amavus*)* was especially sacred. It was not confined to these celebrated religions of the East, but was disseminated throughout the earth; because from the Aral to the Baltic, colonies were planted from that central region,† the cradle of the *Surya* and the *Indus*, whose branches (*sakhæ*)‡ the *Yavan*, the *Aswa*, and the *Meda*, were the progenitors of the Ionians, the Assyrians, and Medes;§ while in latter times, from the same teeming region, the *Galati* and *Getæ*|| the Kelts and Goths, carried modifications of the system to the shores of Armorica and the Baltic, the cliffs of Caledonia, and the remote isles of the German Ocean. The monumental circles sacred to the sun-god *Belonus* at once existing in that central region,¶ in India,** and throughout Europe, is conclusive. The apotheosis of the patriarch Noah, whom the Hindu styles "*Manu Vaiwaswata*, 'the man, son of the sun,'" may have originated the *Dolayatra* of the Hindus, the ark of Osiris, the ship of Isis amongst the Suevi, in memory of "*the forty days*" noticed in the traditions of every nation of the earth.

The time may be approaching when this worship in the East like the Egyptian, shall be only a matter of tradition; although this is not likely to

* The Hindus divide the month into two portions called *pukhas* or fortnights. The first is termed *badi*, reckoning from the 1st to the 15th, which day of partition is called *amavus*, answering to the *ides* of the Romans and held by the Hindus as it was by the Jews in great sanctity. The last division is termed *Sudi*, and they recommence with the initial numeral, thence to the 30th or completion, called *poornum*; thus instead of the 16th, 17th, etc., of the month, they say *Sudi ekum* (1st) *Sudi doag* (2nd).

† Sogdiana and Transoxiana.

‡ Hence the word *Sacæ*.

§ The sons of the three *Midas*, pronounced *Mede*, founded kingdoms at the precise point of time, according to calculation from the number of kings, that Assyria was founded.

|| The former were more *pastoral*, and hence the origin of their name, corrupted to *Keltai*. The *Getæ* or *Jits* pursued the hunter's occupation, living more by the chace, though these occupations are generally conjoined in the early stages of civilization.

¶ Rubruquais and other travellers.

** Colonel Mackenzie's invaluable and gigantic collection.

be effected by such summary means as were adopted by Cambysea, who slew the sacred Apis and whipped his priests, while their Greek and Roman conquerors adopted and embellished the Pantheon of the Nile.* But when Christianity reared her severe yet simple form, the divinities of the Nile, the Pantheon of Rome, and the Acropolis of Athens, could not abide her awful majesty. The temples of the Alexandrian Serapis were levelled by Theophilus,† while that of Osiris at Memphis became a Church of Christ. Muni de ses pouvoirs, et escorte d'une foule de moines, il mit en fuite les pretres, brisa les idoles, demolit les temples, ou y etablit des monasteres."‡ The period for thus subverting idolatry is passed: the religion of Christ is not of the sword, but one enjoining peace and good-will on earth. But as from him "to whom much is given," much will be required, the good and benevolent of the Hindu nations may have ulterior advantages over those Pharisees who would make a monopoly even of the virtues; who "see the mote in their neighbour's eye, but cannot discern the beam in their own." While, therefore, we strive to impart a purer taste and better faith, let us not imagine that the minds of those we would reform are the seats of impurity, because, in accordance with an idolatry coeval with the flood, they continue to worship mysteries opposed to our own modes of thinking.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE manners of a nation constitute the most interesting portion of its history, but a thorough knowledge of them must be the fruit of long and attentive observation: an axiom which applies to a people even less inaccessible than the Rajpoots. The importance and necessity of such an illustration of the Rajpoot character, in a work like the present, calls for and sanctions the attempt, however inadequate the means. Of what value to mankind would be the interminable narrative of battles, were their moral causes and results passed by unheeded? Although both the Persian and Hindu annalists not unfrequently unite the characters of moralist and historian, it is in a manner unsuitable to the subject, according to the more refined taste of Europe. In the poetic annals of the Rajpoot, we see him check his war-chariot, and when he should be levelling his javelin, commence a discourse upon ethics; or when the battle is over, the Nestor or Ulysses of the host converts his tent into a lyceum, and delivers lectures on morals or manners. But the reflections which should follow, and from the corollary to each action, are never given; and even if they were, though we might comprehend the moral movements of a nation, we should still be unable to catch the minute shades of character that complete the picture of domestic life, and which are to be collected from those familiar sentiments uttered in social intercourse, when the mind unbends and nature throws aside the trammels of education and of ceremony. Such a picture would represent the *manners*, which are continually undergoing modifications, in contradistinction to the *morals* of society; the latter,

* Isis and Osiris, Serapis and Canopus, Apis and Ibis, adopted by the Romans, whose temples and images, yet preserved, will allow full scope to the Hindu antiquary for analysis of both systems. The temple of Serapis at Pozzouli is quite Hindu in its ground plan.

† Du Culte, etc., etc. p. 47.

‡ In the reign of Theodosius.

having a fixed creed for their basis, are definite and unchangeable. The *chal* of the Rajpoot, like the *mores* of the Romans, or *costumi* of modern Italy, is significant alike of mental and external habit. In the moral point of view, it is the path chalked out for him by the sages of antiquity; in the personal, it is that which custom has rendered immutable. *Keu boora chal chalta*, 'in what a bad path does he march!' says the moralist; *Bap, Dada ca chal chhoora*, 'he abandons the usages of his ancestors,' says the stickler for custom, in Rajasthan.

The grand features of morality are few, and nearly the same in every nation not positively barbarous. The principles contained in the Decalogue form the basis of every code—of Manu and of Mahomed, as well as of Moses. These are grand landmarks of the truth of divine history; and are confirmed by the less important traits of personal customs and religious rites, which nations the most remote from each other continue to hold in common. The *Koran*, we know to have been founded on the Mosaic law; the *Sastra* of Manu, unconsciously, approaches still more to the Jewish Scriptures in spirit and intention; and from its pages might be formed a manual of moral instruction, which, if followed by the disciples of the framer, might put more favoured societies to the blush.

As it has been observed in a former part of this work, the same religion governing all must tend to produce a certain degree of mental uniformity. The shades of moral distinction which separate these races are almost imperceptible: while you cannot pass any grand natural barrier without having the dissimilarity of customs and manners forced upon your observation. Whoever passes from upland Mewar, the country of the Seesodias, into the sandy flats of Marwar, the abode of the Rahtores, would feel the force of this remark. Innovations proceeding from external causes, such as conquest by irreligious foes, and the birth of new sects and schisms, operate important changes in manners and customs. We can only pretend, however, to describe facts which are obvious, and those which history discloses, whence some notions may be formed of the prevailing traits of character in the Rajpoot; his ideas of virtue and vice, the social intercourse and familiar courtesies of Rajasthan, and their recreations, public and private.

"The manners of a people," says the celebrated Goguet, "always bear a proportion to the progress they have made in the arts and sciences." If by this test we trace the analogy between past and existing manners amongst the Rajpoots, we must conclude at once that they have undergone a decided deterioration. Where can we look for sages like those whose systems of philosophy were the prototypes of those of Greece: to whose works Plato, Thales, and Pythagoras, were disciples? Where shall we find the astronomers, whose knowledge of the planetary system yet excites wonder in Europe, as well as the architects and sculptors, whose works claim our admiration, and the musicians, "who could make the mind oscillate from joy to sorrow, from tears to smiles, with the change of modes and varied intonation."* The manners of those days must have corresponded with this advanced stage of refinement, as they must have suffered from its decline: yet the homage paid by Asiatics to precedent, has preserved many relics of ancient customs, which have survived the causes that produced them.

It is universally admitted that there is no better criterion of the refinement of a nation than the condition of the fair sex therein. As it is

* So says Valmika, the author of the oldest epic in existence the *Ramayuna*.

elegantly expressed by Comte Segur, " Leur sort est un boussole sur pour le premier regard d'un étranger qui arrive dans un pays inconnu." Unfortunately, the habitual seclusion of the higher classes of females in the East contracts the sphere of observation in regard to their influence on society; but, to borrow again from our ingenious author, " les hommes font les lois, les femmes font les mœurs;" and their incarceration in Rajasthan by no means lessens the application of the adage to that country. Like the magnetic power, however latent, their attraction is not the less certain. " C'est aux hommes à faire des grandes choses, c'est aux femmes à les inspirer," is a maxim [to which every Rajpoot cavalier would subscribe, with whom the age of chivalry is not fled, though ages of oppression have passed over him. He knows there is no retreat into which the report of a gallant action will not penetrate, and set fair hearts in motion to be the object of his search. The bards, those chroniclers of fame, like the *jongleurs* of old, have everywhere access, to the palaces as to the hamlet; and a brilliant exploit travels with all the rapidity of a comet, and clothed with the splendid decorations of poetry, from the Indian desert to the valley of the Jumna. If we cannot paint the Rajpoot dame as invested with all the privileges which Segur assigns to the first woman, " compagne de l'homme et son égale, vivant par lui, pour lui, associée à son bonheur, à ses plaisirs, à la puissance qu'il exerçait sur ce vaste univers;" she is far removed from the condition which demands commiseration.

Like the ancient German or Scandinavian, the Rajpoot consults her in every transaction; from her ordinary actions he draws the omen of success, and he appends to her name the epithet of *devi*, or 'godlike.' The superficial observer, who applies his own standard to the customs of all nations, laments with an affected philanthropy the degraded condition of the Hindu female, in which sentiment he would find her little disposed to join. He particularly laments her want of liberty, and calls her seclusion imprisonment. Although I cordially unite with Segur, who is at issue with his compatriot Montesquieu on this part of discipline, yet from the knowledge I do possess of the freedom, the respect, the happiness, which Rajpoot women enjoy, I am by no means inclined to deplore their state as one of captivity. The author of the *Spirit of Laws*, with the views of a closet philosopher, deems seclusion necessary from the irresistible influence of climate on the passions; while the chivalrous Segur, with more knowledge of human nature, draws the very opposite conclusion, asserting all restraints to be injurious to morals. Of one thing we are certain, seclusion of females could only originate in a moderately advanced stage of civilization. Amongst hunters, pastors, and cultivators, the women were required to aid in all external pursuits, as well as internal economy. The Jews secluded not their women, and the well, where they assembled to draw water, was the place where marriages were contracted, as with the lower classes in Rajpootana. The inundations of the Nile, each house of whose fertile valleys was isolated, is said to have created habits of secluding women with the Egyptians; and this argument might apply to the vast valleys of the Indus and Ganges first inhabited, and which might have diffused example with the spread of population. Assuredly, if India was colonized from the cradle of nations, Central Asia, they did not thence bring these notions within the Indus; for the Scythian women went to the opposite extreme, and were polyandrists.* The desire of eradicating those impure habits, described by

* So are some of the Hindu races in the mountainous district about

Herodotus, that the slipper at the tentdoor should no longer be a sign, may have originated the opposite extreme in a life of entire seclusion. Both polygamy and polyandrisim originated in a mistaken view of the animal economy, and of the first great command to people the earth : the one was general amongst all the nations of antiquity ; the other race, though to be found in Scythia, India, and even amongst the Natches, in the new world ; but never with the Rajpoot, with whom monogamy existed during the patriarchal ages of India, as amongst the Egyptians. Of all the nations of the world who have habituated the female to a restricted intercourse with society, whether Grecian, Roman, Egyptian, or Chinese, the Rajpoot has given least cause to provoke the sentiment of pity ; for it deference and respect be proofs of civilization, Rajpootana must be considered as redundant in evidence of it. The uxoriousness of the Rajpoot might be appealed to as indicative of the decay of national morals ; "*chez les barbares (says Segur), les femmes ne sont rein : les mœurs de ces peuples s'adouciscent-t-elles, on compte les femmes pour quelque-chose : enfin, se corrompent-elles, les femmes sont tout ;*" and whether from this decay, or the more probable and amiable cause of seeking, in their society, consolation for the loss of power and independence, the women are nealy every thing with the Rajpoot.

It is scarcely fair to quote Manu as an authority for the proper treatment of the fair sex, since many of his dicta by no means tend to elevate their condition. In his lengthened catalogue of things pure and impure he says, however, "the mouth of a woman is constantly pure,"* and he ranks it with the running waters, and the sun-beam ; he suggests that their names should be "agreeable, soft, clear, captivating the fancy, auspicious, ending in long vowels, resembling words of benedication."†

"Where females are honoured (says Manu), there the deities are pleased ; but where dishonoured, *there all religious rites become useless :*" and he declares, that in whatever house a woman not duly honoured pronounces an imprecation, that house, with all that belongs to it, shall utterly perish."‡ "Strike not, even with a blossom, a wife guilty of a hundred faults,"§ says another sage : a sentiment so delicate, that Reginald de Born, the prince of troubadours, never uttered any more refined.

the Himalaya, and in other parts of India. This curious trait in ancient manners is deserving of investigation : it might throw some light on the early history of the world.

* Chap. V. 130.

† Chap. II. 33

‡ *Digest of Hindu Law*, Colebrooke, Vol. II. p. 209.

§ Of all the religions which have diversified mankind, whatever man might select, woman should chose the Christian. This alone gives her just rank in the scale of creation, whether arising from the demotic principle which pervades our faith, or the dignity conferred on the sex in being chosen to be the mother of the Saviour of man. In turning over the pages of Manu, we find many mortifying texts which I am inclined to regard as interpolations ; as the following, so opposed to the beautiful sentiment above quoted :—"A wife, a son, a servant ; a pupil, and a *younger brother*, may be corrected when they cominit faults with a rope, or the small thong of cane."(a) Such texts might lead us to adopt Segur's conclusions, that ever since the days of the patriarchs women were only brilliant slaves—victims, who exhibited, in the wreaths and floral coronets which bedecked

However exalted the respect of the Rajpoot for the fair, he nevertheless holds that

"Nothing lovelier can be found

"In woman, than to study household good."

In the most tempestuous period of the history of Mewar, when the Ranas broke asunder the bonds which united them to the other chiefs of Rajasthan and bestowed their daughters on the foreign nobles incorporated with the higher class of their own kin, the chief of Sadri, so often mentioned, had obtained a princess to wife. There was a hazard to domestic happiness in such unequal alliance, which the lord of Sadri soon experienced. To the courteous request, "Ranawut-ji, fill me a cup of water," he received a contemptuous refusal, with the remark, that "the daughter of a hundred kings would not become cup-bearer to the chieftain of Sadri,"—"Very well," replied the plain soldier, "you may return to your father's house, if you can be of no use in mine." A messenger was instantly sent to the court, and the message, with every aggravation, was made known; and she followed on the heels of her messenger. A summons soon arrived for the Sadri chief to attend his sovereign at the capital. He obeyed; and arrived in time to give his explanation just as the Rana was proceeding to hold a full court. As usual, the Sadri chief was placed on his sovereign's right hand, and when the court broke up, the heir-apparent of Mewar, at a preconcerted sign, stood at the edge of the carpet, performing the menial office of holding the slippers of the chief. Shocked at such a mark of extreme respect, he stammered forth some words of homage, his unworthiness, etc.; to which the Rana replied, "As my son-in-law, no distinction too great can be conferred: take home your wife, she will never again refuse you a cup of water."*

them, the sacrifices to which they were destined. In the patriarchal ages their occupations were to season the viands, and bake the bread, and weave cloth for the tents: their recreations limited to respire the fresh evening air under the shade of a fig tree, and sing canticles to the Almighty. Such a fate, indeed, must appear to a Parisian dame, who passes her time between the *Feydeau* and *Tivoli*, and whose daily promenade is through the *Champs Élysees*, worse than death: yet there is no positive hardship in these employments, and it was but their fair division of labour in the primitive ages, and that which characterizes the Rajpootni of the present day.

* *Manu* lays down some plain and wholesome rules for the domestic conduct of the wife; above all, he recommends her "to preserve a cheerful temper," and "frugality in domestic expenses." Some of his texts savour, however, more of the anchocrite than of a person conversant with mankind; and when he commands the husband to be revered as a god by the virtuous wife, even though enamoured of another woman, it may be justly doubted if ever he found obedience thereto; or the scarcely less difficult ordinance, "for a whole year let a husband bear with his wife who treats him with aversion," after which probation he is permitted to separate. It is very likely the Rajpoots are more in the habit of quoting the first of these texts, than of hearing the last: for although they have a choice at home, they are not ashamed to be the avowed admirers of the *Aspasias* and *Phrynes* of the capital; from the same cause which attracted *Socrates* and made *Pericles* a slave, and which will continue until the united charms of the dance and the song are sanctioned to be practised by the *legitimes* within.

Could authority deemed divine ensure obedience to what is considered a virtue in all ages and countries, conjugal duties of the Rajpoots are comprehended in the following simple text: "*Let mutual fidelity continue to death*; this, in a few words, may be considered as the supreme law between husband and wife."*

That this law governed the Rajpoots in past ages, as well as the present, in as great a degree as in other stages of society and other countries, we cannot doubt. Nor will the annals of any nation afford more numerous or more sublime instances of female devotion, than those of the Rajpoots; and such would never have been recorded, were not the incentive likely to be revered and followed. How easy would it be to cite examples for every passion which can actuate the human mind! Do we desire to see a model of unbounded devotion, resignation, and love, let us take the picture of Sita, as painted by the Milton of their silver age, than which nothing more beautiful or sentimental may be culled even from *Paradise Lost*. Rama was about to abandon his faithful wife for the purpose of becoming a *Vanaprastha* or hermit, when she thus pours out her ardent desire to partake of his solitude.

"A woman's bliss is found, not in the smile
Of father, mother, friend, nor in herself:
Her husband is her only portion here,
Her heaven hereafter. If thou indeed
Depart this day into the forest drear,
I will precede, and smooth the thorny way.

* * * * *

"A gay recluse
On thee attending, happy shall I feel
Within the honey-scented grove to roam,
For thou e'en here canst nourish and protect;
And therefore other friend I cannot need.
To-day most surely with thee will I go,
And thus resolved, I must not be deny'd.
Roots and wild fruit shall be my constant food;
Nor will I near thee add unto thy cares,
Nor lag behind, nor forest-food refuse,
But fearless traverse every hill and dale.

* * * * *

"Thus could I sweetly pass a thousand years;
But without thee e'en heaven would lose its charms.

* * * * *

Pleased to embrace thy feet, I will reside
In the rough forest as my father's house.
Void of all other wish, supremely thine,
Permit me this request—I will not grieve,
I will not burden thee—refuse me not.
But shouldst thou, Raghuvu, this prayer deny,
Know, I resolve on death."—

Vide Ward, On the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus,
Vol. II. p. 408.

The publication of Mr. Wilson's specimens of the Hindu drama has put the English public in possession of very striking features of ancient Hindu manners, amongst which conjugal fidelity and affection stand

* Manu Chap., ix. p. 302. text 101, *Haughton's edition*.

eminently conspicuous. The *Uttara Rama Charita*, the *Vikrama and Urvashi*, and the *Mudra Rakshasa*, contain many instances in point.* In the latter piece occurs an example, in comparatively humble life, of the strong affection of a Hindu wife. Chandana Das, like Antonio in the *Merchant of Venice*, is doomed to die, to save his friend. His wife follows him to the scene of execution, with their only child, and the succeeding dialogue ensues :—

Chand.—Withdraw, my love, and lead our boy along.

Wife. —Forgive me, husband,—to another world
Thy steps are bound, and not to foreign realms,
Whence in due time thou homeward wilt return ;
No common farewell our leave-taking now
Admits, nor must the partner of thy fate.
Leave thee to trace thy solitary way.

Chand.—What dost thou mean ?

Wife. —To follow thee in death.

Chand.—Think not of this—our boy's yet tender years
Demand affectionate and guardian care.

Wife. —I leave him to our household gods, nor fear
They will desert his youth :—come, my dear boy,
And bid thy sire a long and last farewell.

The annals of no nation on earth record a more ennobling or more magnanimous instance of female loyalty than that exemplified by Dewulde mother of the Binafur brothers, which will at once illustrate the manners of the Rajpoot fair, and their estimation and influence in society.

The last Hindu emperor of Delhi, the chivalrous Prithwiraj of the Chohan race, had abducted the daughter of the prince of Sameta. Some of the wounded who had covered his retreat were assailed and put to death by Purnal, the Chundail prince of Mahoba. In order to avenge this insult, the emperor had no sooner conveyed his bride to Delhi than he invaded the territory of the Chundail, whose troops were cut to pieces at Sirswah,† the advanced post of his kingdom. While pursuing his success, the Chundail called a council, and by the advice of his queen Malundevi demanded a truce of his adversary, on the plea of the absence of his chieftains Ala and Udila. The brother of the bard of Mahoba was the envoy, who found the Chohan ready to cross the Pahouj. He presented his gifts, and adjured him, "as a true Rajpoot, and not to take them at such disadvantage." The gifts were accepted, and the Chohan pledged himself, "albeit his warriors were eager for the fight," to grant the truce demanded ; and having dismissed the herald, he enquired of his own bard, the prophetic Chund, the cause of the disaffection which led to the banishment of the Binafurs ; to which he thus replies : "Jessraj was the leader of the armies of Mahoba when his sovereign was defeated and put to flight by the wild race of Goands ; Jessraj repulsed the foe, captured Gurra their capital, and laid his head at his sovereign's feet. Purnal returning with victory to Mahoba, in gratitude for this service, embraced the sons of Jessraj, and placed them in his honours and lands, while Malundevi the queen made no distinction between them and her son."

* A cheap edition of these has been published by the *Society for the Resuscitation of Indian Literature*, and can be had of the *Secretary of the Society* at a nominal price.—*Publisher.*

† On the Pahouj, and now belonging to the Boondela prince of Duttea. The author has been over this field of battle.

The fief of the young Binafur chieftains was at the celebrated fortress Kalinjer, where their sovereign happening to see a fine mare belonging to Ala, desired to possess her, and being refused, so far forgot past services as to compel them to abandon the country. On retiring they fired the estates of the Purihara chief who had instigated their disgrace. With their mother and families they repaired to Canouj, whose monarch received them with open arms, assigning lands for their maintenance. Having thus premised the cause of banishment, Chund conducts us to Canouj, at the moment when Jugnu the bard was addressing the exiles on the dangers of Mahoba.

"The Chohan is encamped on the plains of Mahoba; Nursing and Birsing have fallen, Sirswah is given to the flames, and the kingdom of Pural laid waste by the Chohan. For one month a truce has been obtained: while to you I am sent for aid in his griefs. Listen, Oh sons of Binafur; sad have been the days of Malundevi since you left Mahoba! Oft she looks towards Canouj; and while she calls you to mind, tears gush from her eyes and she exclaims, 'the fame of the Chundail is departing;' but when gone, Oh sons of Jessraj, great will be your self-accusing sorrow: yet think of Mahoba!"

"Destruction to Mahoba! Annihilation to the Chundail who, without fault, expelled us our home: in whose service fell our father, by whom his kingdom was extended. Send the slanderous Purihara—let him lead your armies against the heroes of Delhi. Our heads were the pillars of Mahoba; by us were the Goands expelled, and their strongholds Deogurh and Chandbari added to his sway. We maintained the field against the Jadoon, sacked Hindown,* and planted his standard on the plains of Kuttair. It was I (continued Ala) who stopped the sword of the conquering Cutchwaha.† The Amirs of the Sooltan fled before us.—At Gaya we were victorious, and added Rewah‡ to his kingdom. Anterved§ I gave to the flames, and levelled to the ground the towns of Mewat.¶ From ten princes did Jessraj bring spoil to Mahoba. This have we done; and the reward is exile from our home! Seven times have I received wounds in his service, and since my father's death gained forty battles; and from seven has Udila conveyed the record of victory¶¶ to Pural. Thrice my death seemed inevitable. The honour of his house I have upheld—yet exile is my reward!"

The bard replies—"The father of Pural left him when a child to the care of Jessraj. Your father was in lieu of his own; the son should not abandon him when misfortune makes him call on you. The Rajpoot who abandons his sovereign in distress will be plunged into hell. Then

* Hindown was a town dependent on Biana, the capital of the Jadoons, whose descendants still occupy Kerowli and Sri Mathura.

† Rao Pujaon of Ambar, one of the great vassals of the Chohan, and ancestor of the present Raja of Jeypur.

‡ In the original, "the land of the Bhagel to that of the Chundail Rewah is capital of Bhagelkhund, founded by the Bhagela Rajpoot branch of the Solanki kings of Anhulwarra.

§ Anterved, the Doab, or Mesopotamia of the Jumna and Ganges.

¶ A district S. W. of Delhi, notorious for the lawless habits of its inhabitants: a very ancient Hindu race, but the greater part forced proselytes to the faith of Islam. In the time of Prithwiraj the chief of Mewat was one of his vassals.

¶¶ *Jayatpatra*, or 'bulletin of victory.'

place on your head the loyalty of your father. Can you desire to remain at Canouj while he is in trouble, who expended thousands in rejoicings for your birth? Malundevi (the queen), who loves you as her own, presses your return.—He bids me demand of Dewulde fulfilment of the oft-repeated vow, that your life and Mohaba, when endangered, were inseparable. The breaker of vows, despised on earth, will be plunged into hell, there to remain while sun and moon endure."

Dewulde heard the message of the queen. "Let us fly to Mohaba," she exclaimed. Ala was silent, while Udila said aloud, "May evil spirits seize upon Mahoba!—Can we forget the day when, in distress, he drove us forth?—Return to Mahoba—let it stand or fall, it is the same to me; Canouj is henceforth my home."

"Would that the gods had made me barren," said Dewulde, "that I had never borne, sons who thus abandon the paths of the Rajpoot, and refuse to succour their prince in danger!" Her heart bursting with grief, and her eyes raised to heaven, she continued: "Was it for this, O universal lord, thou mad'st me feel a mother's pangs for these destroyers of Binafur's fame? Unworthy offspring! the heart of the true Rajpoot dances with joy at the mere name of strife—but ye, degenerate, cannot be the sons of Jessraj—some carl must have stolen to my embrace, and from such ye must be sprung." The young chiefs arose, their faces withered in sadness. "When we perish in defence of Mahoba, and covered with wounds, perform deeds that will leave a deathless name; when our heads roll in the field—when we embrace the valiant in fight, and treading in the footsteps of the brave, make resplendent the blood of both lines, even in the presence of the heroes of the Chohan, then will our mother rejoice."

The envoy having, by this loyal appeal of Dewulde, attained the object of his mission, the brothers repair to the monarch of Canouj,* in order to ask permission to return to Mahoba; this is granted, and they are dismissed with magnificent gifts, in which the bardic herald participated;† and the parting valediction was "*preserve the faith of Rajpoots.*" The omens during the march were of the worst kind: as Jugnuk expounded them, "Ala with a smile replied, Oh bard, though thou canst dive into the dark recesses of futurity, to the brave all omens are happy, even though our heroes shall fall, and the fame of the Chundail must depart; thus in secret does my soul assure me." The sarus‡ was alone on the right—the eagle as he flew dropped his prey—the chukwa§ "separated from his mate—drops fell from the eyes of the warlike steed—the shial|| sent forth sounds of lamentation; spots were seen on the disc of the sun." The countenance of Lakhun fell,¶ these portents filled his soul with dismay: but Ala said, "though these omens bode death, yet death, to the valiant, to the pure in faith, is an object of desire not of sorrow. The path of the Rajpoot is beset with difficulties, rugged, and filled with thorns;

* Jeichund was then king of this city, only second to Delhi. He was attacked in 1193 (A. D.) by Shabudin, after his conquest of the Chohan, driven from his kingdom, and found a watery grave in the Ganges.

† Jugnuk had two villages conferred upon him, besides an elephant and a dress.

‡ The phenicopteros.

§ A large red duck, the emblem of fidelity with the Rajpoots.

|| The jackal.

¶ Commander of the succours of Canouj.

but he regards it not, so it but conducts to battle."—"To carry joy to Purnal alone occupied their thoughts: the steeds bounded over the plain like the swift-footed deer." The brothers, ere they reached Mahoba, halted to put on the *saffron robe* the sign of "*no quarter*" with the Rajpoot warrior. The intelligence of their approach filled the Chundail prince with joy, who advanced to embrace his defenders, and conduct them to Mahoba; while the queen Malundevi came to greet Dewulde, who with the herald bard paid homage, and returned with the queen to the city. Rich gifts were presented, gems resplendent with light. The queen sent for Ala, and extending her hands over his head, bestowed the *asses** (blessing), as kneeling he swore his head was with Mahoba, and then waved a vessel filled with pearls over his head, which were distributed to his followers.†

The bardic herald was rewarded with four villages. We are then introduced to the Chohan camp and council, where Chund the bard is expatiating on the return of the Binafurs with the succours of Canouj. He recommends his sovereign to send a herald to the Chundail to announce the expiration of the truce, and requiring him to meet him in the field, or abandon Mahoba. According to the bard's advice, a despatch was transmitted to Purnal, in which the cause of war was recapitulated—the murder of the wounded; and stating that, according to Rajpoot faith, he had granted seven days beyond the time demanded, "and although so many days had passed since succour had arrived from Canouj, the lion-horn had not yet sounded (*sing-nad*):" adding "if he abandon all desire of combat, let him proclaim his vassalage to Delhi, and abandon Mahoba."

Purnal received the hostile message in despair; but calling his warriors around him, he replied to the herald of the Chohan, that "on the day of the sun, the first of the month, he would join him in strife."

"On the day sacred to *Sucra* (Friday), Prithwiraj sounded the shell, while the drums thrice struck proclaimed the truce concluded ‡. The standard was brought forth, around which the warriors gathered; the cup circulated, the prospect of battle filled their souls with joy. They anointed their bodies with fragrant oils, while the celestials *apsaras* with ambrosial oils and heavenly perfumes anointed their silver forms, tinged their eyelids, and prepared for the reception of heroes §. The sound of the war-shell reached Koylas; the abstraction of Iswara was at an end—

* *Asses* is a form of benediction only bestowed by females and priests: it is performed by clasping both hands over the person's head, and waving a piece of silver or other valuable over him, which is bestowed in charity.

† This is a very ancient ceremony, and is called *Nachravali*. The author has frequently had a large salver filled with silver coin waved over his head, which was handed for distribution amongst his attendants. It is most appropriate from the fair, from whom also he has had this performed by their proxies, the family priest or female attendants.

‡ The Sankh, or war-shell, is thrice sounded, and the *nakarras* strike thrice, when the army is to march; but should it after such proclamation remain on its ground, a scape-goat is slain in front of the imperial tent.

§ This picture recalls the remembrance of Hædon and the heroes of the north; with the Valkyrias or choosers of the slain; the celestial maids of war of Scandinavia.

joy seized his soul at the prospect of completing his chaplet of skulls (*moonda-mala*). The Yoginis danced with joy, their faces sparkled with delight as they seized their vessels to drink the blood of the slain. The devourers of flesh, the *Palcharas*, sung songs of triumph at the game of battle between the Chohan and Chundail."

In another measure, the bard proceeds to contrast the occupations of his heroes and the celestials preparatory to the combat, which descriptions are termed *rupaca*. "The heroes gird on their armour, while the heavenly fair deck their persons. They place on their heads the helm crowned with the war-bell (*vira-ghanta*), these adjust the corset; they draw the girths of the war-steed, the fair of the world of bliss bind the anklet of bells; nets of steel defend the turban's fold, they braid their hair with golden flowers and gems; the warrior polishes his falchion—the fair tints the eyelid with *unjan*; the hero points his dagger, the fair paints a heart on her forehead; he braces on his ample buckler—she places the resplendent orb in her ear; he binds his arms with a gauntlet of brass—she stains her hands with the *henna*. The hero decorates his hand with the tiger-claw*—the Apsara ornaments with rings and golden bracelets; the warrior shakes the ponderous lance—the heavenly fair the garland of love† to decorate those who fall in the fight; she binds on a necklace of pearls, he a *mala* of the *tulasi*‡. The warrior strings his bow—the fair assume their killing glances. Once more the heroes look to their girths, while the celestial fair prepare their cars."

After the bard has finished his *rupaca*, he exclaims, "Thus says Chund, the lord of verse; with my own eyes have I seen what I describe." It is important to remark, that the national faith of the Rajpoot never questions the prophetic power of their chief bard, whom they call *Tricala*, or cognoscent of the past, the present, and the future—a character which the bard has enjoyed in all ages and climes; but Chund was the last whom they admitted to possess supernatural vision.

We must now return to Mahoba, where a grand council had assembled at a final deliberation; at which, shaded by screens, the mother of the Binafurs, and the queen Malundevi, were present. The latter thus opens the debate: "Oh mother of Ala, how may we succeed against the lord of the world?§ If defeated, lost is Mahoba; if we pay tribute, we are loaded with shame." Dewulde recommends hearing *seriatim* the opinions of the chieftains, when Ala thus speaks: "Listen, O mother, to your son; he alone is of pure lineage who, placing loyalty on his head, abandons all thoughts of self, and lays down his life for his prince; my thoughts are only for Purnal. If she lives she will show herself a woman, or emanation of Parvati.¶ The warriors of Sambhur shall be cut in pieces. I will so illustrate the blood of my fathers, that my fame shall last for ever. My son Eendal, Oh prince! I bequeath to you, and the fame of Dewulde is in your keeping."

* Bagh-nuk, or Nahar-nuk.

† Burmala.

‡ *Mala*, a necklace. The *tulasi* or *rudraca* had the same estimation amongst the Hindus that the misletoe had amongst the ancient Britons, and was always worn in battle as a charm.

§ *Prithwiraj*.

¶ A Rajpoot never names his wife. Here it is evidently optional to the widow to live or die, though Ala shews his wish for her society above. See chapter on *Satis*, which will follow.

The queen thus replies: "The warriors of the Chohan are fierce as they are numerous; pay tribute, and save Mahoba." The soul of Udila inflamed, and turning to the queen, "Why thought you not thus when you slew the defenceless? But then I was unheard. Whence now your wisdom? Thrice I beseeched you to pardon. Nevertheless, Mahoba is safe while life remains in me, and in your cause, Oh Pural! we shall espouse celestial brides."

"Well have you spoken, my son," said Dewulde, "nothing now remains but to make thy parent's milk resplendent by thy deeds. The calls of the peasant driven from his home meet the ear, and while we deliberate, our villages are given to the flames." But Pural replied: Saturn* rules the day, to-morrow we shall meet the foe." With indignation Ala turned to the king: "He who can look tamely on while the smoke ascends from his ruined towns, his fields laid waste, can be no Rajpoot—he who succumbs to fear when his country is invaded, his body will be plunged into the hell of hells, his soul a wanderer in the world of spirits for sixty thousand years; but the warrior who performs his duty will be received into the mansion of the sun, and his deeds will last for ever."

But cowardice and cruelty always accompany each other, nor could all the speeches of the brothers "screw his courage to the sticking place." Pural went to his queen, and gave fresh vent to his lamentation. She upbraided his unmanly spirit, and bid him head his troops and go forth to the fight. The heroes embraced their wives for the last time, and with the dawn performed their pious rites. The Binafur offered oblations to the nine planets, and having adored the image of his tutelary god, he again put the chain round his neck;† then calling his son Eendal, and Udila his brother, he once more poured forth his vows to the universal mother "that he would illustrate the name of Jessraj, and evince the pure blood derived from Dewulde, whenever he met the foe.—"Nobly have you resolved," said Udila, "and shall not my *Kirban*‡ also dazzle the eyes of Sambhur's lord? shall he not retire from before me?"—"Farewell, my children," said Dewulde, "*be true to your salt*, and should you lose your heads for your prince, doubt not you will obtain the celestial crown." Having ceased, the wives of both exclaimed, "What virtuous wife survives her lord? for thus says Goriji.§ the woman, who, survives her husband who falls in the field of battle, will never obtain bliss, but wander a discontented ghost in the region of unhallowed spirits."

This is sufficient to exhibit the supreme influence of women, not only on, but also in, society.

The extract is taken from the Bardic historian, when Hindu customs were pure, and the Chohan was paramount sovereign of India. It is worth while to compare it with another written six centuries after the conquest by the Mahomedans; although six dynasties—namely Ghizni, Gor, Khillij, Seyed, Lodi, and Mogul, numbering more than thirty kings, had intervened, yet the same uncontrollable spirit was in full force, unchangeable even in misfortune. Both Hindu and Persian historians

* Sanichur.

† It was a *juntur* or phylactery of Hanooman the monkey deity; probably a magical stanza, with his image.

‡ A crooked scimitar.

§ One of the names of Mera or Parvati. This passage will illustrate the subject of *Satee* in a future chapter.

expatiate with delight on the anecdote; but we prefer the narrative of the ingenuous Bernier, under whose eye the incident occurred.

In the civil war for empire amongst the sons of Shah Jehan, when Arungzebe opened his career by the deposal of his father and the murder of his brothers, the Rajpoots, faithful to the emperor, determined to oppose him. Under the intrepid Rathore Jesswunt Sing, thirty thousand Rajpoots, chiefly of that clan, advanced to the Nerbudda, and with a magnanimity amounting to imprudence, they permitted the junction of Morad with Arungzebe, who under cover of artillery served by Frenchmen, crossed the river almost unopposed. Next morning the action commenced, which continued throughout the day. The Rajpoots behaved with their usual bravery; but were surrounded on all sides, and by sunset left ten thousand dead on the field.* The Maharaja retreated to his own country, but his wife, a daughter of the Rana of Oodipur, "disdained (says Ferish-ta) to receive her lord, and shut the gates of the castle."

Bernier, who was present, says, "I cannot forbear to relate the fierce reception which the daughter of the Rana gave to her husband Jesswunt Sing, after his defeat and flight. When she heard he was nigh, and had understood what had passed in the battle; that he had fought with all possible courage; that he had but four or five hundred men left; and at last, no longer able to resist the enemy, had been forced to retreat; instead of sending some one to condole him in his misfortunes, she commanded in a dry mood to shut the gates of the castle, and not to let this infamous man enter; that he was not her husband; that the son-in-law of the great Rana could not have so mean a soul; that he was to remember, that being grafted into so illustrious a house, he was to imitate its virtue; in a word, he was to vanquish, or to die. A moment after, she was of another humour; she commands a pile of wood to be laid, that she might burn herself; that they abused her; that her husband must needs be dead; that it could not be otherwise. And a little while after, she was seen to change countenance, to fall into a passion, and break into a thousand reproaches against him. In short, she remained thus transported eight or nine days, without being able to resolve to see her husband, till at last her mother coming, brought her in time to herself, composed by assuring her that as soon as the Raja had but refreshed himself he would raise another army to fight Arungzebe, and repair his honour. By which story one may see," says Bernier, "a pattern of the courage of the women in that country;" and he adds this philosophical corollary on this and the custom of suttees, which he had witnessed: "*There is nothing which opinion, prepossession, custom, hope, and the point of honour, may not make men do or suffer.*"†

The romantic history of the Chohan emperor of Delhi abounds in sketches of female character; and in the story of his carrying off Sunjogta, the princess of Canouj, we have not only the individual portrait of the Helen of her country, but in it a faithful picture of the sex. We see her, from the moment when, rejecting the assembled princes, she threw the "garland of marriage" round the neck of her hero, the Chohan abandon herself to all the influences of passion—mix in a combat of five days' con-

* "It is a pleasure (says Bernier) to see them with the fume of opium in their heads, embrace each other when the battle is to begin, and give their mutual farewells, as men resolved to die."

† Bernier's *History of the late Revolution of the Empire of the Mogul*, vol. p. 113, ed. 1684.

tinuance against her father's array, witness his overthrow, and the carnage of both armies, and subsequently, by her seductive charms, lulling her lover into a neglect of every princely duty. Yet when the foes of his glory and power invade India, we see the enchantress at once start from her trance of pleasure, and exchanging the softer for the sterner passions, in accents not less strong because mingled with deep affection, see conjures him while arming him for the battle, to die for his fame, declaring that she will join him in "the mansions of the sun." Though it is difficult to extract, in passages sufficiently condensed, what may convey a just idea of this heroine, we shall attempt it in the bard's own language, rendered into prose. He announces the tidings of invasion by the medium of a dream, which the Chohan thus relates:—

" 'This night, while in the arms of sleep, a fair, beautiful as Rambha, rudely seized my arm; then she assailed you, and while you were struggling, a mighty elephant,* infuriated, and hideous as a demon, bore down upon me. Sleep fled—nor Rambha nor demon remained—but my heart was panting, and my quivering lips muttering *Hur! Hur!*† What is decreed the gods only know.'

" Sunjogta replied, 'Victory and fame to my lord! Oh sun of the Chohans, in glory, or in pleasure, who has tasted so deeply as you? To die is the destiny not only of man but of the gods: all desire to throw off the old garment; but to die well is to live for ever. Think not of self, but of immortality; let your sword divide your foe, and I will be your *Ar-dhanga*‡ hereafter.'

" The king sought the bard, who expounded the dream, and the Guru wrote an incantation, which he placed in his turban. A thousand brass vessels of fresh milk were poured in libations to the sun and moon. Ten buffaloes were sacrificed to the supporters of the globe, and gifts were made to all. But will offerings of blood or libations of milk arrest what is decreed? If by these man could undo what is ordained, would Nala or the Pandus have suffered as they did?"

While the warriors assemble in council to consult on the best mode of opposing the Sultan of Ghijni, the king leaves them to deliberate, in order to advise with Sunjogta. Her reply is curious:

"Who asks women for advice? The world deems their understanding shallow; even when truths issue from their lips, none listen thereto. Yet what is the world without woman? We have the forms of Sakti with the fire of Siva; we are at once thieves and sanctuaries; we are vessels of virtue and of vice—of knowledge and ignorance. The man of wisdom, the astrologer, can from *the books* calculate the motion and course of the planets; but in the book of woman he is ignorant: and this is not a saying of to-day, it ever has been so: our book has not been mastered, therefore, to hide their ignorance, they say, in woman there is no wisdom! Yet woman shares your joys and your sorrows. Even when you depart for the mansion of the sun, we part not. Hunger and thirst we cheerfully partake with you; we are as the lakes, of which you are the swans; what are you when absent from our bosoms?"

* It is deemed unlucky to see this emblem of Ganesa in sleep.

† The battle-shout of the Rajpoot.

‡ 'Half-body,' which we may render, in common phraseology "*other half*."

The army having assembled, and all being prepared to march against the Islamite, in the last great battle which subjugated India, the fair Sun-jogta armed her lord for the encounter. In vain she sought the rings of his corslet; her eyes were fixed on the face of the Chohan, as those of the famished wretch who finds a piece of gold. The sound of the drum reached the ear of the Chohan; it was as a death-knell on that of Sun-jogta: and as he left her to head Delhi's heroes, she vowed that hence forward water only should sustain her, "I shall see him again in the region of Surya, but never more in Yoginipoor."* Her prediction was fulfilled, her lord was routed, made captive and slain; and, faithful to her vow, she mounted the funeral pyre.

Were we called upon to give a pendant for Lucretia, it would be found in the queen of Ganore. After having defended five fortresses against the foe, she retreated to her last stronghold on the Nerbudda; and had scarcely left the bark, when the assailants arrived in pursuit. The disheartened defenders were few in number, and the fortress was soon in possession of the foe, the founder of the family now ruling in Bhopal. The beauty of the queen of Ganore was an allurement only secondary to his desire for her country, and he invited her to reign over it and him. Denial would have been useless, and would have subjected her to instant coercion, for the Khan awaited her reply in the hall below; she therefore sent a message of assent, with a complementary reflection on his gallant conduct and determination of pursuit; adding, that he merited her hand for his bravery, and might prepare for the nuptials, which should be celebrated on the terrace of the palace. She demanded two hours for unmolested preparation, that she might appear in appropriate attire, and with the distinction her own and his rank demanded.

Ceremonials, on a scale of magnificence equal to the shortness of the time, were going on. The song of joy had already stifled the discordant voice of war, and at length the Khan was summoned to the terrace. Robed in the marriage garb presented to him by the queen, with a necklace and aigrette of superb jewels from the coffers of Ganore, he hastened to obey the mandate, and found that fame had not done justice to her charms. He was desired to be seated, and in conversation full of rapture on his side, hours were as minutes while he gazed on the beauty of the queen. But presently his countenance fell—he complained of heat; punkas and water were brought, but they availed him not, and he began to tear the bridal garments from his frame, when the queen thus addressed him: "know Khan, that your last hour is come; our wedding and our death shall be sealed together. The vestments which cover you are poisoned; you had left me no other expedient to escape pollution." While all were horror-struck by this declaration, she sprang from the battlements into the flood beneath. The Khan died in extreme torture, and was buried on the road to Bhopal; and, strange to say, a visit to his grave has the reputation of curing the tertian of that country.

We may give another anecdote illustrative of this extreme delicacy of sentiment, but without so tragical a conclusion. The celebrated Raja Jey Sing of Ambar had espoused a princess of Haravati, whose manners and garb, accordant with the simplicity of that provincial capital, subjected her to the *badinage* of the more refined court of Ambar, whose ladies had added the imperial costume to their own native dress. One day being alone with the prince, he began playfully to contrast the sweep-

* Delhi.

ing *jupe* of Kotah with more scanty robe of, the belles of his own capital ; and taking up a pair of scissors, said he would reduce it to an equality with the latter. Offended at such levity, she seized his sword, and assuming a threatening attitude, said, "that in the house to which she had the honour to belong, they were not habituated to jests of this nature ; that mutual respect was the guardian, not only of happiness but of virtue ;" and she assured him, that if he ever again so insulted her, he would find that the daughter of Kotah could use a sword more effectively than the prince of Ambar the scissors ; adding, that she would prevent any future scion of her house from being subjected to similar disrespect, by declaring such intermarriages, '*tilac*,' or forbidden, which interdict I believe yet exists.*

I will append an anecdote related by the celebrated Zalim Sing, characteristic of the presence of mind, prowess, and physical strength of the Rajpoot women. To attend and aid in the minutiae of husbandry is by no means uncommon with them, as to dress and carry the means of their husbands to the fields is a general practice. In the jungle which skirts the knolls of Puchapahar, a huge bear assaulted a Rajpootni as she was carrying her husband's dinner. As he approached with an air of gallantry upon his hind-legs, doubting whether the food or herself were the intended prey, she retreated behind a large tree, round the trunk of which Bruin, still in his erect attitude, tried all his powers of circumvention to seize her. At length, half exhausted, she boldly grasped his paws, and with so vigorous a hold that he roared with pain, while in vain, with his short neck, did he endeavour to reach the powerful hand which fixed him. While she was in this dilemma, a *purdesi* (a foreign soldier of the state) happened to be passing to the garrison of Gagrown, and she called out to him in a voice of such unconcern to come and release her for a time, that he complied without hesitation. She had not retired, however, above a dozen yards ere he called loudly for her return, being scarcely able to hold his new friend ; but laughingly recommending perseverance, she hastened on, and soon returned with her husband, who laid the monster prostrate with his marchlock, and rescued the *purdesi* from his unpleasing predicament.

Such anecdotes might be multiplied *ad infinitum* ; but I will conclude with one displaying the romantic chivalry of the Rajpoot, and the influence of the fair in the formation of character ; it is taken from the annals of Jessulmeer, the most remote of the estates of Rajasthan, and situated in the heart of the desert, of which it is an oasis.

Raningdeo was lord of Poogul, a fief of Jessulmeer ; his heir, named Sadoo, was the terror of the desert, carrying his raids even to the valley of the Indus, and on the east to Nagore. Returning from a foray, with a train of captured camels and horses, he passed by Aureent, where dwelt Manik Rao, the chief of the Mohils, whose rule extended over 140 villages. Being invited to partake of the hospitality of the Mohil, the heir of Poogul attracted the favourable regards of the old chieftain's daughter :

"She loved him for the dangers he had passed ;"
for he had the fame of being the first river of the desert. Although

* The physician (unless he unite with his office that of ghostly comforter) has to feel the pulse of his patient with a curtain between them, through a rent, in which the arm is extended.

betrothed to the heir of the Rathore of Mundore, she signified her wish to renounce the throne to be the bride of the chieftain of Pookul; and in spite of the dangers he provoked, and contrary to the Mohil chief's advice, Sadoo, as a gallant Rajpoot, dared not reject the overture, and he promised "*to accept the coco*,"* if he sent in form to Pookul. In due time it came, and the nuptials were solemnized at Aurent. The dower was splendid; gems of high price, vessels of gold and silver, a golden bull, and a train of thirteen *dewadharis*,† or damsels of wisdom and penetration.

Irrinkowal, the slighted heir of Mundore, determined on revenge, and with four thousand Rathores planted himself in the path of Sadoo's return, aided by the Sankla Mehraj, whose son Sadoo had slain. Though entreated to add four thousand Mohils to his escort, Sadoo deemed his own gallant band of seven hundred Bhattis sufficient to convey his bride to his desert abode, and with difficulty accepted fifty, led by Megraj, the brother of the bride.

The rivals encountered at Chondun, where Sadoo had halted to repose; but the brave Rathore scorned the advantage of numbers, and a series of single combats ensued, with all the forms of chivalry. The first who entered the lists was Jevtanga, of the Pahoo clan, and of the kin of Sadoo. The enemy came upon him by surprise while reposing on the ground, his saddle-cloth for his couch, and the bridle of his steed twisted round his arm; he was soon recognized by the Sankla, who had often encountered his prowess, on which he expatiated to Irrinkowal, who sent an attendant to awake him; but the gallant *Panch Kalyan* (for such was the name of his steed) had already performed this service, and they found him upbraiding *white-legs*‡ for treading upon him. Like a true Rajpoot, "*toujours pret*," he received the hostile message, and sent the envoy back with his compliments, and a request for some *uml* or opium, as he had lost his own supply. With all courtesy this was sent, and prepared by the domestics of his antagonist; after taking which he lay down to enjoy the customary *siesta*. As soon as he awoke, he prepared for the combat, girt on his armour, and having reminded Panch Kalvan of the fields he had won, and telling him to bear him well that day, he mounted and advanced. The son of Chonda admiring his *sang froid*, and the address with which he guided his steed, commanded Joda Chohan, the leader of his party, to encounter the Pahoo. "Their two-edged swords soon clashed in combat;" but the gigantic Chohan fell beneath the Bhatti, who, warmed with the fight, plunged amidst his foes, encountering all he deemed worthy his assault.

The fray thus begun, single combats and actions of equal parties followed, the rivals looking on. At length Sadoo mounted; twice he charged the Rathore ranks, carrying death on his lance; each time he returned for the applause of his bride, who beheld the battle from her car. Six hundred of his foes had fallen, and nearly half his own warriors. He bade her a last adieu, while she exhorted him to the fight, saying, "she would witness his deeds, and if he fell, would follow him even in death."

* Sripkala.

† Literally 'lamp-holders,' such is the term applied to these hand-maids, who invariably form a part of the *dajea*, or 'dower.'

‡ Panch Kalyan is generally, if not always, a chestnut, having four white legs, with a white nose and list of star.

Now he singled out his rival Irrinkowal,* who was alike eager to end the strife, and blot out his disgrace in his blood. They met; some seconds were lost in a courteous contention, each yielding to his rival the first blow, at length dealt out by Sadoo on the neck of the disappointed Rahtore. It was returned with the rapidity of lightning, and the daughter of the Mohil saw the steel descend on the head of her lover. Both fell prostrate to the earth: but Sadoo's soul had sped; the Rahtore had only swooned. With the fall of the leaders the battle ceased; and the fair cause of strife, Korumdevi, at once a virgin, a wife, and a widow, prepared to follow her affianced. Calling for a sword, with one arm she dissevered the other, desiring it might be conveyed to the father of her lord—"tell him such was his daughter." The other she commanded to be struck off, and given, with her marriage jewels thereon, to the bard of the Mohils. The pile was prepared on the field of battle; and taking her lord in her embrace, she gave herself up to the devouring flames. The dissevered limbs were disposed of as commanded; the old Rao of Poogul caused the one to be burnt, and a tank was excavated on the spot, which is still called after the heroine, "the lake of Korumdevi."

This encounter took place in S. 1492, A. D. 1407. The brunt of the battle fell on the Sanklas, and only twenty-five out of three hundred and fifty left the field with their leader, Mehraj, himself severely wounded. The rejected lover had four brothers dangerously hurt; and in six months the wounds of Irrinkowal opened afresh: he died, and the rites to the manes of these rivals in love, the *chhaomassa*† of Sadoo, and the *duadasa*‡ of Irrinkowal, were celebrated on the same day.

Without pausing to trace the moral springs of that devotion which influenced the Mohila maiden, we shall relate the sequel to the story (though out of place)§ in illustration of the prosecution of feuds throughout Rajasthan. The fathers now took up the quarrel of their sons; and as it was by the prowess of the Sankla vassal of Mundore that the band of Sadoo was discomfited, the old Rao Raningdeo, drew together the lances of Poogul, and carried destruction into the fief of Mehraj. The Sanklas yield in valour to none of the brave races who inhabit the "region of death," and Mehraj was the father of Harba Sankla, the Palladin of Moroodes, whose exploits are yet the theme of the erratic bards of Rajasthan. Whether he was unprepared for the assault, or overcome by numbers, three hundred of his kin and clan moistened the sand-hills of the Looni with their blood. Raningdeo, flushed with revenge and laden with spoil, had reached his own frontier, when he was overtaken by Chonda of Mundore, alike eager to avenge the loss of his son Irrinkowal, and this destructive inroad on his vassal. A desperate conflict ensued, in which the Rao of Poogul was slain; and the Rahtore returned in triumph to Mundore.

Unequal to cope with the princes of Mundore, the two remaining sons of Raningdeo, Tunno and Mairah, resolved to abandon their faith, in

* *Arankowal*, 'the lotus of the desert,' from *aranya* (Sanskrit), 'a waste,' and *comala* (pronounced *kowal*), 'a lotus'; classically it should be written *arancomala*; I write it as pronounced.

† The rites to the manes on the completion of the 'sixth month.'

‡ The rites to the manes on the 'twelfth day.'

§ The greater portion of these anecdotes, the foundation of national character will appear in the respective annals.

order to preserve the point of honour, and "to take up *their father's feud*."* At this period the king, Khizer Khan, was at Mooltan; to him they went, and by offers of service and an open apostasy, obtained a force to march against Chonda, who had recently added Nagore to his growing dominions. While the brothers were thus negotiating, they were joined by Keelun, the third son of their common sovereign, the Rawul of Jessulmeer, who advised the use of *chul*, which with the Rajpoot means indifferently strategem or treachery, so that it facilitates revenge. With the ostensible motive of ending their feuds, and restoring tranquillity to their borderers, whose sole occupation was watching, burning, and devastating, Keelun offered a daughter in marriage to Chonda, and went so far as to say, that if he suspected aught unfair, he would, though contrary to custom and his own dignity, send the Bhatti princess to Nagore. This course being deemed the wisest, Chonda acquiesced in his desire "to extinguish the feud (*wer bujaona*)."

Fifty covered chariots were prepared as the nuptial *cortege*, but which, instead of the bride and her handmaids, contained the bravest men of Poogul. These were preceded by a train of horses led by Rajpoots, of whom seven hundred also attended the camels laden with baggage, provisions, and gifts, while a small armed retinue brought up the rear. The king's troops, amounting to one thousand horse, remained at a cautious distance behind. Chonda left Nagore to meet the cavalcade and his bride, and had reached the chariots ere his suspicions were excited. Observing, however, some matters which little savoured of festivity, the Rahtore commenced his retreat. Upon this the chiefs rushed from their chariots and camels, and the royal auxiliaries advancing, Chonda was assailed and fell at the gate of Nagore; and friend and foe entering the city together, a scene of general plunder commenced.

Once more the feud was balanced; a son and a father had fallen on each side, and the petty Rao of Poogul had bravely maintained the *wer* against the princes of Mundore. The point of honour had been carried to the utmost bound by both parties, and an opportunity of reconciliation was at hand, which prevented the shadow of disgrace either to him who made or him who accepted the overture. The Rahtores dreaded the loss of the recent acquisition, Nagore, and proposed to the Bhattis to seal their pacification with the blood of their common foe. United, they fell on the spoil-encumbered Tatars, whom they slew to a man.† Their father's feud thus revenged, the sons of Raningdeo (who, as apostates from their faith, could no longer hold Poogul in fief, which was retained by Keelun, who had aided their revenge) retired amongst the *abhorias* Bhattis, and their descendants are now styled *Moomun Musulman Bhatti*.

From such anecdotes, it will be obvious wherein consists the point of honour with the Rajpoots; and it is not improbable that the very cause which has induced an opinion that females can have no influence on the lords of the creation, namely, their seclusion, operates powerfully in the contrary way.

In spite of this seclusion, the knowledge of their accomplishments and of their personal perfections, radiates wherever the itinerant bard can

* Bap ra wer lena.

† Khizer Khan succeeded to the throne of Delhi in A. D. 1414 and according to the Jessulmeer annals, the commencement of these feuds was in A. D. 1407.

travel. Though invisible themselves, they can see; and accident often favours public report, and brings the object of renown within the sphere of personal observation: as in the case of Sadoo and the Mohila maiden. Placed behind screens, they see the youths of all countries, and there are occasions when permanent impressions are made, during tournaments and other martial exercises. Here we have just seen, that the passion of the daughter of the Mohil was fostered at the risk of the destruction not only of her father's house but also that of her lover; and as the fourteen hundred and forty towns, which owned the sway of the former, were not long after absorbed into the accumulating territory of Mundore, this insult may have been the cause of the extirpation of the Mohils, as it was of the Bhatts of Poogul.

The influence of women on Rajpoot society is marked in every page of Hindu history, from the most remote periods. What led to the wars of Rama? the rape of Sita. What rendered deadly the feuds of the Yadus? the insult to Draupadi. What made prince Nala an exile from Nirwur? his love for Damnyanti. What made Raja Bhartri abandon the throne of Avanti? the loss of Pingala. What subjected the Hindu to the dominion of the Islamite? the rape of the princess of Canouj. In fine the cause which overturned kingdoms, commuted the sceptre to the pilgrim's staff, and formed the groundwork of all their grand epics, is woman. In ancient, and even in modern, times, she had more than a negative in the choice of a husband, and this choice fell on the gallant and the gay. The fair Draupadi was the prize of the best archer, and the Pandu Arjuna established his fame, and bore her from all the suitors of Kampila. The princess of Canouj, when led through ranks of the princes of Hind, each hoping to be the object of her choice, threw the marriage-garland (*burmala*) over the neck of the effigy of the Chohan, which her father in derision had placed as porter at the gate. Here was incense to fame and incentive to gallantry!*

In the same manner, as related in another part of this work, did the princess of Kishengurh invite Rana Raj Sing to bear her from the impending union with the emperor of the Moguls; and abundant other instances could be adduced of the free agency of these invisibles.

It were superfluous to reason on the effects of traditional histories, such as these, on the minds and manners of the females of Rajasthan. They form the amusement of their lives, and the grand topic in all their conversaziones; they read them with the *Purohit*, and they have them sung by the itinerant bard or Dholi minstrel, who disseminates them wherever the Rajpoot name extends. The Rajpoot mother claims her full share in the glory of her son, who imbibes at the maternal fount his first rudiments of chivalry; and the importance of this parental instruction cannot be better illustrated than in the ever-recurring simile, "make thy mother's milk resplendent;" the full force of which we have in the powerful, though overstrained expression of the Boondi queen's joy on the announcement of the heroic death of her son: "the long-dried fountain at which he fed, jetted forth as she listened to the tale of his death, and the marble pavement, on which it fell, rent asunder." Equally futile would it be to

* The Samnite custom, so lauded by Montesquieu as the reward of youthful virtue, was akin in sentiment to the Rajpoot, except that the fair Rajpootini made herself the sole judge of merit in her choice. It was more calculated for republican than aristocratic society.—See *L'Esprit des Lois*, Chap. XVI, Livre. VII.

reason on the intensity of sentiment thus implanted in the infant Rajpoot, of whom we may say without metaphor, the shield is his cradle, and daggers his playthings; and with whom the first commandment is, "avenge thy father's feud;" on which they can heap text upon text, from the days of the great Pandu moralist Vyasa, to the not less influential bard of their nation, the Tricala Chund.

CHAPTER XXIV.

WE now proceed to consider another trait of Rajpoot character, exemplified in the practice of female immolation, and to inquire whether religion, custom, or affection, has most share in such sacrifice. To arrive at the origin of this rite, we must trace it to the recesses of mythology, where we shall discover the precedent in the example of *Sati*, who to avenge an insult to Iswara, in her own father's omission to ask her lord to an entertainment, consumed herself in the presence of the assembled gods. With this act of fealty (*sati*) the name of Daksha's daughter has been identified; and her regeneration and reunion to her husband, as the mountain-nymph *Mera*, or 'Parvati,' furnish the incentive to similar acts. In the history of these celestial beings, the Rajpootni has a memorable lesson before her, that no domestic differences can afford exemption from this proof of faith: for Jupiter and Juno were not more eminent examples of connubial discord than *Mera* and *Siva*, who was not only alike unfaithful, but more cruel, driving *Mera* from his Olympus (*Kylas*), and forcing her to seek refuge in the murky caverns of *Caucasus*. Female immolation, therefore, originated with the sun-worshipping *Saivas*, and was common to all those nations who adored this the most splendid object of the visible creation. Witness the Scythic *Gete* or Jut warrior of the *Jaxartes*, who devoted his wife, horse, arms, and slaves, to the flames; the "giant *Gete*" of Scandinavia, who forgot not on the shores of the Baltic his Transoxianian habits; and the Frisian Frank and Saxon descended from him, who ages after omitted only the female. Could we assign the primary cause of a custom so opposed to the first law of nature with the same certainty that we can prove its high antiquity, we might be enabled to devise some means for its abolition. The chief characteristic of *satiism* is its expiating quality: for by this act of *faith*, the *Sati* not only makes atonement for the sins of her husband, and secures the remission of her own, but has the joyful assurance of reunion to the object whose beatitude she procures. Having once imbibed this doctrine, its fulfilment is powerfully aided by that heroism of character inherent to the Rajpootni; though we see that the stimulant of religion requires no aid even in the timid female of Bengal, who, relying on the promise of regeneration, lays her head on the pyre with the most philosophical composure.

Nothing short of the abrogation of the doctrines which pronounce such sacrifices exculpatory can be effectual in preventing them; but this would be to overturn the fundamental article of their creed, the notion of metempsychosis. Further research may disclose means more attainable, and the sacred *Sastras* are at once the surest and the safest. Whoever has examined these, is aware of the conflict of authorities for and against cremation; but a proper application of them (and they are the highest

who give it not their sanction) has, I believe, never been resorted to. Vyasa, the chronicler of the Yadus, a race whose manners were decidedly Scythic, is the great advocate for female sacrifice; he (in the *Mahabharat*) pronounces the expiation perfect. But Manu inculcates no such doctrine; and although the state of widowhood he recommends might be deemed onerous by the fair sex of the west, it would be considered little hardship in the east. "Let her emaciate her body, by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruit; but let her not, when her lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man." Again he says, "A virtuous wife ascends to heaven, if, after the decease of her lord, she devote herself to pious austerity; but a widow, who slights her deceased husband by *marrying again*, brings disgrace on herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord."*

These and many other texts, enjoining purity of life and manners to the widow, are to be found in this first authority, but none demanding such a cruel pledge of affection. Abstinence from the common pursuits of life, and entire self-denial are rewarded by "high renown in this world, and in the next the abode of her husband;" and procure for her the title of "*sadhvi*, or the virtuous." These are deemed sufficient pledges of affection by the first of sages.† So much has been written on this subject,

* Manu, *On Women*, Chap. V. text 160, 161.

† Were all Manu's maxims on this head collected and with other good authorities, printed, circulated, and supported by Hindu missionaries, who might be brought to advocate the abolition of Satiism, some good might be effected. Let every text tending to the respectability of widowhood be made prominent, and degrade the opponents by enumerating the weak points they abound in. Instance, the polyandris which prevailed among the Pandus, whose high priest Vyasa was an illegitimate branch; though above all would be the efficacy of the abolition of polygamy, which in the lower classes leaves women destitute, and in the higher condemns them to mortification and neglect. Whatever result such a course might produce, there can be no danger in the experiment. Such sacrifices must operate powerfully on manners; and, barbarous as is the custom, yet while it springs from the same principle, it ought to improve the condition of women, from the fear that harsh treatment of them might defeat the atonement hereafter. Let the advocate for the abolition of this practice by the hand of power, read attentively Mr. Colebrooke's Essay "On the Duties of a faithful Hindu Widow," in the fourth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, to correct the notion that there is no adequate religious ordinance for the horrid sacrifice. Mr. C. observes (p. 220): "Though an alternative be allowed, the Hindu legislators have shewn themselves disposed to encourage widows to burn themselves with their husbands' corpse." In this paper he will find too many authorities deemed sacred for its support; but it is only by knowing the full extent of the prejudices and carefully collecting the conflicting authorities, that we can provide the means to overcome it. Jehangir legislated for the abolition of this practice by successive ordinances. At first he commanded that no woman, being mother of a family, should under any circumstances be permitted, however willing, to immolate herself; and subsequently the prohibition was made entire when the slightest compulsion was required, "whatever the assurances of the people might be." The royal commentator records no reaction. We might imitate Jehangir, and adopting the partially prohibitive ordinance, forbid the sacrifice where there was a family to rear.

that we shall not pursue it further in this place ; but proceed to consider a still more inhuman practice, infanticide.

Although custom sanctions, and religion rewards, a Sati, the victim to marital selfishness, yet, to the honour of humanity, neither traditionary adage nor religious text can be quoted in support of a practice so revolting as infanticide. Man alone, of the whole animal creation, is equal to the task of destroying his offspring : for instinct preserves what reason destroys. The wife is the sacrifice to his egotism, and the progeny of her own sex to his pride ; and if the unconscious infant should escape the influence of the latter, she is only reserved to become the victim of the former at the period when life is most desirous of extension. If the female reasoned on her destiny, its hardships are sufficient to stifle all sense of joy, and produce indifference to life. When a female is born, no anxious inquiries await the mother—no greetings welcome the new-comer, who appears an intruder on the scene, which often closes in the hour of its birth. But the very silence with which a female birth is accompanied forcibly expresses sorrow ; and we dare not say, that many compunctious visitings do not obtrude themselves on those, who, in accordance with custom and imagined necessity, are thus compelled to violate the sentiments of nature. Families may exult in the *Satis* which their cenotaphs pourtray, but none ever heard a Rajpoot boast of the destruction of his infant progeny.

What are the causes, we may ask, sufficiently powerful to induce the suppression of a feeling which every sentient being has in common for its offspring ? To suppose the Rajpoot devoid of this sentiment, would argue his deficiency in the ordinary attributes of humanity : often is he heard to exclaim, "accursed the day when a woman child was born to me !" The same motive which studded Europe with convents, in which youth and beauty were immured until liberated by death, first prompted the Rajpoot to infanticide : and, however revolting the policy, it is perhaps kindness compared to incarceration. There can be no doubt that monastic seclusion, practised by the Frisians in France, the Langobardi in Italy, and the Visigoths in Spain, was brought from Central Asia, the cradle of the Goths.* It is, in fact, a modification of the same feeling, which characterizes the Rajpoot and the ancient German warrior,—the dread of dishonour to the fair : the former raises the poniard to the breast of his wife rather than witness her captivity, and he gives the opiate to the infant, whom, if he cannot portion and marry to her equal, he dare not see degraded.

Although religion no where authorizes this barbarity, the laws which regulate marriage amongst the Rajpoots powerfully promote infanticide. Not only is intermarriage prohibited between families of the same clan (*campa*), but between those of the same tribe (*gote*) ; and though centuries may have intervened since their separation, and branches thus

* The Ghikers, a Scythic race inhabiting the banks of the Indus, at an early period of history were given to infanticide. "It was a custom," says Ferishta, "as soon as a female child was born, to carry her to the market-place and there proclaim aloud, holding the child in one hand, and a knife in the other, that any one wanting a wife might have her : otherwise she was immolated." By this means they had more men than women, which occasioned the custom of several husbands to one wife. When any one husband visited her, she set up a mark at the door, which being observed by the others, they withdrew till the signal was removed.

transplanted may have lost their original patronymic, they can never be regrafted on the original stem : for instance, though eight centuries have separated the two grand sub-divisions of the Gehlotes, and the younger, the Seesodia, has superseded the elder, the Aharya, each ruling distinct states, a marriage between any of the branches would be deemed incestuous : the Seesodia is yet brother to the Aharya, and regards every female of the race as his sister. Every tribe has therefore to look abroad, to a race distinct from its own, for suitors for the females. Foreign war, international feuds, or other calamities, affect tribes the most remote from each other; nor can war or famine thin the clans of Marwar, without diminishing the female population of Ambar : thus both suffer in a two-fold degree. Many virtuous and humane princes have endeavoured to check or mitigate an evil, in the eradication of which every parental feeling would co-operate. Sumptuary edicts alone can control it; and the Rajpoots were never sufficiently enamoured of despotism to permit it to rule within their private dwellings. The plan proposed, and in some degree followed by the great Jey Sing of Ambar, might with caution be pursued, and with great probability of success. He submitted to the prince of every Rajpoot state a decree, which was laid before a convocation of their respective vassals, in which he regulated the *daej*a or dower, and other marriage expenditure, with reference to the property of the vassal, limiting it to one year's income of the estate. This plan was, however, frustrated by the vanity of the Chondawut of Salmoombra, who expended on the marriage of his daughter a sum even greater than his sovereign could have afforded; and to have his name blazoned by the bards and genealogists, he sacrificed the beneficent views of one of the wisest of the Rajpoot race. Until vanity suffers itself to be controlled, and the aristocratic Rajpoot submit to republican simplicity, the evils arising from nuptial profusion will not cease. Unfortunately, those who could check it, find their interest in stimulating it, namely, the whole class of *mangtas* (mendicants), bards, minstrels, jugglers, Brahmins, who assemble on these occasions, and pour forth their epithalamiums in praise of the virtue of liberality. The *bardais* are the grand recorders of fame, and the volume of *precedent* is always resorted to, in citing the liberality of former chiefs; while the dread of their satire (*viserva*, literally 'poison') shuts the eyes of the chiefs to consequences, and they are only anxious to maintain the reputation of their ancestors, though fraught with future ruin. "The Dahima emptied his coffers," (says Chund, the pole-star of the Rajpoots), "on the marriage of his daughter with Prithwiraj; but he filled them with the praises of mankind." The same bard retails every article of these *daejas* or 'dowers,' which thus become precedents for future ages; and the "*lac passao*," then established for the chief bardai, has become a model to posterity. Even now the Rana of Oodipur, in his season of poverty, at the recent marriage of his daughters bestowed "the gift of a lac" on the chief bard; though the articles of gold, horses, clothes, etc., were included in the estimate, and at an undue valuation, which rendered the gift not quite so precious as in the days of the Chohan. Were bonds taken from all the feudal chiefs, and a penal clause inserted, of forfeiture of their fief by all who exceeded a fixed nuptial expenditure, the axe would be laid to the root, the evil would be checked, and the heart of many a mother (and we may add, father) be gladdened, by preserving at once the point of honour and their child. When ignorance declaims against the gratuitous love of murder amongst these brave men, our contempt is excited equally by its short-sighted conclusions, and the affected

philanthropy which overlooks all remedy but the "*sic volo*." Sir John Shore, when acting on the suggestions of the benevolent Duncan for the suppression of this practice amongst the Rajkumars, judged more wisely as a politician, and more charitably in his estimate of human motives. "A prohibition," says he, "enforced by the denunciation of the severest temporal penalties, would have had little efficacy in abolishing a custom which existed in opposition to the feelings of humanity and natural affection;" but "the sanction of that religion which the Rajkumars professed, was appealed to in aid of the ordinances of civil authority; and an engagement binding themselves to desist from the barbarous practice was prepared, and circulated for signature amongst the Rajkumars." It may well be doubted how far this influence could extend, when the root of the evil remained untouched, though not unseen, as the philanthropic Duncan pointed out in the confession of the Rajkumars: "all unequivocally admitted it, but all did not fully acknowledge its atrocity; and the only reason they assigned for the inhuman practice was, the great expense of procuring suitable matches for their daughters, if they allowed them to grow up." The Rajkoomar is one of Chohan *sachè*, chief of the *Agriculus*, and in proportion to its high and well-deserved pretensions on the score of honour, it has more infanticides than any other of the "thirty-six royal races." Amongst those of this race out of the pale of feudalism, and subjected to powers not Rajpoot, the practice is four-fold greater, from the increased pressure of the cause which gave it birth, and the difficulty of establishing their daughters in wedlock. Raja Jey Sing's enactment went far to remedy this. Conjoin his plan with Mr. Duncan's, provide dowers, and infanticide will cease. It is only by removing the cause, that the consequences can be averted.

As to the almost universality of this practice amongst the Jarejas, the leading cause, which will also operate to his continuance, has been entirely overlooked. The Jarejas were Rajpoots, a sub-division of the Yadus; but by intermarriage with the Mahomedans, to whose faith they became proselytes, they lost their caste. Political causes have disunited them from the Mahomedans, and they desire again to be considered as pure Rajpoots; but having been contaminated, no Rajpoot will intermarry with them. The owner of a *hyde* of land, whether Seesodia, Rathore, or Chohan, would scorn the hand of a Jareja princess. Can the "*sic volo*" be applied to men who think in this fashion?

Having thus pointed out the causes of the sacrifice of widows and of infants, I shall touch on the yet more awful rite of *Fohnr*, when a whole tribe may become extinct, of which several instances have been recorded in the annals of Mewar. To the fair of other lands the fate of the Rajpootni must appear one of appalling hardship. In each stage of life, death is ready to claim her; by the poppy at its dawn, by the flames in ripier years; while the safety of the interval depending on the uncertainty of war, at no period is her existence worth a twelve-month's purchase. The loss of a battle, or the capture of a city, is a signal to avoid captivity and its horrors, which to the Rajpootni are worse than death. To the doctrines of Christianity, Europe owes the boon of protection to the helpless and the fair, who are comparatively safe amidst the vicissitudes of war; to which security the chivalry of the middle ages doubtless contributed. But it singular that a nation so refined, so scrupulous in its ideas with regard to females, as the Rajpoot, should not have entered into some national compact to abandon such proof of success as the bondage.*

* *Bundu* is 'a bondsman' in Persian; *Bandi*, 'a female slave' in Hindi.

of the sex. We can enter into the feelings, and applaud the deed, which ensured the preservation of their honour by the fatal *johur*, when the foe was the brutalized Tatar. But the practice was common in the international wars of the Rajpoots; and I possess numerous inscriptions (on stone and on brass), which record as the first token of victory the captive wives of the foeman. When "the mother of Sisera looked out of the window, and cried *through the lattice*, why tarry the wheels of his chariot—have they not sped? have they not divided the prey, to every man a damsel or two?"* we have a perfect picture of the Rajpoot mother expecting her son from the foray.

The Jewish law with regard to female captives was perfectly analogous to that of Manu; both declare them "lawful prize," and both Moses and Manu establish rules sanctioning the marriage of such captives with the captors. "When a girl is made captive by her lover, after a victory over 'her kinsman,' marriage 'is permitted by law.'† That forcible marriage in the Hindu law termed *Rakshasa*, viz., "the seizure of a maiden by force from her house while she weeps and calls for assistance, after her kinsman 'and friends have been slain in battle,'‡ is the counterpart of the ordinance regarding the usage of a captive in the *Pentateuch*,§ excepting the "shaving of the head," which is the sign of complete slavery with the Hindu. When Hector, anticipating his fall, predicts the fate which awaits Andromache, he draws a forcible picture of the misery of the Rajpoot; but the latter, instead of a lachrymose and enervating harangue as he prepared for the battle with the same chance of defeat, would have spared her the pain of plying the "Argive loom" by her death. To prevent such degradation, the brave Rajpoot has recourse to the *johur* or immolation of every female of the family: nor can we doubt that, educated as are the females of that country, they gladly embrace such a refuge from pollution. Who would not be a Rajpoot in such a case? The very term widow (*rand*), is used in common parlance as one of reproach.||

* Judges, v. 28-30.

† Manu, On Marriage, Art. 26.

‡ Manu, On Marriage, Art. 33.

§ "When thou goest forth to war against thine enemies, and the Lord thy "God hath delivered them into thine hands, and thou hast taken them captive and seest among the captives a beautiful woman, and hast a desire unto her, that thou wouldst have her to thy wife; then thou shalt bring her home to thine house, and she shall shave her head, and pare her nails; and she shall put the raiment of her captivity from off her, and shall remain in thine house, "and bewail her father, and her mother a full month: and after that thou shalt go in unto her, and be her husband, and she shall be thy wife."—Deut., Chap. XXI. ver. 10, 11, 12, 13.

|| I remember in my subaltern days, and wanderings through countries then little known, one of my Rajpoot soldiers at the well, impatient for water, asked a woman for the rope and bucket by the uncivil term of *rand*: "*Myn Rajpootni che*," 'I am a Rajpootni' she replied in the Hara dialect, to which tribe she belonged, "*our Rajpoot ca ma cho*," 'and the mother of Rajpoots.' At the indignant reply the hands of the brave Kulian were folded, and he asked her forgiveness by the endearing and respectful epithet of "mother." It was soon granted, and filling his brass vessel, she dismissed him with the epithet of "son," and a gentle reproof. Kulian was himself a Rajpoot, and a bolder lives not,

Manu commands that whoever accosts a woman shall do so by the title of "sister,"* and that "way must be made for her, even as for the aged, for a priest, a prince, or a bridegroom;" and in the admirable text on the laws of hospitality, he ordains that "pregnant women, brides, and damsels, shall have food† before all the other guests;" which, with various other texts, appears to indicate a time when women were less than now objects of restraint; a custom attributable to the paramount dominion of the Mahomedans, from whose rigid system the Hindus have borrowed. But so many conflicting texts are to be found in the pages of Manu, that we may pronounce the compilation never to have been the work of the same legislator: from whose dicta we may select with equal facility texts tending to degrade as to exalt the sex. For the following he would meet with many plaudits: "Let women be constantly supplied with ornaments at festivals and jubilees, for if the wife be not elegantly attired, she will not exhilarate her husband. A wife gaily adorned, the whole house is embellished."‡ In the following text he pays an unequivocal compliment to her power: "a female is able to draw from the right path in this life, not a fool only, but even a sage, and can lead him in subjection to desire or to wrath." With this acknowledgment from the very fountain of authority, we have some ground for asserting that "*les femmes font les mœurs*," even in Rajpootana; and that though immured and invisible, their influence on society is not less certain than if they moved in the glare of open day.

Most erroneous ideas have been formed of the Hindu female from the pictures drawn by those who never left the banks of the Ganges. They are represented as degraded beings, and that not one in many thousands can even read. I would ask such travellers, whether they know the name of Rajpoot, for there are few of the lowest chieftains, whose daughters are not instructed both to read and write; though the customs of the country requiring much form in epistolary writing, only the signature is made to letters. But of their intellect, and knowledge of mankind, whoever has had to converse with a Rajpootni guardian of her son's rights, must draw a very different conclusion §. Though excluded by the Salic law of India from governing, they are declared to be fit regents during minority; and the history of India is filled with anecdotes of able and valiant females in this capacity.||

if he still exist; this was in 1807, and in 1817 he gained his sergeant's knot, as one of the thirty-two fire-locks of my guard, who led the attack, and defeated a camp of fifteen hundred Pindarries.

* On Education, Art. 129.

† On Marriage, Art. 114.

‡ On Marriage, Arts. 57, 60, 61, 62, 63.

§ I have conversed for hours with the Boondi queen-mother on the affairs of her government and welfare of her infant son, to whom I was left guardian by his dying father. She has adopted me as her brother; but the conversation was always in the presence of a third person in her confidence, and a curtain separated us. Her sentiments showed invariably a correct and extensive knowledge, which was equally apparent in her letters, of which I had many. I could give many similar instances.

|| Ferishta in his history gives an animated picture of Durgavati, queen of Gurrah, defending the rights of her infant son against Akbar's ambition. Like another Boadicea, she headed her army, and fought a desperate battle with Asoph Khan, in which she was wounded and defeated; but scorning flight, or to survive the loss of independence, she, like the antique Roman in such a predicament, slew herself on the field of battle.

The more prominent traits of character will be found disseminated throughout the Annals; we shall therefore omit the customary summaries of nationalities, those fanciful debtor and creditor accounts, with their balanced amount, favourable or unfavourable according to the disposition of the observer; and from the anecdotes scattered through these pages, leave the reader to form his own judgment of the Rajpoot. High courage, patriotism, loyalty, honour, hospitality, and simplicity, are qualities which must at once be conceded to them; and if we cannot vindicate them from charges to which human nature in every clime is obnoxious; if we are compelled to admit the deterioration of moral dignity, from the continual inroads of, and their consequent collision with, rapacious conquerors; we must yet admire the quantum of virtue which even oppression and bad example have failed to banish. The meaner vices of deceit and falsehood, which the delineators of national character attach to the Asiatic without distinction, I deny to be universal with the Rajpoots, though some tribes may have been obliged from position to use these shields of the weak against continuous oppression. Every court in Rajasthan has its characteristic epithet; and there is none held more contemptible than the affix of *jootha durbar*, 'the lying court,' applied to Jeypur; while the most comprehensive measure of praise is the simple epithet of *sachha*,* 'the truth-teller.' Again, there are many shades between deceit and dissimulation: the one springs from natural depravity; the other may be assumed, as with the Rajpoot, in self-defence. But their laws, the mode of administering them, and the operation of external causes, must be attentively considered, before we can form a just conclusion of the springs which regulate the character of a people. We must examine the opinions of the competent of past days, when political independence yet remained to the Rajpoots, and not found our judgment of a nation upon a superficial knowledge of individuals. To this end I shall avail myself of the succinct but philosophical remarks of Abul Fuzil, the wise minister of the wise Akbar, which are equally applicable to mankind at large, as to the particular people we are treating of. "If," he says, speaking of the Hindus, "a diligent investigator were to examine the temper and disposition of the people of each tribe, he would find every individual differing in some respect or other. Some among them are virtuous in the highest degree, and others carry vice to the greatest excess. They are renowned for wisdom, disinterested friendship, obedience to their superiors, and many other virtues: but, at the same time, there are among them men whose hearts are obdurate and void of shame, turbulent spirits, who for the merest trifle will commit the greatest outrages."

Again: "Hindus are religious, affable, courteous to strangers, cheerful, enamoured of knowledge, lovers of justice, able in business, grateful, admirers of truth, and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings. Their character shines brightest in adversity. Their soldiers (the Rajpoots) know not what it is to fly from the field of battle; but when the success of the combat becomes doubtful, they dismount from their horses, and throw away their lives in payment of the debt of valour."

Whoever desires to judge of the comparative fidelity of the translations of this writer, by Dow and Briggs, cannot do better than refer to this very passage. The former had clothed it in all the trappings of Ossianic decoration: the latter gives "a plain unvarnished tale," which ought to be the aim of every translator.

* *Sachha* is very comprehensive; in common parlance it is the opposite of 'untrue'; but it means 'loyal, upright, just.'

I shall conclude this chapter with a sketch of their familiar habits; and a few of their in-door and out-door recreations.

To Babar, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, India is indebted for the introduction of its melons and grapes; and to his grandson Jehangir for tobacco.* For the introduction of opium we have no date, and it is not even mentioned in the poems of Chund. This pernicious plant has robbed the Rajpoot of half his virtues; and while it obscures these, it heightens his vices, giving to his natural bravery a character of insane ferocity, and to the countenance, which would otherwise beam with intelligence, an air of imbecility. Like all stimulants, its effects are magical for a time; but the reaction is not less certain: and the faded form or amorphous bulk too often attest the debilitating influence of a drug which alike debases mind and body. In the more ancient epics, we find no mention of the poppy-juice as now used, though the Rajpoot has at all times been accustomed to his *madhavara-peala*, or 'intoxicating cup.' The essence,† whether of grain, of roots, or of flowers still welcomes the guest, but is secondary to the opiate. *Umul lar kana*, 'to eat opium together,' is the most inviolable pledge; and an agreement ratified by this ceremony is stronger than any adjuration. If a Rajpoot pays a visit, the first question is, *umul kya?* 'have you had your opiate?' — *umul kao*, 'take your opiate.' On a birth-day, when all the chiefs convene to congratulate their brother on another 'knot to his years,' the large cup is brought forth, a lump of opiate but therein, upon which water is poured, and by the aid of a stick a solution is made, to which each helps his neighbour, not with a glass, but with the hollow of his hand held to his mouth. To judge by the wry faces on this occasion, none can like it, and to get rid of the nauseous taste, comfit-balls are handed round. It is curious to observe the animation it inspires; a Rajpoot is fit for nothing without his *umul*, and I have often dismissed their men of business to refresh their intellects by a dose, for when its effects are dissipating they become mere logs.‡ Opium to the Rajpoot is more necessary than food, and a suggestion to the Rana to tax it highly was most unpopular. From the rising generation the author exacted promises that they would resist initiation in this vice, and many grew up

* The autobiography of both these noble Tatar princes are singular compositions, and may be given as standards of Eastern intellectual acquirement. They minutely note the progress of refinement and luxury.

† *Arac*, 'essence;' whence *arrack* and *rack*.

‡ Even in the midst of conversation, the eye closes and the head nods as the exciting cause is dissipating, and the countenance assumes a perfect vacuity of expression. Many a chief has taken his siesta in his chair, while on a visit to me; an especial failing of my good friend Raj Kulian of Sadri, the descendant of the brave Shama, who won "the right hand" of the prince at Huldighat. The lofty turban worn by the Raj, which distinguishes his tribe (*the Fhala*), was often on the point of tumbling into my lap, as he unconsciously nodded. When it is inconvenient to dissolve the opium, the chief carries it in his pocket, and presents it, as we would a pinch of snuff in Europe. In my subaltern days the chieftain of Senthai, in Jeypur, on paying me a visit, presented me with a piece of opium, which I took and laid on the table. Observing that I did not eat it, he said he should like to try the *Frangi ca umul*, 'the opiate of the Franks.' I sent him a bottle of powerful *Schedam*, and to his inquiry as to the quantity of the dose, I told him he might take from an eighth to the half, as he desired exhilaration or oblivion. We

In happy ignorance of the taste of opium. He will be the greatest friend to Rajasthan who perseveres in eradicating the evil. The valley of Oodipur is a poppy garden, of every hue and variety, whence the Hindu Sri may obtain a coronet more variegated than ever adorned the Isis of the Nile.

A pledge once given by the Rajpoot, whether ratified by the "eating opium together," "an exchange of turbans," or the more simple act of "giving the right hand," is maintained inviolable under all circumstances.

Their grand hunts have been described. The Rajpoot is fond of his dog and his gun. The former aids him in pulling down the boar or hare, and with the stalking-horse he will toil for hours after the deer. The greater chieftains have their *sumnas* or preserves, where poaching would be summarily punished, and where the slaughter of all kinds of beasts, elk, hog, hyena, tiger, boar, deer, wild-dog, wolf or hare, is indiscriminate. Riding in the ring with the lance in tournaments, without the spike, the point being guarded; defence of the sword against the lance, with every variety of "noble horsemanship," such as would render the most expert in Europe an easy prey to the active Rajpoot, are some of the chief exercises. Firing at a mark with a matchlock, in which they attain remarkable accuracy of aim; and in some parts of the country throwing a dart or javelin from horseback, are favourite amusements. The practice of the bow is likewise a main source of pastime, and in the manner there adopted it requires both dexterity and strength. The Rajpoot is not satisfied if he cannot bury his arrow either in the earthen target, or in the buffalo, to the feather. The use of the bow is hallowed; Arjuna's bow in the "great war," and that of the Chohan king, Prithwiraaj, with which the former gained Droupadi and the latter the fair Sunjoga, are immortalized like that of Ulysses. In these martial exercises, the youthful Rajpoot is early initiated, and that the sight of blood may be familiar, he is instructed, before he has strength to wield a sword, to practise with his boy's scimitar on the heads of lambs and kids. His first successful essay on the animals '*feranatura*,' is a source of congratulation to his whole family.* In this manner the spirit of chivalry is continually fed, for every thing around him speaks of arms and strife. His very amusements are warlike; and the dance and the song, the burthen of which is the record of his successful gallantry, so far from enervating, serve as fresh incitements to his courage.

The exhibition of the *jaitis*, or wrestlers, is another mode of killing time. It is a state concern for every prince or chief to entertain a certain number of these champions of the glove. Challenges are sent by the most celebrated from one court to another; and the event of the *akarra*, as the arena is termed, is looked to with great anxiety.

No prince or chief is without his *silleh-khaneh*, or armoury, where he passes hours in viewing and arranging his arms. Every favourite weapon,

were to have hunted the next morning; but having no sign of my friend, I was obliged to march without ascertaining the effect of the barter of *apheem* for the waters of Friesland; though I have no doubt that he found them quite Lethean.

* The author has now before him a letter written by the queen-mother of Boondi desiring his rejoicings on *Lalji*, the beloved's *coup dessai* on a deer, which he had followed most pertinaciously to the death. On this occasion, a court was held, and all the chiefs presented offerings and congratulations.

whether sword, matchlock, spear, dagger, or bow, had a distinctive epithet. The keeper of the armoury is one of the most confidential officers about the person of the prince. These arms are beautiful and costly. The *sirohi*, or slightly-curved blade, is formed like that of Damascus, and is the greatest favourite of all the variety of sabres throughout Rajpootana. The long cut-and-thrust, like the *Andrea Ferrara*, is not uncommon; nor the *khand*, or double-edged sword. The matchlocks both of Lahore and the country are often highly finished and inlaid with mother-of-pearl and gold: those of Boondi are the best. The shield of the rhinoceros-hide offers the best resistance, and is often ornamented with animals, beautifully painted, and enamelled in gold and silver. The bow is of buffalo-horn, and the arrows of reed, and barbed in a variety of fashions, as the crescent, the trident, the snake's tongue, and other fanciful forms.

The Maharaja Sheodhan Sing (whose family are heirs presumptive to the throne) was one of my constant visitors; and the title of 'adopted brother,' which he conferred upon me allowed him to make the visits unreasonably long. The Maharaja had many excellent qualities. He was the best shot in Mewar; he was well read in the classic literature of his nation; deeply versed in the secrets of the chornicles, not only of Mewar but of all Rajwarra; conversant with all the mysteries of the bard, and could *improvise* on every occasion. He was a proficient in musical science, and could discourse most fluently on the whole theory of Sangita, which comprehends vocal and instrumental harmony. He could explain each of the *ragas*, or musical modes, which issued from the five mouths of the Siva and his consort Mera, together with the almost endless variations of the *ragas*, to each of which are allotted six consorts or *raginis*. He had attached to his suite the first vocalists of Mewar, and occasionally favoured me by letting them sing at my house. The chief *cantatrice* had a superb voice, a *cont' alto* of great extent, and bore the familiar appellation of 'Catalani.' Her execution of all the *bussunt* or 'spring-songs,' and the *megh* or 'cloud-songs' of the monsoon, which are full of melody, was perfect. But she had a rival in a singer from Oojein, and we made a point of having them together, that emulation might excite to excellence. The chieftain of Saloombra, the chief of the Suktawuts, and others, frequently joined these parties, as well as the Maharaja: for all are partial to the dance and the song, during which conversation flows unrestrained. Sadoola, whose execution on the guitar would have secured applause even at the Philharmonic, commanded mute attention when he played a *tan* or symphony, or when, taking any of the simple *tuppas* of Oojein as a theme, he wandered through a succession of voluntaries. In summer, these little parties were held on the terrace or the house-top, where carpets were spread under an awning, while the cool breezes of the lake gave life after the exhaustion of a day passed under 96° of Fahrenheit. The subjects of their songs are various, love, glory, satire, etc. I was invited to similar assemblies by many of the chiefs; though none was so intellectual as those of the Maharaja. On birth-days or other festivals, the chief bardiaï often appears, or the bard of any other tribe who may happen to be present. Then all his mute attention, broken only by the emphatic "*wah, wah!*" the measured nod of the head, or fierce curl of the moustache, in token of approbation or the reverse.*

* Poetic impromptus pass on these occasions unrestricted by the fear of the critic, though the long yawn now and then should have given the hint to my friend the Maharaja that his verses wanted Attic. But he

The Maharaja's talents for amplification were undoubted, and by more than one of his friends this falling was attributed to his long residence at the court of Jeypur, whose cognomen will not have been forgotten. He had one day been amusing us with the feats of his youth, his swimming from island to island, and bestriding the alligators for an excursion.* Like Tell, he had placed a mark on his son's head and hit it successfully. He could kill an eagle on the wing, and divide a ball on the edge of a knife, the knife itself unseen. While running on in this manner, my features betraying some incredulity, he insisted on redeeming his word. A day was accordingly appointed, and though labouring under an ague, he came with his favourite matchlocks. The more dangerous experiment was desisted from, and he commenced by dividing the ball on the knife. This he placed perpendicularly in the centre of an earthen vessel filled with water; and taking his station at about twenty paces, perforated the centre of the vessel, and allowed you to take up the fragments of the ball; having previously permitted you to load the piece, and examine the vessel, which he did not once approach himself. Another exhibition was striking an orange from a pole without perforating it. Again, he gave the option of loading to a bystander, and retreating a dozen paces, he knocked an orange off untouched by the ball, which, according to a preliminary proviso, could not be found: the orange was not even discoloured by the powder. He was an adept also at chess† and choupán, and could carry on a conversation by stringing flowers in a peculiar manner. If he plumed himself upon his pretensions, his vanity was always veiled under a demeanour full of courtesy and grace; and Maharaja Sheodan Sing would be esteemed a well-bred and well-informed man at the most polished court of Europe.

Every chief has his band, vocal and Instrumental; but Sindia, some years since, carried away the most celebrated vocalists of Oodipur. The Rajpoots are all partial to music. The tuppa is the favourite measure. Its chief character is plaintive simplicity; and it is analogous to the Scotch, or perhaps still more to the Norman.‡

The Rana, who is a great patron of the art, has a small band of musicians, whose only instrument is the *shehna*, or hautboy. They played their national tuppas with great taste and feeling; and these strains,

had certainly talent, and he did not conceal his light, which shone the stronger from the darkness that surrounded him: for poverty is not the school of genius, and the trade of the schoolmaster has ever been the least lucrative in a capital where rapine has ruled.

* There are two of these alligators quite familiar to the inhabitants of Oodipur, who come when called "from the vasty deep" for food; and I have often exasperated them by throwing an inflated bladder, which the monsters greedily received, only to dive away in angry disappointment. It was on these that my friend affirmed he had ventured.

† *Chaturanga*, so called from imitating the formation of an army. The 'four' *chatur* 'bodied' *anga* array; or elephants, chariots, horse, and foot. His chief antagonist at chess was a blind man of the city.

‡ The *tuppa* belongs to the very extremity of India, being indigenous as far as the Indus and the countries watered by its arms; and though the peculiar measure is common in Rajasthan, the prefix of *punjabi* shews its origin. I have listened at Caen to the *voila* or *hurdy-gurdy*, till I could have fancied myself in Mewar.

wasted from the lofty terrace of the palace in the silence of the night, produced a sensation of delight not unmingled with pain, which its peculiarly melancholy character excites. The Rana has also a few flute or flageolet players, who discourse most eloquent music. Indeed, we may enumerate this among the principal amusements of the Rajpoots; and although it would be deemed indecorous to be a performer, the science forms a part of education.*

Who that has marched in the stillness of night through the mountainous regions of Central India, and heard the warder sound the *toorave* from his turreted abode, perched like an eyrie on the mountain-top, can ever forget its graduated intensity of sound, or the emphatic *hem! hem!* 'all's well,' which follows the lengthened blast of the cornet reverberating in every recess.†

A species of bagpipe, so common to all the Celtic races of Europe, is not unknown to the Rajpoots. It is called the *meshek*, but is only the rudiment of that instrument whose peculiar influence on the physical, through the moral agency of man, is described by our own master-bard. They have likewise the double flageolet; but in the same ratio of perfection to that of Europe as the *meshek* to the heart-stirring pipe of the north. As to their lutes, guitars, and all the varieties of tintubulants (as Dr. Johnson would call them), it would fatigue without interesting the reader to enumerate them.

We now come to the literary attainments of the lords of Rajasthan, of whom there is none without sufficient clerkship to read his grant or agreement for *rekwali* or black-mail; and none either so ignorant, or so proud, as the boasted ancestral wisdom of England, whose barons could not even sign their names to the great charter of their liberties. The Rana of Oodipur has unlimited command of his pen, and his letters are admirable; but we may say of him nearly what was remarked of Charles the Second—"he never wrote a foolish thing, and seldom did a wise one." The familiar epistolary correspondence of the princes and nobles of Rajasthan would exhibit abundant testimony of their powers of mind: they are sprinkled with classical allusions, and evince that knowledge of mankind which constant collision in society must produce. A collection of these

* Chund remarks of his hero, the Chohan, that he was "master of the art," both vocal and instrumental. Whether profane music was ever common may be doubted; but sacred music was a part of early education with the sons of kings. Rama and his brothers were celebrated for the harmonious execution of episodes from the grand epic, the *Ramayana*. The sacred canticles of Jaydeva were set to music, and apparently by himself, and are yet sung by the Chobis. The inhabitants of the various monastic establishments chaunt their addresses to the deity; and I have listened with delight to the modulated cadences of the hermits, singing the praises of Pataliswara from their pinnacled abode of Aboo. It would be injustice to touch incidentally on the merits of the minstrel Dholi, who sings the warlike compositions of the sacred Bardai of Rajasthan.

† The *toorave* is the sole instrument of the many of the trumpet kind which is not dissonant. The Kotah prince has the largest band, perhaps, in these countries; instruments of all kinds—stringed, wind, and percussion. But as it is formed by rule, in which the sacred and shrill conch-shell takes precedence, it must be allowed that it is any thing but harmonious.

letters, which exist in the archives of every principality, would prove that the princes of this country are upon a par with the rest of mankind, not only in natural understanding, but, taking their opportunities into account, even in its cultivation. The prince who in Europe could quote Hesiod and Homer with the freedom that the Rana does on all occasions Vyasa and Valmiki, would be accounted a prodigy; and there is not a divine who could make application of the ordinances of Moses with more facility than the Rana of those of their great lawgiver Manu. When they talk of the wisdom of their ancestors, it is not a mere figure of speech. The instruction of their princes is laid down in rules held sacred, and must have been far more onerous than any system of European university-education, for scarcely a branch of human knowledge is omitted. But the cultivation of the mind, and the arts of polished life, must always flourish in the ratio of a nation's prosperity, and from the decline of the one, we may date the deterioration of the other with the Rajpoot. The astronomer has now no patron to look to for reward; there is no Jey Sing to erect such stupendous observatories as he built at Delhi, Benares, Oojein, and at his own capital; to construct globes and armillary spheres, of which, according to their own and our system, the Kotah prince has two, each three feet in diameter. The same prince (Jey Sing) collated De la Hire's tables with those of Ulug Beg, and presented the result to the last emperor of Delhi, worthy the name of the great Mogul. To these tables he gave the name of *Zeej Mohamed Shahe*. It was Jey Sing who, as already mentioned, sought to establish sumptuary laws throughout the nation, to regulate marriages, and thereby prevent infanticide; and who left his name to the capital he founded, the first in Rajasthan.

But we cannot march over fifty miles of country without observing traces of the genius, talent, and wealth, of past days; though,—whether the more abstruse sciences, or the lighter arts which embellish life,—all are now fast disappearing. Whether in the tranquillity secured to them by the destruction of their predatory foes, these arts and sciences may revive, and the nation regain its elevated tone, is a problem which time alone can solve.

In their household economy, their furniture and decorations, they remain unchanged during the lapse of a thousand years. No chairs, no couches adorn their sitting apartments, though the painted and gilded ceiling may be supported by columns of serpentine, and the walls one mass of mirrors, marble, or china;—nothing but a soft carpet, hidden by a white cloth, on which the guests seat themselves according to rank. In fine, the quaint description of the chaplain to the first embassy which England sent to India, more than two hundred years ago, applies now, as it probably will two hundred years hence. "As for the furniture the greatest men have, it is *curta supellex*, very little; they (the rooms) being not beautified with hangings, nor with any thing besides to line their walls; for they have no chairs, no stools, nor couches, nor tables, nor beds enclosed with canopies, nor curtains, in any of their rooms. And the truth is, that if they had them, the extreme heat would forbid the use of many of them; all their bravery is upon them their floors, on which they spread most excellent carpets."*

* Those who wish for an opinion "of the most excellent moralities which are to be observed amongst the people of these nations," cannot do better than read the 14th section of the observant, intelligent, and tolerant chaplain, who is more just, at least on one point, than the

It were useless to expatiate on dress, either male or female, the fashion varying in each province and tribe, though the texture and materials are everywhere the same: cotton in summer, and quilted chintz or broad cloth in winter. The ladies have only three articles of *parure*; the *ghagra*, or 'petticoat,' the *kanchli*, or 'corset,' and the *dopati*, or 'scarf,' which is occasionally thrown over the head as a veil. Ornaments are without number. For the men, trousers of every shape and calibre, a tunic girded with a ceinture, and a scarf, form the wardrobe of every Rajpoot. The turban is the most important part of the dress, and is the unerring mark of the tribe; the form and fashion are various, and its decorations differ according to time and circumstances. The *bala-bund*, or 'silken fillet,' was once valued as the mark of sovereign's favour, and was tantamount to the courtly "orders" of Europe. The colour of the turban and tunic varies with the seasons; and the changes are rung upon crimson, saffron, and purple, though white is by far the most common. Their shoes are mere slippers, and sandals are worn by the common classes. Boots are yet used in hunting or war, made of chamois leather, of which material the warrior often has a doublet, being more commodious, and less oppressive, than armour. The dagger or poniard is inseparable from the girdle.

The culinary art will be discussed elsewhere, together with the medical, which is very low, and usurped by empirics, who waste alike the purse and health of the ignorant by the sale of aphrodisiacs, which are sought after with great avidity. Gums, metals, minerals, all are compounded, and for one preparation, while the author was at Oodipur, 7,000 rupees (nearly £1,000) were expended by the court-physician.

Their superstitions, incantations, charms, and phylacteries against danger, mental or bodily, will appear more appropriately where the subject is incidentally introduced.

modern missionary, who denies to the Hindu filial affection. "And here I shall insert another most needful particular, which deserves a most high commendation to be given unto that people in general, how poor and mean soever they be; and that is, the great exemplary care they manifest in their piety to their parents, that, notwithstanding they serve for very little, but five shillings a moon for their whole livelihood and subsistence, if their parents be in want, they will impart, at the least, half of that little towards their necessities, choosing rather to want themselves, than that their parents should suffer need." It is in fact one of the first precepts of their religion. The Chaplain thus concludes his Chapter "On the Moralities of the Hindu,"—"O! what a sad thing is it for Christians to come short of Indians, even in moralities; come short of those, who themselves believe to come short of heaven!"

The Chaplain closes his interesting and instructive work with the subject of Conversion, which is as remote from accomplishment at this day, as it was at that distant period. "Well known it is that the Jesuits there, who, like the Pharisees, 'that would compass sea and land to make one proselyte' (Matt. 23—25), have sent into Christendom many large reports of their great conversions of infidels in East India. But all these boastings are but reports; the truth is, that they have there spilt the precious water of Baptism upon some few faces, working upon the necessity of some poor men, who for want of means, which they give them, are contented to wear crucifixes; but for want of knowledge in the doctrine of Christianity are only in name Christians."(a)

APPENDIX.

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Translations of Inscriptions, chiefly in the Nail-headed character of the Takshac Races and Jains, fixing eras in Rajpoot history.

No. I.

Memorial of a Gete or Jit prince of the fifth century, discovered 1820, in a temple at Kunswa, near the Chumbul river, south of Kotah.

May the Jitha be thy protector! What does this Jith resemble? which is the vessel of conveyance across the waters of life, which is partly white, partly red? Again, what does it resemble, where the hissing-angered serpents dwell? What may this Jitha be compared to, from whose root the roaring flood descends? Such is the Jith; by it may thou be preserved. (1)

The fame of RAJA JITA I now shall tell, by whose valour the lands of SALPURA (2) are preserved. The fortunes of Raja Jit are as flames of fire devouring his foe. The mighty warrior JIT SALINDRA (2) is beautiful in person, and from the strength of his arm esteemed the first amongst the tribes of the mighty; make resplendent, as does the moon the earth, the dominions of SALPURA. The whole world praises the JIT prince, who enlarges the renown of his race, sitting in the midst of haughty warriors like the lotos in the waters, the moon of the sons of men. The foreheads of the princes of the earth worship the toe of his foot. Beams of light irradiate his countenance, issuing from the gems of his arms of strength. Radiant is the array; his riches abundant; his mind generous, and profound as the ocean. Such is he of SARYA (3) race, a tribe renowned amongst the tribes of the mighty, whose princes were ever foes to treachery, to whom the earth surrendered her fruits, and who added the lands of their foes to their own. By sacrifice, the mind of this lord of men has been purified; fair are his territories, and fair is the FORTRESS OF TAKHYA (4). The string of whose bow is dreaded, whose wrath is the reaper of the field of combat; but to his dependents he is as the pearl on the neck; who makes no account of the battle, though streams of blood run through the field. As does the silver lotos bend its head before the fierce rays of the sun, so does his foe stoop to him, while the cowards abandon the field.

From this lord of men (*Narapati*) SALINDRA sprung DEVANGLI, whose deeds are known even at *this remote period*.

From him was born SUMBOOKA, and from him DEGALI, who married two wives of YADU race (5), and by one a son named VIRA NARINDRA, pure as a flower from the fountain.

Amidst groves of *amba*, on whose clustering blossoms hang myriads of bees, that the wearied traveller might repose, was this edifice erected. May it, and the fame of its founder, continue while ocean rolls, or while the moon, the sun, and hills endure. Samvat 597.—On the extremity of MALWA, the minister (MINDRA) was erected, on the banks of the river TAVELI, by SALICHANDRA (6), son of VIRACHANDRA.

Whoever will commit this writing to memory, his sins will be obliterated. Carved by the sculptor SEVANARYA, son of DWARASIVA, and composed by BUTENA, chief of the bards.

(Note 1.)—In the prologue to this valuable relic, which superficially viewed would appear a string of puerilities, we have conveyed in mystic allegory the mythological origin of the Jit or Gete race. From the members of the chief of the gods ISWARA or Mahadeva, *the god of battle*, many races claim birth; the warrior from his arms; the Charun from his spine; the prophetic Bhat (*Vates*) from his tongue; and the Gete or Jit, derive theirs from his tiara, which, formed of his own hair, is called *Fitha*. In this tiara, serpents, emblematic of TIME (kal) and DESTRUCTION, are wreathed; also implicative that the *Fits*, who are of *Takshac*, of the serpent race, are thereby protected. The "roaring flood" which descends from this *Fitha* is the river goddess, Ganga, daughter of Mera, wife of Iswara. The mixed colour of his hair, which is partly white, partly of reddish (*panduranga*) hue, arises from his character of ARDHNARI, or Hermaphroditus. All these characteristics of the god of war must have been brought by the Scythic Gete from the Jaxartes, where they worshipped him as the Sun (*Balnath*) and as XAMOLSCIS (*Yama*, vulg., *Fama*) the infernal divinity.

The 12th Chapter of the Edda, in describing BALDER the second son of Odin, particularly dwell on the beauty of his heir, whence "the whitest of all vegetables is called the eye-brow of Balder, on the columns of whose temples there are verses engraved, capable of recalling the dead to life."

How perfectly in unison is all this of the Jits of Jutland and the Jits of Rajasthan. In each case the hair is the chief object of admiration; of Balnath as Balder and the magical effect of the Runes is not more powerful than that attached by the chief of the Scalds of our Gete prince at the end of this inscription, fresh evidences in support of my hypothesis, that many of the Rajpoot races and Scandinavians have a common origin—that origin, Centra Asia.

(Note 2.)—*Salpoora* is the name of the capital of this Jit prince, and his epithet of Sal-Indra is merely titular, as the Indra, or lord of Salpoori, 'the city of Sal,' which the fortunate discovery of an inscription raised by Komarpal, king of Anhulwara (*Nehrwalla* of D'Anville), dated S. 1207, has enabled me to place "at the base of the *Sewaluk Mountains*." In order to elucidate this point, and to give the full value to record of the Jit princes of the Punjab, I append (No. 5) a translation of the *Nehrwalla* conqueror's inscription, which will prove beyond a doubt that these JIT princes of SALPOORI in the Punjab, were the leaders of that very colony of the JUTI from the Jaxartes, who in the fifth century, as recorded by De Guignes, crossed the Indus and possessed themselves of the Punjab; and strange to say, have again risen to power, for the *Sikhs* (*disciples*) of Nanuk are almost all of Jit origin.

(Note 3.)—Here this Jit is called of SARYA SACHA, *branch* or *ramification* of the *Saryas*: a very ancient race which is noticed by the genealogists synonymously with the SARIASPA, one of the thirty-six royal races, and very probably the same as the *Sarwya* of the Komarpal Charitra, with the distinguished epithet "the flower of the martial races" (*Sarwya cshatrya tyn Sar*).

(Note 4.)—"The fortress of Takshac." Whether this TAKSHAC-NAGARI, or castle of the Tak, is the strong-hold of SALPOORI, or the name

given to a conquest in the environs of the place; whence this inscription, we can only surmise, and refer the reader to what has been said of Takit-poorā. As I have repeatedly said, the Taks and Jits are one race.

(Note 5)—As the Jits intermarried with the Yadus at this early period, it is evident they had forced their way amongst the thirty-six royal races, though they have again lost this rank. No Rajpoot would give a daughter to a Jit, or take one from them to wife.

(Note 6)—Salichandra is the sixth in descent from the first-named prince, JIT SALINDRA, allowing twenty-two years to each descent=132—S. 597, date of ins.—465—56=A.D. 409; the period of the colonization of the Punjab by the Getes, Yuti, or Jits, from the Jaxartes.

No. II.

Translation of an inscription in the Nail-headed character relative to the Jit race, discovered at Ram Chundrapoorā, six miles east of Boondee, in digging a well. It was thence conveyed, and deposited by me in the Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society.

To my foe, salutation! This foe of the race of JIT CATHIDA, (1) how shall I describe, who is resplendent by the favour of the round bosom of ROODRANI (2), and whose ancestor, the warrior TUKHYA (3), formed the garland on the neck of Mahadeva. Better than this foe on earth's surface, there is none; therefore to him I offer salutation. The sparkling gems on the coronets of kings irradiate the nail of his foot.

Of the race of BOTENA (4) RAJA THOT was born; his fame expanded through the universe.

Pure in mind, strong in arm, and beloved by mankind, such was CHANDRASEN (5). How shall he be described, who broke the strength of his foe, on whom when his sword swims in fight, he appears like a magician. With his subjects he interchanged the merchandize of liberality, of which he reaped the fruits. From him whose history is fair, was born KRITIKA, the deeds of whose arm were buds of renown, forming a necklace of praise in the eyes of mankind. His queen was dear to him as his own existence—how can she be described? As the flame is inseparable from the fire, so was she from her lord—she was the light issuing from the sun—her name GOON-NEWASA (6), and her actions corresponded with her name. By her he had two sons, like gems set in bracelets, born to please mankind. The eldest was named SOOKUNDA, the younger DERUKA. Their fortunes consumed their foes; but their dependents enjoyed happiness. As the flowers of Calp-vricsha is beloved by the gods, so are these brothers by their subjects, granting their requests, and increasing the glory of the race whence they sprung—(A useless descriptive stanza left out.)

DERUKA had a son, KUHLA, and his was DHUNIKA, whose deeds ascended high—who could fathom the intentions of mankind—whose mind was deep as the ocean—whose ever-hungry faulchion expelled from their mountains and forests the *Magna* tribes, leaving them no refuge in the three worlds, levelling their retreats to the ground. His quiver was filled with crescent-formed arrows—his sword the climber (*vela*) (8), of which pearls are the fruit. With his younger brother Dewaka he reverences god and Brahmins—and with his own wealth perfumed a sacrifice to the sun.

For the much-beloved's (his wife) pleasure this was undertaken. Now the river of ease, life and death, is crossed over, for this abode will devour the body of the foe, into which the west wind wafts the fragrant perfume from the sandal-covered bosom of Lacshmi (9); while from innumerable lotos the gale from the east comes laden with aroma, the hum of the bees as they hung clustering on the flowers of the *padhul* is pleasing to the ear.

So long as Soomeru stands on its base of golden sands, so long may this dwelling endure. So long as the wind blows on the *koonjeris* (10) supporters to the globe, while the firmament endures, or while Lacshmi (11) causes the palm to be extended, so long may his praise and this edifice be stable.

KUHLA (12) form this abode of virtue, and east thereof a temple to Iswara. By ACHIL, son of the mighty prince YASOOVERMA (13), has its renown been composed in various forms of speech.

(Note 1).—Qu. if this Jit if from (*da*, the mark of the genitive case) Cathay? the land of the *Cathæ* foes of Alexander, and probably of the Cathi of the Saurashtra peninsula, alike Scythic as the Jit, and probably the same race originally?

(Note 2).—Roodrani, an epithet of the martial spouse of Harar-Siva, the god of war, whom the Jit in the preceding inscription invokes.

(Note 3).—Here we have another proof of the Jit being of 'Takshac race; this at the same time has a mythological reference to the serpent (*takhya*), which forms the garland of the warlike divinities.

(Note 4).—Of this race I have no other notice, unless it should mean the race (*cula*) was from *Butan*.

(Note 5).—Chandrasen is celebrated in the history of the Pramaras as the founder of several cities, from two of which, *Chandrabhaga*, at the foot of the central plateau of India, in Northern Malwa, and CHANDRAVATI, the ruins of which I discovered at the foot of the Aravali near Aboo, I possess several valuable memoria, which will, ere long, confirm the opinions I have given of the *Takshac* architect.

(Note 6).—The habitation of virtues.

(Note 7).—This shews these foresters always had the same character.

(Note 8).—Vela is the climber or ivy, sacred to Mahadeva.

(Note 9).—Lacshmi, the *apsara* or sea-nymph, is feigned residing amongst the waters of the lotos-covered lake. In the hot weather the Rajpoot ladies dip their corsets into an infusion of sandal-wood, hence the metaphor.

(Note 10).—Koonjiris are the elephants who support the eight corners of the globe.

(Note 11).—Lacshmi is also dame Fortune, or the goddess of riches, whence this image.

(Note 12).—Kuhl is the fifth in descent from the *opponent* of the Jit.

(Note 13).—Without this name this inscription would have been but of half its value. Fortunately various inscriptions on stone and copper, procured by me from Oojein, settled the era of the death of this prince

in S. 1191, which will alike answer for Achil, his son, who was most likely one of the chieftains of KUHLA, who appears to have been of the elder branch of the Pramaras, the foe of the Jit invaders.

NO. III.

Inscription in the Nail-headed character of Mori Princes of
Cheetore, taken from a column on the banks of the
lake Mansurwur, near that city.

By the lord of waters may thou be protected ! What is there which resembles the ocean ? on whose margin the red buds of honey-yielding trees are eclipsed by swarms of bees, whose beauty expands with the junction of numerous streams. What is like the ocean, inhaling the perfume of the Paryata (1), who was compelled to yield as tribute, wine, wealth, and ambrosia (2) ? Such is the ocean !—may he protect thee.

Of a mighty gift, this is the memorial. This lake enslaves the minds of beholders, over whose expanse the varied feathered tribe skim with delight, and whose banks are studded with every kind of tree. Falling from the lofty-peaked mountain, enhancing the beauty of the scene, the torrent rushes to the lake. The mighty sea-serpent (3), o'erspent with toil in the churning of the ocean, repaired to this lake for repose.

On this earth's surface was Maheswara (4), a mighty prince, during whose sway the name of foe was never heard ; whose fortune was known to the eight quarters (5) ; on whose arm victory reclined for support. He was the light of the land. The praises of the race of *Twastha* (6) were determined by Brahma's own mouth.

Fair, filled with pride, sporting amidst the shoals of the lotos, is the swan fed by his hand, from whose countenance issue rays of glory ; such *Raja Bheem* (7), a skilful swimmer in the ocean of battle, even to where the Ganges pours in her flood (8) did he go, whose abode is *Avanti* (9). With faces resplendent as the moon, on whose lips yet marked with the wound of their husband's teeth, the captive wives of his foes, even in their hearts does *Raja Bheem* dwell. By his arm he removed the apprehensions of his enemies ; he considered them as errors, to be expunged. He appeared as if created of fire. He could instruct even the navigator (10) of the ocean.

From him was descended *Raja Bhoj* (11). How shall he be described ; he, who in the field of battle divided with his sword the elephant's head, the pearl from whose brain (12) now adorns his breast ; who devours his foe as does *Rahoo* (13) the sun or moon, who to the verge of space erected edifices in token of victory.

From him was a son whose name was *Maun*, who was surcharged with good qualities, and with whom fortune took up her abode. One day he met an aged man : his appearance made him reflect that his frame was as a shadow, evanescent ; that the spirit which did inhabit it was like the seed of the scented *Kadama* (14) ; that the riches of royalty were brittle as a blade of grass ; and that man was like a lamp exposed in the light of day. Thus ruminating, for the sake of his race who had gone before him, and for the sake of good works, he made this lake, whose waters are expansive and depth unfathomable. When I look on this ocean-like lake, I ask myself, if it may not be this which is destined to cause the final doom. (15).

The warriors and chiefs of *Raja Maun* (16) are men of skill and valour—pure in their lives and faithful. *Raja Maun* is a heap of virtues—the chief who enjoys his favour may court all the gifts of fortune. When the head is inclined on his lotus foot, the grain of sand which adheres becomes an ornament thereto. Such is the lake, shaded with trees, frequented by birds, which the man of fortune, SRIMAN RAJA MAUN, with great labour formed. By the name of its lord (*Maun*), that of the lake (*surwar*) is known to the world. By him versed in the *alankara*, PUSHA, the son of NAGA BHUT, these stanzas have been framed. *Seventy had elapsed beyond seven hundred years (Samvatsir)*, when the lord of men, the KING OF MALWA (17) formed this lake. By SEVADIT, grandson of KHETRI KARUG, were these lines cut.

(Note 1.)—The Paryat is also called the Har-singar, or 'ornament of the neck,' its flowers being made into collars and bracelets. Its aroma is very delicate, and the blossom dies in a few hours.

(Note 2.)—*Imrita*, the food of the immortals, obtained at the churning of the ocean. The contest for this amongst the gods and demons is well known. *Vrihaspati*, or Sookra, regent of the planet Venus, on this occasion lost an eye; and hence this Polyphemus has left the nickname of *Sookracharya* to all who have but one eye.

(Note 3.)—His name *Matoli*.

(Note 4.)—A celebrated name in the genealogies of the TAKSHAC *Pramara*, of which the *Mori* is a conspicuous *Sacha* or branch. He was the founder of the city of *Moheswar*, on the southern bank of the Nerbuda, which commands the ford leading from *Avanti* and *Dhar* (the chief cities of the *Mori Pramara*s) to the Dekhan.

(Note 5.)—The ancient Hindu divided his planisphere into eight quarters, on which he placed the Koonjerries or elephants, for its support.

(Note 6.)—TWASTHA, or Takshac, is the celebrated *Nagvansa* of antiquity. All are *Agniculas*. Cheetore, if erected by the Takshac artist, has a right to the appellation *Herbert* has so singularly assigned it, *viz*, *Tacsila*, built by the Tak; it would be the *Tak-silla-nagar*, 'the stone fort of the Takshac,' alluded to in No. I.

(Note 7.)—*Raja Bheem*, the lord of *Avanti* or Oojein, the king of Malwa is specially celebrated in the Jain annals. A son of his led a numerous colony into Marwar, and founded many cities between the Looni river and the Aravali mountains. *All became proselytes to the Jain faith*, and their descendants, who are amongst the wealthiest and most numerous of these mercantile sectarians are proud of their Rajpoot descent; and it tells when they are called to responsible offices, when they handle the sword as well as the pen.

(Note 8.)—*Ganga-Sagar*, or the Island at the mouth of the Ganges, is specified by name as the limit of Bheem's conquests. His memoria may yet exist even there.

(Note 9.)—*Avanti-Nath*, Lord of *Avanti* or Oojein.

(Note 10.)—*Paryataca*, a navigator.

(Note 11.)—*Raja Bhoj*. There is no more celebrated name than this in the annals and literature of the Rajpoots; but there were three princes of the *Pramara* race who bore it. The period of the last *Raja Bhoj*.

father of Udyadit, is now fixed, by various inscriptions discovered by me, A. D. 1035, and the dates of the two others I had from a leaf of a very ancient Jain M.S., obtained at the temple of Nadole, *vis.* S. 631 and 721 or A. D. 575 and 665. Abulfazil gives the period of the first Bhoj as S. 545; but, as we find that valuable MS., of the period of the last Bhoj confirmed by the date of this inscription of his son MAUN, *vis.* S. 770, we may put perfect confidence in it, and now consider the periods of the three, *vis.* S. 631, 721, and 1091—A. D. 567, 665, and 1035—as fixed points in Rajpoot chronology.

(Note 12.)—In the head of that class of elephants called Bhadra, the Hindu says, there is always a large pearl.

(Note 13.)—The monster Rahoo of the Rajpoot, who swallows the sun and moon, causing eclipses, is *Fenris*, the wolf of the Scandinavians. The Asi carried the same ideas to the West which they taught within the Indus.

(Note 14.)—Kadama is a very delicate flower, that decays almost instantaneously.

(Note 15.)—*Maha-paralaya!*

(Note 16.)—The MS., annals of the Rana's family state that their founder, Bappa, conquered Cheetore from MAUN MORI. This inscription is therefore invaluable as establishing the era of the conquest of Cheetore by the Ghelotes, and which was immediately following the first irruption of the arms of Islam, as rendered in the annals of Mewar.

(Note 17.)—As RAJA Maun is called *King of Malwa*, it is evident that Cheetore had superseded both Dhar and Avanti as the seat of power. A palace of Maun Mori is still shewn as one of the antiquities in Cheetore.

No. IV.

Inscription in the Devanagri character, discovered in January 1822 in Puttun Somnath, on the coast of Saurashtra Peninsula, fixing the era of the sovereign of BALABHI, the '*Balhara kings of Nehrwalla.*'

Adoration to the Lord of all, to the light of the universe, (1) Adoration to the form indescribable; Him! at whose feet all kneel.

In the year of Mohummud 662, and in that of Vickrama 1320, and that of Srimad Balabhi 945, and the Siva-Sing Samvat 151, Sunday, the 13th (*badi*) of the month a Asar.

The chief of Anhulpur Patun obeyed by numerous princes (here a string of titles), Bhataric Srimud Arjun Deva, (3) of Chauluc race, his minister Sri Maldeva, with all the officers of government, together with Hormus of Belacool, of the government of Ameer Rookn-oo-Din, and of Khwaja Ibrahim of Hormus, son of the Admiral (*Nakhoda*) Noor-oo-Din Feeroz, together with the CHAURA chieftains Pallookdeva, Ranik Sri Someswadeva, Ramdeva, Bheemsing, and all the Chauras and other tribes of rank being assembled;

NANSI RAJA, of the Chaura race, inhabiting *Deo Puttun* (5), assembling all the merchants, ~~established~~ ordinances for the repairs and the support of the temples, in order that flowers, oil, and water should be regularly supplied to *Rutna iswara* (6), *Choul-iswara* (7), and the shrine of *Pulinda Devi* (8), and the rest, and for the purpose of erecting a wall round the temple of Somnath, with a gate-way to the north. Keeldeo,

son of Modula, and Loonsi son of Johan, both of the Chaura race, together with the two merchants, Balji and Kurna, bestowed the weekly profits of the market for this purpose. While sun and moon endure, let it not be resumed. Feeroz is commanded to see this order obeyed, and that the customary offerings on festivals are continued, and that all surplus offerings and gifts be placed in the treasury for the purpose aforementioned. The Chaura chiefs present, and the Admiral Noor-oo-Din, are commanded to see these orders executed on all classes. Heaven will be the lot of the obedient; hell to the breaker of this ordinance.

(Note 1.)—The invocation, which was long, has been omitted by me. But this is sufficient to shew that BAL-NATH, the deity worshipped in PUTTUN SOMNATH, 'the city of the lord of the moon,' was the sun-god Bal. Hence the title of the dynasties which ruled this region, BAL-CARAE, 'the princes of Bal,' and hence the capital BALICAPPOOR, 'the of the sun,' familiarly written *Balabhi*, whose ruins, as well as this inscription, rewarded a long journey. The Rana's ancestors, the *Suryas*, or 'sun-worshippers,' gave their name to the peninsula Saurashtra, or Syria, and the dynasties of CHAURA, and CHAULUC, or SOLANKI, who succeeded them on their expulsion by the Parthians, retained the title of BALICARAE, corrupted by Renaudot's Arabian travellers into BALHARA.

(Note 2.)—The importance of the discovery of these *new eras* has already been descanted on in the annals, S. 1320—945 the date of this inscription—375 of Vickrama for the first of the Balabhi era; and 1320—151 gives S. 1169 for the establishment of the *Sivasinga* era—established by the Gohils of the island of Deo, of whom I have another memorial, dated 927 Balabhi Samvat. The Gohils, Chauras, and Gehlotes, are all of one stock.

(Note 3.)—Arjuna-Deva, *Chaluc*, was prince of Anhulpoor or Anhulwarra, founded by Vanraj Chaura in S. 802—henceforth the capital of the Balica-raes after the destruction of Balabhi.

(Note 4.)—This evinces that Anhulwarra was still the emporium of commerce which the travellers of Renaudot and Edrisi describe.

(Note 5.)—From this it is evident that the Islandic Deo was a dependent fief of Anhulwarra.

(Note 6.)—The great temple of Somnath.

(Note 7.)—The tutelary divinity of the Chauluc race.

(Note 8.)—The goddess of the Bhil tribes.

No. V.

Inscription from the ruins of Aitpoor.

In Samvatsir 1034, the 16th of the month Bysak, was erected this dwelling* of Nanuk-swami.

From Anundpur came he of Brahmin† race (may he flourish), Muhee Deva Sri Goha Dit, from whom became famous on the earth the Gohil tribe

2. Bhoj.

3. Mahindra.

* Aitun,

† Vipra cula,

4. Naga.
 5. Syeela.
 6. Aprajit.
 7. Mahindra, no equal as a warrior did then exist on the earth's surface.
 8. Kalbhoj was resplendent as the sun ;*
 9. Khoman, an unequalled warrior ; from him
 10. Bhirtpad, the Tiluk of the three world ; and from whom was
 11. Singji ; whose Ranee Maha Lakmee, of the warlike race of Rashtra (Rahtore), and from her was born :
 12. Sri Ullut. To him who subdued the earth and became its lord, was born Haria Devi : her praise was known in Hurspoora ; and from her was born a mighty warrior, in whose arm victory reposed ; the Khetri of the field of battle, who broke the confederacy of his foes, and from the tree of whose fortune riches were the fruit : an altar of learning ; from him was
 13. Nirvahana. By the daughter of Sri Jaijah, of Chauhana race, was born
 14. Salvahana.
- Such were their (the princes whose names are given) fortunes which I have related. From him was born
15. Sacti Koomar. How can he be described ?—He who conquered and made his own the three qualifications (*saeti*)† whose fortunes equalled those of Bhirtpad. In the abode of wealth Sri Aitpur, which he had made his dwelling, surrounded by a crowd of princes ; the *Kulpdroom* to his people ; whose foot-soldiers are many ; with vaults of treasure—whose fortunes have ascended to heaven—whose city derives its beauty from the intercourse of merchants ; and in which there is but one single evil, the killing darts from the bright eyes of beauty, carrying destruction to the vassals of the prince.

No. VI.

Inscription of Kumar Pal Solanki, in the Mindra of Brimha, in Cheetore, recording his conquest of Salpuri, in the Punjab.

To him who takes delight in the abode of waters ; from whose braided locks ambrosial drops continually descend ; even this Mahadeva, may he protect thee !

He of Chauluc tribe, having innumerable gems of ancestry, flowing from a sea of splendour, was Moolraj, sovereign of the earth.

What did he resemble, whose renown was bright as a fair sparkling gem, diffusing happiness and ease to the sons of the earth ? Many mighty princes there were of his line ; but none before had made the great sacrifice.

* Ark.

† 1 Pribhoo.	} Three Sactis.
2 Ootckha.	
3 Muntri.	

Generations after him in the lapse of many years, was Sid Raj, a name known to the world; whose frame was encased in the riches of victory, and whose deeds were sounded over the curtain of the earth; and who, by the fire of his own frame and fortune, heaped up unconsumable wealth.

After him was Kumar Pal Deo. What was he like, who by the strength of his invincible mind crushed all his foes; whose commands the other sovereigns of the earth placed on their foreheads; who compelled the lord of Sacambhari to bow at his feet; who in person carried his arms to Sewaluk, making the mountain lords to bow before him, even in the city of Salpuri?

On the mountain Chutterkote.....are the lord of men, in sport placed this [writing] amidst the abode of the gods; even on its pinnacle did he place it. Why? That it might be beyond the reach of the hands of fools!

As Nissa-Nath, the lord who rules the night, looking on the faces of the fair Kaminis below, feels envious of their fairness, and ashamed of the dark spots on his own countenance, even so does Chutterkote blush at seeing this (Prasishta) on her pinnacle.

Samvat 1207, (month and day broken off.)

No. VII.

Inscriptions on copper-plates found at Nadole relative to the Chohan princes.

The treasury of knowledge of the Almighty (*Īna*) (1) cuts the knots and intentions of mankind. Pride, conceit, desire, anger, avarice. It is a partition to the three* worlds. Such is *Mahavira*; † may he grant thee happiness!

In ancient times the exalted race of Chohan had sovereignty to the bounds of ocean; and in Nadole swayed Lacshman, Raja. He had a son named *Lohia* (2); and his *Bulraj* (3), his *Vigraha Pal* (4); from him sprung *Mahindra Deva* (5); his son was *Sri Anhula* (6), the chief amongst the princes of his time, whose fortunes were known to all. His son was *Sri Bal Persad* (7); but having no issue, his younger brother, *Fairy Raj* (8), succeeded. His son was *Prithwi Pal* (9), endued with strength and fiery qualities; but he having no issue, was succeeded by his younger brother *Ful* (10); he by his brother *Maun Raja* (11), the abode of fortune. His son was *Alan-deva* ‡ (12). When he mounted the throne, he reflected this world was a fable; that this frame, composed of unclean elements, of flesh, blood, and dust, was brought to existence in pain. Versed in the books of faith, he reflected on the evanescence of youth, resembling the scintillation of the fire-fly § that riches were as the dew-drop on the lotos-leaf, for a moment resembling the pearl, but soon

* Tribhuwan-loca; or Patala, Mirtha, Swerga.

† *Mahavira*, to whom the temple was thus endowed by the Chohan prince, follower of Siva, was the last of the twenty-four *Īnas*, or apostles of the Jains.

‡ The prince being the twelfth from Lacshman, allowing twenty-two years to a reign 264—1218; date of inscription, S. 954, or A. D. 898, the period of Lacshman.

§ *Kudheata*.

to disappear. Thus meditating, he commanded his servants, and sent them forth to his chieftains, to desire them to bestow happiness on others, and to walk in the paths of faith.

In Samvat 1218, in the month of Sawun the 29th,* performing the sacrifice to fire, and pouring forth libations to the dispeller of darkness, he bathed the image of the omniscient, the lord of things which move and are immoveable, Sudasiva, with the *panch-amrit*,† and made the gifts of gold, grain, and clothes to his spiritual teacher, preceptor, and the Brahmins, to their heart's desire. Taking *til* in his hand, with rings on his finger of the *cusa* (grass), holding water and rice on the palm of his hand, he made a gift of five *moodras* monthly in perpetuity to the *Sandera Gatcha*‡ for saffron, sandal-wood, and ghee for the service of the temple of *Mahavira* in the white market (*mandra*) of the town. Hence this copper-plate. This charity which I have bestowed will continue as long as the *Sandera Gatcha* exist to receive, and my issue to grant it.

To whoever may rule hereafter I touch their hands, that it may be perpetual. Whoever bestows charity will live sixty thousand years in heaven; whoever resumes it, the like in hell!

Of Pragvavansa,§ his name Dhurnidhur, his son Kurmchund being minister, and the *sastri* Munorut Ram, with his sons Visala and Sridhara, by writing this inscription made his name resplendent. By *Sri Alan's* own hand was this copper-plate bestowed. Samvat 1218,

TREATY between the Honourable the English East-India Company and Maharana Bheem Sing, Rana of Oudeepoor, concluded by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe on the part of the Honourable Company, in virtue of full powers granted by his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, K. G., Governor-General, and by Thakoor Ajeet Sing on the part of the Maharana, in virtue of full powers confirmed by the Maharana aforesaid.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the two states, from generation to generation and the friends and enemies of one shall be the friends and enemies of both.

Second Article.—The British Government engages to protect the principality and territory of Oudeepur.

Third Article.—The Maharana of Oudeepur will always act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and acknowledge its supremacy, and will not have any connexion with other chiefs or states.

Fourth Article.—The Maharana of Oudeepur will not enter into any negotiation with any chief or state without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government; but his usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue.

Fifth Article.—The Maharana of Oudeepur will not commit aggressions upon any one; and if by accident a dispute arise with any one, it shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government.

* *Sudichoudus*

† Milk, curds, clarified butter, honey, butter, and sugar.

‡ One of eighty-four divisions of Jain tribes.

§ Poorval, a branch of the Oswal race of Jain laity.

Sixth Article.—One-fourth of the revenue of the actual territory of Oudeepur shall be paid annually to the British Government as tribute for five years; and after that term three-eighths in perpetuity. The Maharana will not have connection with any other power on account of tribute, and if any one advance claims of that nature, the British Government engages to reply to them.

Seventh Article.—Whereas the Maharana represents that portions of the dominions of Oudeepur have fallen, by improper means, into the possession of others, and solicits the restitution of those places: the British Government from a want of accurate information is not able to enter into any positive engagement on this subject; but will always keep in view the renovation of the prosperity of the state of Oudeepur, and after ascertaining the nature of each case, will use its best exertions for the accomplishment of the object, on every occasion on which it may be proper to do so. Whatever places may thus be restored to the state of Oudeepur by the aid of the British Government, three-eighths of their revenues shall be paid in perpetuity to the British Government.

Eighth Article.—The troops of the state of Oudeepur shall be furnished according to its means, at the requisition of the British Government.

Ninth Article.—The Maharana of Oudeepur shall always be absolute ruler of his own country, and the British jurisdiction shall not be introduced into that principality.

Tenth Article.—The present treaty of ten articles having been concluded at Dillee, and signed and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and Thakoor Ajeet Sing Bahadoor, the ratifications of the same, by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, and Maharana Bheem Sing, shall be mutually delivered within a month from this date.

Done at Dillee, this thirteenth day of January, A. D. 1818.

(Signed) C. T. METCALFE, (L.S.)

„ THAKOOR AJEET SING, (L.S.)

END OF VOL. I.

ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES
OF
RAJASTHAN,
OR
THE CENTRAL & WESTERN RAJPOOT STATES
OF
INDIA.

BY
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JAMES TOD,
Late Political Agent of the Western Rajpoot States.

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TO
HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY
WILLIAM THE FOURTH.

SIRE,

YOUR MAJESTY has graciously sanctioned the presentation of the Second Volume of the ANNALS OF RAJPOOTANA to the public under the auspices of Your Majesty's name.

In completing this work, it has been my endeavour to draw a faithful picture of States, the ruling principle of which is the paternity of the Sovereign. That this patriarchal form is the best suited to the genius of the people, may be presumed from its durability, which war, famine, and anarchy have failed to destroy. The throne has always been the watch-word and rallying-point of the Rajpoots. My prayer is, that it may continue so, and that neither the love of conquest, nor false views of policy, may tempt us to subvert the independence of these States, some of which have braved the storms of more than ten centuries.

It will not, I trust, be deemed presumptuous in the Annalist of these gallant and long-oppressed races thus to solicit for them a full measure of Your Majesty's gracious patronage; in return for which, the Rajpoots, making Your Majesty's enemies their own, would glory in assuming the 'saffron robe,' emblematic of death or victory, under the banner of that chivalry of which Your Majesty is the head.

That Your Majesty's throne may ever be surrounded by chiefs who will act up to the principles of fealty maintained at all hazards by the Rajpoot, is the heartfelt aspiration of,

SIRE,

YOUR MAJESTY'S

Devoted subject and servant,

JAMES TOD.

INTRODUCTION.

IN placing before the Public the concluding volume of the Annals of Rajpootana, I have fulfilled what I considered to be a sacred obligation to the races amongst whom I have passed the better portion of my life; and although no man can more highly appreciate public approbation, I am far less eager to court that approbation, than to awaken a sympathy for the objects of my work, the interesting people of Rajpootana.

I need add nothing to what was urged in the Introduction to the First Volume on the subject of Indian History; and trust that, however slight the analogy between the chronicles of the Hindus and those of Europe, as historical works, they will serve to banish the reproach, which India has so long laboured under, of possessing no records of past events: my only fear now is, that they may be thought redundant.

I think I may confidently affirm, that whoever, without being alarmed at their bulk, has the patience attentively to peruse these Annals, cannot fail to become well acquainted with all the peculiar features of Hindu society, and will be enabled to trace the foundation and progress of each state in Rajpootana, as well as to form a just notion of the character of a people upon whom, at a future period our existence in India may depend.

Whatever novelty the enquirer into the origin of nations may find in these pages, I am ambitious to claim for them a higher title than a mass of mere archæological *data*. To see humanity under every aspect, and to observe the influence of different creeds upon man in his social capacity, must ever be one of the highest sources of mental enjoyment; and I may hope that the personal qualities herein delineated, will allow the labourer in this vast field of philosophy to enlarge his sphere of acquaintance with human varieties. In the present circumstances of our alliance with these states every trait of national character, and even every traditional incident, which by leading us to understand and respect their peculiarities, may enable us to secure their friendship and esteem, become of infinite importance. The more we study their history, the better shall we comprehend the causes of their international quarrels, the origin of their tributary engagements, secret principles of their mutual repulsion, and the sources of their strength and their weakness as an aggregate body: without which knowledge it is impossible we can arbitrate with justice in their national dispute; and, as respects ourselves, we may convert a means of defence into a source of bitter hostility.

It has been my aim to diversify as much as possible the details of this volume. In the Annals of Marwar, I have traced the conquest and peopling of an immense region by a handful of strangers; and have dwelt, perhaps, with tedious minuteness on the long reign of Raja Ajit Sing and the thirty years' war, to shew what the energy of one of these petty states, impelled by a sense of oppression, effected against the colossal power of its enemies. It is a portion of their history which should be deeply studied by those who have succeeded to the paramount power; for Arungzeb had

less reason to distrust the stability of his dominion than we have: yet what is now the house of Timour? The resources of Marwar were reduced to as low an ebb at the close of Arungzeb's reign, as they are at the present time: yet did that state surmount all its difficulties, and bring armies into the field that annihilated the forces of the empire. Let us not, then, mistake the supineness engendered by long oppression, for want of feeling, nor mete out to these high-spirited people the same measure of contumely, with which we have treated the subjects of our earlier conquests.

The Annals of the Bhattis may be considered as the link connecting the tribes of India Proper with the ancient races west of the Indus, or Indo-Scythia; and although they will but slightly interest the general reader, the antiquary may find in them many new topics for investigation, as well as in the Sketch of the Desert, which has preserved the relics of names that once promised immortality.

The patriarchal simplicity of the Jit communities, upon whose ruins the state of Bikaner was founded, affords a picture, however imperfect, of petty republics,—a form of Government little known to eastern despotism, and proving the tenacity of the ancient Gete's attachment to liberty.

Amber, and its scion Shekhavati, possess a still greater interest from their contiguity to our frontier. A multitude of singular privileges is attached to the Sekhavati federation, which it behoves the paramount power thoroughly to understand, lest it should be led by false views to pursue a policy detrimental to them as well as to ourselves. To this extensive community belong the Larkhanis, so utterly unknown to us, that a recent internal tumult of that tribe was at first mistaken for an irruption of our old enemies, the Pindarries.

Harouti may claim our regard from the high bearing of its gallant race, the Haras; and the singular character of the individual with whose biography its history closes, and which cannot fail to impart juster notions of the genius of Asiatics.

So much for the matter of this volume:—with regard to the manner, as the Rajpoots abhor all pleas *ad misericordiam*, so likewise does their annalist, who begs to repeat, in order to deprecate a standard of criticism inapplicable to this performance, that it professes *not* to be constructed on exact historical principles: *Non historia, sed particulæ historiæ*.

In conclusion, I adopt the peroration of the ingenuous, pious, and liberal Abulfazil, when completing his History of the Provinces of India: "Praise be unto God, that by the assistance of his Divine Grace, I have completed the History of the *Rajpoots*. The account cost me a great deal of trouble in collecting, and I found such difficulty in ascertaining dates, and in reconciling the contradictions in the several histories of the Princes of *Rajpootana*, that I had nearly resolved to relinquish the task altogether: but who can resist the decrees of Fate? I trust that those, who have been able to obtain better information, will not dwell upon my errors; but that upon the whole I may meet with approbation."

YORK PLACE, PORTMAN SQUARE,
March 10th, 1831.

ANNALS OF MARWAR.

CHAPTER I.

MARWAR is a corruption of *Maroo-war*, classically *Maroosthali* or *Maroosthan*, 'the region of death.' It is also called *Maroo-desa*, whence the unintelligible *Mardes* of the early Mahomedan writers. The bards frequently style it *Mordhur*, which is synonymous with *Maroo-desa*, or, when it suits their rhyme, simply *Maroo*. Though now restricted to the country subject to the Rahtore race, its ancient and appropriate application comprehended the entire 'desert,' from the Sutlej to the ocean.

A concise genealogical sketch of the Rahtore rulers of Marwar has already been given; we shall therefore briefly pass over those times 'when a genealogical tree would strike root in my soil;' when the ambition of the Rahtores, whose branches (*sachæ*) spread rapidly over the region of death,' was easily gratified with a solar pedigree. As it is desirable, however, to record their own opinions regarding their origin, we shall make extracts from the chronicles (hereafter enumerated), instead of fusing the whole into one mass, as in the Annals of Mewar. The reader will occasionally be presented with simple translations of whatever is most interesting in the Rahtore records.

Let us begin with a treatment of the author's authorities; first, a genealogical roll of the Rahtores, furnished by a Yati, or Jain priest, from the temple of Nadolaye.* This roll is about fifty feet in length, commencing, as usual, with a theogony, followed by the production of the 'first Rahtore from the spine (*raht*) of Indra,' the nominal father being "Yavanaswa, prince of Parlipur." Of the topography of Parlipur, the Rahtores have no other notion than that it was in the north; but in the declared race of their progenitor, a *Yavan* prince, of the Aswa or Asi tribe,† we have a proof of the Scythic origin of this Rajpoot family.

The chronicle proceeds with the foundation of Kanya-cubja,‡ or Canouj, and the origin of Cama-dhwaja,§ (*vulgo* Chamdhuj), the titular appellation of its princes, and concludes with the thirteen great *sacha*, or ramifications of the Rahtores, and their *Gotra-acharya* or genealogical creed.||

Another roll, of considerable antiquity, commences in the fabulous age, with a long string of names, without facts; its sole value consists in

* An ancient town in Marwar.

† One of the four tribes which overturned the Greek kingdom of Bactria. The ancient Hindu cosmographers claim the Aswa as a grand branch of their early family, and doubtless the Indo-Scythic people, from the Oxus to the Ganges, were one race.

‡ From *Cubja* (spine) of the (*Kanya*).

§ *Cama-dhwaja*, 'the banner of Cupid.'

|| *Gotama Gotra, Mardwandani Sacha, Sookracharya Guru, Gar-rapti Agni, Pankhani Devi.*

the esteem in which the tribe holds it. We may omit all that precedes Nayn Pal, who, in the year S. 526 (A. D. 470*), conquered Canouj, slaying its monarch Ajpal; from which period the race was termed Canoujea Rahthore. The genealogy proceeds to Jeichund, the last monarch of Canouj; relates the emigration of his nephew Seoji, or Sevaji, and his establishment in the desert (*Maroonwar*), with a handful of his brethren a wreck (a wreck of the mighty kingdom of Canouj); and terminates with the death of Raja Jeswunt Sing, S. 1735 (A. D. 1679), describing every branch and scion, until we see them spreading over Maroo.

Genealogy ceases to be an uninteresting pursuit, when it enables us to mark the progress of animal vegetation, from the germ to the complete development of the tree, until the land is overshadowed with its branches; and bare as is the chronicle to the moralist or historian, it exhibits to the observer of the powers of the animal economy, data, which the annals of no other people on earth can furnish. In A.D. 1193, we see the throne of Jeichund overturned; his nephew, with a handful of retainers, taking services, with a petty chieftain in the Indian desert. In less than four centuries, we find the descendants of these exiles of the Ganges occupying nearly the whole of the desert; having founded three capitals, studded the land with the castles of its feudality, and bringing into the field fifty thousand men, *ek bap ca beta*, 'the sons of one father,' to combat the emperor of Delhi. What a contrast does their unnoticed growth present to that of the Islamite conquerors of Canouj, of whom five dynasties passed away in ignorance of the renovated existence of the Rahthore, until the ambition of Shere Shah brought him into contact with the descendants of Seoji, whose valour caused him to exclaim "he had nearly lost the crown of India for a handful of barley," in allusion to the poverty of their land!

What a sensation does it not excite, when we know that a sentiment of kindred pervades every individual of this immense affiliated body, who can point out, in the great tree, the branch of his origin, whilst not one is too remote from the main stem to forget its pristine connection with it! The moral sympathies created by such a system pass unheeded by the chronicler, who must deem it futile to describe what all sensibly feel, and which renders his page, albeit little more than a string of names, one of paramount interest to the 'sons of Seoji.'

The third authority is the *Sooraj Prakas* (*Surya Prakasa*), composed by the bard Kurnidhan, during the reign and by command of Raja Abhye Sing. This poetic history, comprised in 7,500 stanzas, was copied from the original manuscript, and sent to me by Raja Man, in the year 1820.† As usual, the *kavi* (bard) commences with the origin of all things, tracing the Rahthores from the creation down to Soomitra; from whence is a blank until he recommences with the name of Camdhuj, which appears to have been the title assumed by Nayn Pal, on his conquest of Canouj. Although Kurnidhan must have taken his facts from the royal records,

* It is a singular fact, that there is no available date beyond the fourth century for any of the great Rajpoot families, all of whom are brought from the north. This was the period of one of the grand irruptions of Getic races from Central Asia, who established kingdoms in the Punjab and on the Indus. *Pal* or *Pali*, the universal adjunct to every proper name, indicates the pastoral race of these invaders.

† This manuscript is deposited in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

they correspond very well with the roll from Nadolaye. The bard is, however, in a great hurry to bring the founder of the Rahthores into Marwar, and slurs over the defeat and death of Jeichund. Nor does he dwell long on his descendants, though he enumerates them all, and points out the leading events until he reaches the reign of Jeswunt Sing, grandfather of Abhye Sing, who "commanded the bard to write the *Sooraj Prakas*.

The next authority is the *Raj Roopac Akheat*, or 'the royal relations.' This work commences with a short account of the *Suryavansa*, from their cradle at Ayodhya; then takes up Seoji's migration, and in the same strain as the preceding work, rapidly passes over all events until the death of Raja Jeswunt; but it becomes a perfect chronicle of events during the minority of his successor Ajit, his eventful reign, and that of Abhye Sing, to the conclusion of the war against Sirbolund Khan, viceroy of Guzerat. Throwing aside the meagre historical introduction, it is professedly a chronicle of the events from S. 1735 (A. D. 1679), to S. 1787 (A. D. 1734), the period to which the *Sooraj Prakas* is brought down.

A portion of the *Beejy Vulas*, a poem of 100,000 couplets, also fell into my hands: it chiefly relates to the reign of the prince whose name it bears, Beejy Sing, the son of Bukht Sing. It details the civil wars waged by Beejy Sing and his cousin Ram Sing (son of Abhye Sing), and the consequent introduction of the Mahrattas into Marwar.

From a biographical work named simply *Kheat*, or 'Story,' I obtained that portion which relates to the lives of Raja Oodi Sing, the friend of Akbar; his son Raja Guj, and grandson Jeswunt Sing. These sketches exhibit in true colours the character of the Rahthores,

Besides these, I caused to be drawn up by an intelligent man, who had passed his life in office at Jodhpur, a memoir of transactions from the death of Ajit Sing, in A. D. 1629, down to the treaty with the English government in A. D. 1818. The ancestors of the narrator had filled offices of trust in the state, and he was a living chronicle both of the past and present.

From these sources, from conversations with the reigning sovereign, his nobles, his ambassadors, and subjects, materials were collected for this sketch of the Rahthores,—barren, indeed, of events at first, but redundant of them as we advance.

A genealogical table of the Rahthores is added, shewing the grand offsets, whose descendants constitute the feudal *frerage* of the present day. A glance at this table will shew the claims of each house; and in its present distracted condition, owing to civil broils, will enable the paramount power to mediate, when necessary, with impartiality, in the conflicting claims of the prince and his feudatories.

We shall not attempt to solve the question, whether the Rahthores are, or are not, *Rawud-vansa*, "Children of the Sun"; nor shall we dispute either the birth or etymon of the first Rahthore (from the *raht* or spine of Indra), or search in the north for the kingdom of the nominal father; but be content to conclude that this celestial interference in the household concerns of the Parlipur prince was invented to cover some disgrace. The name of *Yavana*, with the adjunct *Aswa* or *Asi*, indicates the Indo-Scythic 'barbarian' from beyond the Indus. In the genealogy of the Lunar races descended of Budha and Ella (*Mercury* and *the Earth*), the five sons of *BAV-ASWA* are made to people the countries on

and beyond the Indus; and in the scanty records of Alexander's invasion, mention is made of many races, as the Asasenæ and Asacani, still dwelling in these regions.

This period was fruitful in change to the old established dynasties of the Hindu continent, when numerous races of *barbarians, vis.*, Huns, Parthians, and Getes, had fixed colonies on her western and northern frontiers.*

"In S. 526 (A.D. 470), Nayn Pal obtained Canouj, from which period the Rahthores assumed the title of Camdhuj. His son was Pudarut,† his Poonja, from whom sprung the thirteen great families, bearing the patronymic Camdhuj, *vis.* :

"1st. Dhurma Bhumbo; his descendants styled *Danesra Camdhuj*.

"2nd. Bhanooda, who fought the Afghans at Kangra, and founded Abhipur; hence the *Abhipura Camdhuj*.

"3rd. Virachandra, who married the daughter of Hamira Chohan, of Anhulpur Pattun; he had fourteen sons, who emigrated to the Dekhan; his descendants called *Kuppolia Camdhuj*,

"4th. Umrabeej, who married the daughter of the Pramara prince of Korahgurh on the Ganges:—slew 16,000 Pramaras, and took possession of Korah, whence the *Korah Camdhuj*.‡

"5th. Soojun Bimode; his descendants *Firkhaira Camdhuj*.

"6th. Pudma, who conquered Orissa, and also Bogilana, from Raja Tejmun Yadu.

"7th. Aihar, who took Bengal from the Yadus; hence *Aihara Camdhuj*.

"8th. Bardeo; his elder brother offered him in appanage Benares, and eighty-four townships; but he preferred founding a city which he called Parukpur;§ his descendants *Paruk Camdhuj*

"9th. Oogra-Prebhoo, who made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Hing-laz Chandel,|| who, pleased with the severity of his penance, caused a sword to ascend from the fountain, with which he conquered the southern countries touching the ocean:¶ his descendants *Chandaila Camdhuj*.

"10. Mookta-Mun, who conquered possessions in the north from Bhan Tuar: his descendants *Beera Camdhuj*.

"11th. Bhurut, at the age of sixty-one, conquered Keneksir, under the northern hills, from Roodra-sen of the Birgoojur tribe; his descendants styled *Bhureau Camdhuj*.

* Comas. Annals of Mewar. Gete or Jit Inscriptions, Appendix. Vol. I.

† Called *Bharat* in the Yati's roll; an error of one or other of the authorities, in transcribing from the more ancient records.

‡ An inscription given in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society (Vol. IX. p. 440), found at Korah, relates to a branch of the Conouj family.

§ Ou. Parkur, towards the Indus?

|| On the coast of Mekran.

¶ If we can credit these legends, we see the Rahtthore Rajpoots spreading over all India. I give these bare facts *verbatim* as some traces may yet remain of the races in those countries.

" 12th. Allunkul founded Khyroda; fought the (Moslems) on the banks of the Attok: his descendants *Khyrodea Camdhu*."

" 13th. Chand obtained Tarapoor in the north. He married a daughter of the Chohan of *Tahera*,* a city well known to the world: with her he came to Benares.

" And thus the race of Surya multiplied."

" Bhumbo,† Dherma-Bhumbo, sovereign of Canouj, had a son, Ayy-Chund.‡ For twenty-one generations they bore the titles of *Rao*; afterwards that of *Raja*. Oodichund, Nirpati, Keneksen, Sehes-sal, Megsen, Birbhadra, Deosen, Bimulsen, Dansen, Mokund, Bhoodu, Rajsen, Tripal, Sree-poonja, Beejy Chund,§ his son Jeichund, who became the Naek of Canouj, with the surname *Dul Pangla*."

Nothing is related of the actions of these princes, from the conquest of Canouj by Nayn Pal, in A.D. 470, and the establishment of his thirteen grandsons in divers countries, until we reach Jeichund, in whose person (A.D. 1193) terminated the Rahthore sovereignty on the Ganges; and we have only twenty-one names to fill up the space of seven centuries, although the testimony on which it is given|| asserts there were twenty-one princes bearing the title of *Rao* prior to the assumption of that of *Raja*. But the important information is omitted as to who was the first to assume this title. There are names in the Yati's roll that are not in the *Sooraj Prakas*, which we have followed; and one of these, "Rungut Dliwaj," is said to have overcome Jesraj Tuar, king of Delhi, for whose period we have correct data: yet we cannot incorporate the names in the Yati's roll with that just given without vitiating each; and as we have no facts, it is useless to perplex ourselves with a barren genealogy. But we can assert that it must have been a splendid dynasty, and that their actions, from the conqueror Nayn Pal, to the last prince, Jeichund, were well deserving of commemoration. That they were commemorated in written records, there cannot be a doubt; for the trade of the bardic chroniclers in India has flourished in all ages.

Although we have abundant authority to assert the grandeur of the kingdom of Canouj¶ at the period of its extinction, both from the bard Chund and the concurrent testimony of Mahomedan authors, yet are we astonished at the description of the capital, attested not only by the annals of the Rahthores, but by those of their antagonists, the Chohans.

The circumvallation of Canouj covered a space of more than thirty miles; and its numerous forces obtained for its prince the epithet of "*Dul Pangla*," meaning that the mighty host (*Dul*) was lame or had a halt in its movements owing to its numbers, of which Chund observes, that in the march "the van had reached their ground ere the rear had moved off." The *Sooraj Prakas* gives the amount of this army, which in numbers might compete with the most potent which, in ancient or modern times, was ever

* A city often mentioned by Ferishta, in the early times of the Mahomedans.

† Nayn Pal must have preceded Dherma-Bhumbo by five or six generations.

‡ Called Abhe-Chand, in the *Sooraj Prakas*.

§ Also styled *Beejy Pal*; classically *Vijy-Pala*, 'Fosterer of Victory.'

|| The *Sooraj Prakas*.

¶ See Inscriptions of Jeichund, Vijyachund, and Korah, in the 9th and 14th Vols. of the *Asiatic Researches*.

sent into the field. "Eighty thousand men in armour; thirty thousand horse covered with *pakhur*, or quilted mail; three hundred thousand *paeks* or infantry; and of bow-men and battle-axes two hundred thousand; besides a cloud of elephants bearing warriors."

The immense army was to oppose the Yavana beyond the Indus; for, as the chronicle says, "The king of Gor and Irak crossed the Attok. There Jev Sing met the conflict, when the *Nilab* changed its name to *Soorkhab*.* There was the Ethiopic (*Habshee*) king, and the skilful Frank learned in all arts,† overcome by the lord of Canouj."

The chronicles of the Chohans, the sworn foe of the Rahthores, repeat the greatness of the monarch of Canouj, give him the title of, "*Mandalica*" They affirm that he overcame the king of the north,‡ making eight tributary king's prisoners; that he twice defeated Sidraj, king of Anhulwarra, and extended his dominions south of the Nerbudda, and that at length, in the fulness of his pride, he had divine honours paid him in the rite *Soenair*. This distinction, which involves the most august ceremony, and is held as a virtual assumption of universal supremacy, had in all ages been attended with disaster. In the rite of *Soenair*, every office, down to the scullion of the "*Rusorah*," or banquet-hall, must be performed by royal personages; nor had it been attempted by any of the dynasties which ruled India since the Pandu: not even Vicrama, though he introduced his own era, had the audacity to attempt what the Rahtore determined to execute. All India was agitated by the accounts of the magnificence of the preparations, and circular invitations were despatched to every prince, inviting him to assist at the pompous ceremony, which was to conclude with the nuptials of the raja's only daughter, who, according to the customs of those days, would select her future lord from the assembled chivalry of India. The Chohan bard described the revelry and magnificence of the scene: the splendour of the *Yug-sala*, or 'hall of sacrifice,' surpassing all powers of description; in which was assembled all the princes of India, "save the lord of the Chohans, and Samara of Mewar," who scorning this assumption of supremacy, Jeichund made their effigies in gold, assigning to them the most servile posts; that of the king of the Chohans being *Poleah*, or 'porter of the hall.' Prithiraj, whose life was one succession of feats of arms and gallantry, had a double motive for action—love and revenge. He determined to enjoy both, or perish in the attempt; to "spoil the sacrifice and bear away the fair of Canouj from its halls, though beset by all the heroes of Hind." The details of this exploit form the most spirited of the sixty-nine books of the bard. The Chohan executed his purpose, and, with the *élite* of warriors of Delhi, bore off the princess in open day from Canouj. A desperate running-fight of five days took place. To use the words of the bard, "he preserved his prize; he gained immortal renown, but he lost the sinews of Delhi." So did Jeichund those of Canouj; and each, who had singly repelled all attacks of the kings, fell in turn a prey to the Ghori-Sultan, who skilfully availed himself of these international feuds, to make a permanent conquest of India.

* The *Nil-ab*, or 'blue-water,' the Indus, changed its name to the 'Red-stream' (*Soork-ab*), or 'ensanguined.'

† It is singular that Chund likewise mentions the Frank as being in the army of Shabudin, in the conquest of his sovereign Prithiraj. If this be true, it must have been a desultory or fugitive band of crusaders.

‡ They thus style the kings west of the Indus.

We may here briefly describe the state of Hindusthan at this epoch, and for centuries previous to the invasions of Mahmoud.

There were four great kingdoms, *viz.*,

- 1st. DELHI, under the Tuars and Chohans ;
- 2nd. CANOUJ, under the Ralhthores ;
- 3rd. MEWAR, under the Ghelotes ;
- 4th. ANHULWARRA, under the Chauras and Solankis.

To one or other of these states, the numerous petty princes of India paid homage and feudal service. The boundary between Delhi and Canouj was the *Calinadi*, or 'black stream,' the Calindi of the Greek geographers. Delhi claimed supremacy over all the countries westward to the Indus, embracing the lands watered by its arms, from the foot of the Himalaya,—the desert,—to the Aravali chain. The Chohan king, successor to the Tuars, enumerated one hundred and eight great vassals, many of whom were subordinate princes.

The power of Canouj extended north to the foot of the snowy mountains; eastward to Casi (Benares); and across the Chumbul to the lands of the Chundail (now Bundelkhand); on the south its possession came in contact with Mewar.

Mewar, or *Medya-war*, the 'central region,' was bounded to the north by the Aravali, to the south by the Pramaras of Dhar (dependent on Canouj), and westward by Anhulwarra, which state was bounded by the ocean to the south, the Indus on the west, and the desert to the north.

There are records of great wars amongst all these Princes. The Chohans and Ghelotes, whose dominions were contiguous, were generally allies, and the Ralhthores and Tuars (predecessors of the Chohans) who were only divided by the *Calinadi*, often dyed it with their blood. Yet this warfare was never of an exterminating kind; a marriage quenched a feud, and they remained friends until some new cause of strife arose.

If, at the period preceding Mahmoud, the traveller had journeyed through the courts of Europe, and taken the line of route, in subsequent ages pursued by Timoor, by Byzantium, through Ghizni (adorned with the spoils of India), to Delhi, Canouj, and Anhulwarra, how superior in all that constitutes civilization would the Rajpoot princes have appeared to him!—in arts immeasurably so; in arms by no means inferior. At that epoch, in the west, as in the east, every state was governed on feudal principles. Happily for Europe, the democratical principle gained admittance, and imparted a new character to her institutions; while the third estate of India, indeed of Asia, remained permanently excluded from all share in the government which was supported by its labour, every pursuit but that of arms being deemed ignoble. To this cause, and the endless wars which feudality engenders, Rajpoot nationality fell a victim, when attacked by the means at command of the despotic kings of the north.

Shabudin, king of Ghor, taking advantage of these dissensions, invaded India. He first encountered Pirthiraj, the Chohan king of Delhi, the outwork and bulwark of India, which fell. Shabudin then attacked Jeichund, who was weakened by the previous struggle. Canouj put forth all her strength, but in vain; and her monarch was the last son of, "*the Yavana of Parliipoor*," who ruled on the banks of the Ganges. He met a death congenial to the Hindu, being drowned in the sacred stream in attempting to escape.

This event happened in S. 1249 (A. D. 1193), from which period the overgrown, gorgeous Canouj ceased to be a Hindu city, whom the thirty-six races* of vassal princes, from the Himalaya to the Vindhya, who served under the banners of "*Bardai Sena*,"* retired to their patrimonial estates. But though the Rahtore name ceased to exist on the shores of the Ganges, destiny decreed that a scion should be preserved, to produce in a less favoured land a long line of kings; that in thirty-one generations, his descendant, Raja Man, "*Raj, Rajeswara*," 'the king, the lord of kings,' should be as vain glorious of the sceptre of Maroo, as either Jeichund when he commanded divine honours, or his still more remote ancestor Nayn Pal fourteen centuries before, when he erected his throne in Canouj. The Rahtore may well boast of his pedigree, when he can trace it through a period of 1360 years, in lineal descent from male to male; and contented with this, may leave to the mystic page of the bard, or the interpolated pages of the *Puranas*, the period preceding Nay Pal.

CHAPTER II.

IN S. 1268 (A. D. 1212), eighteen years subsequent to the overthrow of Canouj, Seoji and Saitram, grandsons of its last monarch, abandoned the land of their birth, and with two hundred retainers, the wreck of their vassalage, journeyed westward to the desert with the intent, according to some of the chronicles, of making a pilgrimage to the shrine of Dwarica; but according to others, and with more probability, to carve their fortunes in fresh fields, unscathed by the luxuries in which they had been tried, and proud in their poverty and sole heritage, the glory of Canouj.

Let us rapidly sketch the geography of the tribes over whom it was destined these emigrants of the Ganges should obtain the mastery, from the Jumna to the Indus, and the Garah river to the Aravali hills. First, on the east, the Cuchwahs, under Milaisi, whose father, Rao Pujoon, was killed in the war of Canouj. Ajmeer, Sambhur, and the best lands of the Chohans, fell rapidly to the Islamite—though the strongholds of the Aravali yet sheltered some, and Nadole continued for a century more to be governed by a descendant of Beesuldeo. Mansi, Rana of the Eendoh tribe, a branch of the Purihars, still held Mundore, and the various *Bhomis* around paid him a feudal subjection as the first chief of the desert. Northward, about Nagore, lived the community of the Mohils (a name now extinct), whose chief place was Aurent, on which depended 1,440 villages. The whole of the tracts now occupied by Bikaner to Bhatnair were partitioned into petty republics of Getes or Jits, whose history will hereafter be related. Thence to the Garah river, the Jonyas, Dyas, Cathæ Langahas, and other tribes whose names are now obliterated, partly by the sword, partly by conversion to Islamism. The Bhattis had for centuries been established within the bounds they still inhabit, and little expected that this handful of Rahtores was destined to contract them. The Soda princes adjoined the Bhattis south, and the Jharajas occupied the valley of the Indus and Cutch. The Solankis

* Another title of the monarch of Canouj, "the bard of the host," from which we are led to understand he was as well versed in the poetic art, as his rival, the Chohan prince of Delhi.

intervened between them and the Pramaras of Aboo and Chandravati, which completed the chain by junction with Nadole. Various chieftains of the more ancient races, leading a life of fearless independence, acknowledging an occasional submission to their more powerful neighbour's, were scattered throughout this space; such as the Dabeys of Eedur and Mehwo; the Gehils of Kherdthur; the Deoras of Santhore; and Sonigurras of Jhalore; the Mohils of Aureent; the Sanklas of Sindli, etc.; all of whom have either had their birthright seized by the Rathore, or the few who have survived and yet retain them, are enrolled amongst their allodial vassals.

The first exploit of Seoji was at Koloomud (twenty miles west of the city of Bikaner, not then in existence), the residence of a chieftain of the Solanki tribe. He received the royal emigrants with kindness, and the latter repaid it by the offer of their services to combat his enemy, the Jhareja chieftain of Phoolra, well known in all the annals of the period, from the Sutlej to the ocean, as Lakha Phoolana, the most celebrated river of Maroo, whose castle of Phoolra stood amidst the almost inaccessible sandhills of the desert. By this timely succour, the Solanki gained a victory over Lakha, but with the loss of Saitram and several of his band. In gratitude for this service, the Solanki bestowed upon Seoji his sister in marriage, with an ample dower; and he continued his route by Anhulwarra Patun, where he was hospitably entertained by its prince, to the shrine of Dwarica. It was the good fortune of Seoji again to encounter Lakha, whose wandering habits had brought him on a foray into the territory of Anhulwarra. Besides the love of glory and the ambition of maintaining the reputation of his race, he had the stimulus of revenge, and that of a brother's blood. He was successful, though he lost a nephew, slaying Lakha in single combat, which magnified his fame in all these regions, of which Phoolana was the scourge.

Flushed with success, we hear nothing of the completion of Seoji's pilgrimage; but obedient to the axiom of the Rajpoot, "get land," we find him on the banks of the Looni exterminating, at a feast, the Dabeys of Mehwo,* and soon after the Gohils of Kherdthur,† whose chief, Mohesdas, fell by the sword of the grandson of Jeichund. Here, in the "land of Kher," amidst the sandhills of the Looni, (the salt-river of the desert), from which the Gohils were expelled, Seoji planted the standard of the Rathores.

At this period, a community of Brahmins held the city and extensive lands about Palli, from which they were termed *Palliwal*; and being greatly harassed by the incursions of the mountaineers, the Mairs and Meenas, they called in the aid of Seoji's band, which readily undertook and executed the task of rescuing the Brahmins from their depredations. Aware that they would be renewed, they offered Seoji lands to settle amongst them, which were readily accepted; and here he had a son by the Solankani, to whom he gave the name of Asothama. With her, it is recorded, the suggestion originated to make himself lord of Palli; and it affords another example of the disregard of the early Rajpoots for the

* The Dabey was one of the thirty-six races; and this is almost the last mention of their holding independent possession.

† In my last journey through these regions, I visited the Gohils at Bhaonuggur, in the Gulf of Cambay. I transcribed their defective annals, which trace their migration from "Kherdthur," but in absolute ignorance where it is.

sacred order, that on the *Holi*, or 'Saturnalia,' he found an opportunity to "obtain land," putting to death the heads of this community, and adding the district to his conquest. Seoji outlived his treachery only twelve months, living his acquisitions as a nucleus for further additions to his children. He had three sons, Asothama, Soning, and Ajmal.

One of the Chronicles asserts that it was Asothama, the successor of Seoji, who conquered "the land of Kher" from the Gohils. By the same species of treachery by which his father attained Pelli, he lent his aid to establish his brother Soning in Eedur. This small principality, on the frontiers of Guzerat, then appertained, as did Mehwo, to the Dabey race; and it was during the *maatun*, or period of mourning for one of its princes, that the young Rahthore chose to obtain a new settlement. His descendants are distinguished as the Hatondia Rahthores. The third brother, Uja, carried his forays as far as the extremity of the Saurashtra peninsula where he decapitated Beekumsi, the Chawara chieftain of Okamundala,* and established himself. From this act his branch became known as the "*Badhail*;"† and the Badhails are still in considerable number in that furthest track of ancient Hinduism called the "World's End."

Asothama died, leaving eight sons, who became the heads of clans; viz., Doohur, Jopsi, Khimpsao, Bhopsoo, Dandul, Jaitmal, Bandur, and Oohur; of which, four Doohur, Dhandul, Jaitmal, and Oohur, are yet known.

Doohur succeeded Asothama. He made an unsuccessful effort to recover Canouj; and then attempted to wrest Mundore from the Puriharas, but "watered their lands with his blood." He left seven sons, viz., Raepal, Keerupal, Behur, Peetul, Joogail, Daloo, and Begur.

Raepal succeeded, and revenged the death of his father, slaying the Parihar of Mundore, of which he even obtained temporary possession. He had a progeny of thirteen sons, who rapidly spread their issue over these regions. He was succeeded by his son Kanhul, whose successor was his son Jalhun; he was succeeded by his son Chado, whose successor was his son Theedo. All these carried on a desperate warfare with, and made conquests from, their neighbours. Chado and Theedo are mentioned as very troublesome neighbours in the annals of the Bhattis of Jessulmeer, who were compelled to carry the war against them into the "land of Kher." Rao Theedo took the rich districts of Bheenmahal from the Sonigurra, and made other additions to his territory from the Deora and Belechas. He was succeeded by Siluk or Silko. His issue, the *Silkawuts*, now Bhomias, are yet numerous both in Mehwo and Rardurro. Silko was succeeded by his son Beerumdeo, who attacked the Johyas of the north, and fell in battle. His descendants, styled *Beerumote* and *Beefawut*, from another son Beejo, are numerous at Saitroo, Sewanoh, and Daichoo. Beerumdeo was succeeded by his son Chonda, an important name in the annals of the Rahthores. Hitherto they had attracted notice by their valour and their raids, whenever there was a prospect of success; but they had so multiplied in eleven generations, that they now essayed a higher flight. Collecting all the branches bearing the name of Rahthore, Chonda assaulted Mundore, slew the Purihar prince, and planted the banners of Canouj on the ancient capital of Maroo.

So fluctuating are the fortunes of the daring Rajpoot, ever courting

* On the western coast of the Saurashtra peninsula

† From *bhada*, 'to slay.'

distinction and coveting *bhom*, 'land,' that but a short time before his success, Chonda had been expelled from all the lands acquired by his ancestors, and was indebted to the hospitality of a bard of the Charun tribe, at Kaloo; and they yet circulate the *cavit*, or quatrain, made by him when, in the days of his greatness, he came and was refused admittance to the "the lord of Mundore;" he took post under the balcony, and improvised a stanza, reminding him of the Charun of Kaloo; "*Chonda nuhyn awe chith, Katchur Kaloo tinna? Bhoop bhyo bhy-bhith, Mundawur ra malea?*" "Does not Chonda remember the porridge of Kaloo, now that the lord of the land looks so terrific from his balcony of Mundawur?" Once established in Mundore, he ventured to assault the imperial garrison of Nagore. Here he was also successful. Thence he carried his arms south, and placed his garrison in Nadole, the capital of the province of Godwar. He married a daughter of the Purihar prince,* who had the satisfaction to see his grandson succeed to the throne of Mundore. Chonda was blessed with a progeny of fourteen sons, growing up to manhood around him. Their names were *Rinnull*,† *Sutto*, *Rindheer*, *irinkowal*,‡ *Poonja*, *Bheem*, *Kana*, *Ujo*, *Ramdeo*, *Beejo*, *Sehesmul*, *Bagh*, *Loombo*, *Seoraj*.

Chonda had also one daughter named *Hansa*, married to Lakha Rana of Mewar whose son was the celebrated Koombho. It was this marriage which caused that interference in the affairs of Mewar, which had such fatal results to both states.

The feud between his fourth son, *Irinkowal*, and the Bhatti prince of Poogul, being deemed singularly illustrative of the Rajpoot character, has been extracted from the annals of Jessulmeer, in another part of this work. The Rahthore chronicler does not enter into details, but merely states the result, as ultimately involving the death of Chonda—simply that "he was slain at Nagore with one thousand Rajpoots," and it is to the chronicles of Jessulmeer we are indebted for our knowledge of the manner. Chonda acceded in S. 1438 (A.D. 1382), and was slain in S. 1465.

Rinmul succeeded. His mother was of the *Gohil* tribe. In stature he was almost gigantic, and was the most athletic of all the athletes of his nation. With the death of Chonda, Nagore was again lost to the Rahthores. Rana Lakha presented Rinmul with the township of Durlo and forty villages upon his sister's marriage, when he almost resided at Cheetore, and was considered by the Rana as the first of his chiefs. With the forces of Mewar added to his own, under pretence of conveying a daughter to the viceroy of Ajmeer, he introduced his adherents into that renowned fortress, the ancient capital of the Chohans, putting the garrison to the sword, and thus restored it to Mewar. Khemsi Pancholi, the adviser of this measure, was rewarded with a grant of the township of Kaatoh, then lately captured from the Kaim-Khanis. Rinnull went on a pilgrimage to Gya, and paid the tax exacted for all the pilgrims then assembled.

* He was of the *Eenda* branch of the Purihars, and his daughter is called the "*Eendovathi*."

† The descendants of those whose names are in italics still exist.

‡ This is the prince mentioned in the extraordinary feud related from the annals of Jessulmeer. Incidentally, we have frequent synchronism in the annals of these states, which, however slight, are of high import.

The bard seldom intrudes the relation of civil affairs into his page, and when he does, it is incidentally. It would be folly to suppose that the princes of Maroo had no legislative recorders; but with these the poet had no bond of union. He, however, condescends to inform us of an important measure of Rao Rinnull, namely, that he equalized the weights and measures throughout his dominions, which he divided as at present. The last act of Rinnull, in treacherously attempting to usurp the throne of the infant Rana of Mewar, was deservedly punished, and he was slain by the faithful Chonda, as related in the annals of that state. This feud originated the line of demarcation of the two states, and which remained unaltered until recent times, when Marwar at length touched the Aravali. Rao Rinnull left twenty-four sons, whose issue, and that of his eldest son, Joda, form the great vassalage of Marwar. For this reason, however barren is a mere catalogue of names, it is of the utmost value to those who desire to see the growth of the *frerage* of such a community.*

Names.	Clans.	Chieftainships or Fiefs.
1. Joda (succeeded)	Joda.	
2. Kandul	... Kandulote, conquered lands in	Bikaneer.
3. Champa	... Champawut	... Ahwa, Kaatoth, Palri, Hursola, Rohit, Jawula, Sutlana, Singari.
4. Akhiraj had seven sons:		
1st. Koombo	... Koompawut	... Asope, Kuntaleo, Chundawul, Sirriari, Kharlo, Hursore, Bulloo, Bajoria, Soorpoora, Dewureo.
5. Mandlo	... Mandlote	... Saroonda.
6. Patta	... Pattawut	... Kurnichari, Baroh, and Desnokh.†
7. Lakha	... Lakhawut	...
8. Bala	... Balawut	... Dhoonara.
9. Jaitmul	... Jaitmulkote	... Palasni.
10. Kurno	... Kurnote	... Loonawas.
11. Roopa	... Roopawut	... Chooteela.
12. Nathoo	... Nathawut	... Bikaneer.
13. Doongra	... Doongerote	...
14. Sanda	... Sandawut	...
15. Mando	... Mandnote	...
16. Biroo	... Birote	...
17. Jugmal	... Jugmalote	...
18. Hempoo	... Hampawut	...
19. Sakto	... Saktawut	...
20. Kerimchund	...	...
21. Urival	... Urivalote	...
22. Ketsi	... Ketsiote	...
23. Sutrosal	... Sutrosalote	...
24. Tezmal	... Tezmalote	...

Estates not mentioned; their descendants have become dependent on the greater clanships.

* It is only by the possession of such knowledge, that we can exercise with justice our right of universal arbitration.

† Brave soldiers, but, safe in the deep sands, they refuse to serve except on emergencies.

CHAPTER III.

JODA was born at Dunlo, the appanage of his father in Mewar, in the month Bysak S. 1484. In 1511 he obtained Sojot, and in the month Jait, 1515 (A.D. 1459), laid the foundation of Jodhpur, to which he transferred the seat of Government from Mundore. With the superstitious Rajpoot, as with the ancient Roman, every event being decided by the omen or the augur, it would be contrary to rule if so important an occasion as the change of capital, and that of an infant state, were not marked by some propitious *prestige*, that would justify the abandonment of a city won by the sword, and which had been for ages the capital of Maroo. The intervention, in this instance, was of a simple nature; neither the flight of birds, the lion's lair, or celestial manifestation; but the ordinance of an anchorite, who abode, apart from mankind, was a cleft of the mountains of Bakurcheerea. But the behest of such ascetics are secondary only to those of the divinity, whose organs they are deemed. Like the Druids of the Celts, the Vana-prast Jogi, from the glades of the forest (*vana*) or recess in the rocks (*gopha*), issue their oracles to those whom chance or design may conduct to their solitary dwelling. It is not surprising that the mandates of such beings prove compulsory on the superstitious Rajpoot: we do not mean those squalid ascetics, who wander about India, and are objects disgusting to the eye; but the genuine *Jogi*, he who, as the term imports, mortifies the flesh, till the wants of humanity are restricted merely to what suffices to unite matter with spirit: who has studied and comprehended the mystic works, and pored over the systems of philosophy, until the full influence of *maya* (illusion) has perhaps unsettled his understanding; or whom the rules of his sect have condemned to penance and solitude: a penance so severe, that we remain astonished at the perversity of reason which can submit to it.* To these, the Druids of India, the prince and the chieftain would resort for instruction. They requested neither lands nor gold: to them "the boasted wealth of Bokhara" was a particle of dust. Such was the ascetic who recommended Joda to erect his castle on "the Hill of Strife" (*Jodagir*), hitherto known as *Bakurcheerea*, or the 'bird's nest,' a projecting elevation of the same range on which Mundore was placed, and about four miles south of it. Doubtless its inaccessible position seconded the recommendation of the hermit, for its scarped summit renders it almost impregnable, while its superior elevation permits the sons of Joda to command, from the windows of their palace, a range of vision almost

* We have seen one of these objects, self-condemned never to lie down during forty years, and there remained but three to complete the term. He had travelled much, was intelligent and learned, but far from having contracted the moroseness of the recluse, there was a benignity of mien, and a suavity and simplicity of manner in him, quite enchanting. He talked of his penance with no vain glory, and of its approaching term without any sensation. The resting position of this Druid (*vana-prast*) was by means of a rope suspended from the bough of a tree, in the manner of a swing, having a cross-bar, on which he reclined. The first years of this penance, he says, were dreadfully painful; swollen limbs affected him to that degree, that he expected death; but this impression had long since worn off. "Even in this, is there much vanity," and it would be a nice point to determine whether the homage of man or the approbation of the Divinity, most sustains the energies under such appalling discipline.

comprehending the limits of their sway. In clear weather, they can view the summits of their southern barrier, the gigantic Aravali; but in every other direction, it fades away in the boundless expanse of sandy plains. Neither the founder, nor his monitor, the ascetic, however, were engineer's, and they laid the foundation of this strong-hold without considering what an indispensable adjunct to successful defence was good water; but to prevent any slur on the memory of Joda, they throw the blame of this defect on the hermit. Joda's engineer, in tracing the line of circumvallation, found it necessary to include the spot chosen as his hermitage, and his remonstrance for undisturbed possession was treated with neglect; whether by the prince as well as the chief architect, the legend says not. The incensed Jogi pronounced an imprecation, that the new castle should possess only brackish water, and all the efforts made by succeeding princes to obtain a better quality, by blasting the rock, have failed. The memory of the Jogi is sanctified, though his anger compelled them to construct an apparatus, whereby water for the supply of the garrison is elevated from a small lake at the foot of the rock, which, being entirely commanded from the walls, an assailant would find difficult to cut off. This was the third grand event in the fortunes of the Rathores, from the settlement of Seoji.*

Such was the abundant progeny of these princes, that the limits of their conquests soon became too contracted. The issue of the three last princes, *vis.*, the fourteen sons of Chonda, the twenty-four of Rinmul, and fourteen of Joda, had already apportioned amongst them the best lands of the country, and it became necessary to conquer "fresh fields in which to sow the Rathore seed."

Joda had fourteen sons, *vis.*,

Names of Chiefs.	Clans.	Fiefs or Chieftainships.	Remarks.
1. Santul or Satil ...	...	... Satulmeer ...	Three coss from Pokurn.
2. Soojoh (Sooraj) ...	...	... ..	Succeeded Joda.
3. Gomoh ...	...	... ..	No issue.
4. Doodoh ...	Mairtea	... Mairta ...	Doodoh took Sambhur from the Chohans. He had one son, Beerum, whose two sons, Jeimul and Jugmal, founded the clans Jie-mulote and Jug-malote.
5. Birsing	... Birsingate	... Nolai ...	In Malwa.
6. Beeko	... Beekaet	... Bikaner ...	Independent state.
7. Bharmul	... Bharmulote	... Bai Bhilara ...	

* Palli did not remain to Seoji's descendants, when they went westward and settled on the Looni; the Seesodias took it with other lands from the Purihar of Mundore. It was the feud already adverted to with Mewar which obtained for him the fertile districts of Palli and of Sojot, by which his territories at length touched the Aravali, and the fears of the assassin of Rana Koombo made his parricidal son relinquish the provinces of Sambhur and Ajmeer. See Vol. I.

Names of Chiefs.	Clans.	Fiefs or Chieftainships.	Remarks.
8. Seoraj	... Seorajote	... Dhoonara	... On the Looni.
9. Kurmsi	... Kurmsote	... Kewnsir	... ———
10. Raemul	... Raemulote	... ———	... ———
11. Samutsi	... Samutseote	... Dawaroh	... ———
12. Beeda	... Beedawut	... Beedavati	... In Nagore district.
13. Bunhur	...	...	} Clans and fiefs not mentioned.
14. Neemo	...	...

The eldest son, Santul, born of a female of Boondi, established himself in the north-west corner, on the lands of the Bhattis, and built a fort, which he called Satulmeer, about five miles from Pokurn. He was killed in action by a Khan of the Sahraes (the Saracens of the Indian desert), whom he also slew. His ashes were burnt at Kusmoh, and an altar was raised over them, where seven of his wives became suttees.

The fourth son, Doodoh, established himself on the plains of Mairta, and his clan, the Mairtea, is numerous, and has always sustained the reputation of being the "first swords" of Maroo. His daughter was the celebrated Meera Bae, wife of Rana Khoombo, and he was the grand-sire of the heroic Jeimul, who defended Cheetore against Akber, and whose descendant, Jeyt Sing of Bednore, is still one of the sixteen chief vassals of the Oodipur court.

The sixth son, Beeko, followed the path already trod by his uncle Kandul, with whom he united, and conquered the tracts possessed by the six Jit communities. He created a city, which he called after himself Bikaneer.

Joda outlived the foundation of his new capital thirty years, and beheld his sons and grandsons rapidly peopling and subjugating the regions of Maroo. In S. 1545, aged sixty-one, he departed this life, and his ashes were housed with those of his fathers, in the ancestral abode of Mundore. This prince, the second founder of his race in these regions, was mainly indebted to the adversities of early life for the prosperity his later years enjoyed; they led him to the discovery of worth in the more ancient, but neglected, allodial proprietors displaced by his ancestors, and driven into the least accessible regions of the desert. It was by their aid he was enabled to redeem Mundore, when expelled by the Ghelotes, and he nobly preserved the remembrance thereof in the day of his prosperity. The warriors whose forms are sculptured from the living rock at Mundore, owe the perpetuity of their fame to the gratitude of Joda; through them he not only recovered, but enlarged his dominions. In less than three centuries after their migration from Canouj, the Rahtores, the issue of Seoji, spread over a surface of four degrees of longitude and the same extent of latitude, or nearly 80,000 miles square, they amount at this day, in spite of the havoc occasioned by perpetual wars and famine, to 500,000 souls. While we thus contemplate the renovation of the Rahtore race, from a single scion of that magnificent tree, whose branches once overshadowed the plains of Ganga, let us withdraw from oblivion some of the many noble names they displaced, which now live only in the poet's page. Well may the Rajpoot repeat the ever-recurring simile, "All is unstable; life is like the scintillation of the fire-fly; house and land will depart, but a good name will last for ever." What a least of noble tribes could we enumerate now erased from independent existence by the successes of "the children of Siva" (*Siva-putra*)! * Puriharas, Bendas,

* Seoji is the Bhaka for Siva;—the ji is merely an adjunct of respect.

Sanklas, Chohans, Gohels, Dabeys, Sindhils, Mohils, Sonigurras, Cattis, Jits, Hools, etc., and the few who still exist only as retainers of the Rahthore.

Soojoh* (Soorajmul) succeeded, and occupied the *gadi* of Joda during twenty-seven years, and had at least the merit of adding to the stock of Seoji.

The contentions for empire, during the vacillating dynasty of the Lodi kings of Delhi, preserved the sterile lands of Maroo from their cupidity; and a second dynasty the Shere-shahi, intervened ere '*the sons of Joda*' were summoned to measure swords with the Imperialists. But in S. 1572 (A.D. 1516), a desultory band of Pathans made an incursion during the fair of the Teej, held at the town of Peepar, and carried off one hundred and forty maidens of Maroo. The tidings of the rape of the virgin Rajpootnis were conveyed to Soojoh, who put himself at the head of such vassals as were in attendance, and pursued, overtook and redeemed them, with the loss of his own life, but not without a full measure of vengeance against the "northern barbarian." The subject is one chosen by the itinerant minstrel of Maroo, who, at the fair of the Teej, still sings the rape of the one hundred and forty virgins of Peepar, and their rescue by their cavalier prince at the price of his own blood.

Soojoh had five sons, *viz*, 1. Bhago, who died in non-age: his son Ganga succeeded to the throne. 2. Oodoh, who had eleven sons: they formed the clan Oodawut, whose chief fiefs are Neemaj, Jytarum, Goondoche, Biratea, Raepur, etc., besides places in Mewar. 3. Saga, from whom descended the clan Sagawut; located at Burwoh. 4. Priag, who originated the Priagote clan. 5. Beerumdeo, whose son, Naroo, receives divine honours as the *putra of Maroo*, and whose statue is worshipped at Sojut. His descendants are styled Narawut Joda, of whom a branch is established at Puchpahar, in Harouti.

Ganga, grandson of Soojoh, succeeded his grandfather in S. 1572 (A. D. 1516); but his uncle, Saga, determined to contest his right to the *gadi*, invited the aid of Dowlut Khan Lodi, who had recently expelled the Rahthores from Nagore. With this auxiliary a civil strife commenced, and the sons of Joda were marshalled against each other. Ganga, confiding in the rectitude of his cause, and reckoning upon the support of the best swords of Maroo, spurned the offer of compromise made by the Pathan, of a partition of its lands between the claimants, and gave battle, in which his uncle Saga was slain, and his auxiliary, Dowlut Khan, ignominiously defeated.

Twelve years after the accession of Ganga, the sons of Joda were called on to unite their forces to Mewar to oppose the invasion of the Moguls from Turkistan. Sanga Rana, who had resumed the station of his ancestors amongst the princes of Hind, led the war, and the king of Maroo deemed it no degradation to acknowledge his supremacy, and send his quotas to fight under the standard of Mewar, whose chronicles do more justice to the Rahthores than those of their own bards. This, which was the last confederation made by the Rajpoots for national independence, was defeated, as already related, in the fatal field of Biana, where, had treachery not aided the intrepid Baber, the Rahthore sword would

* One of the chronicles makes Satil occupy the *gadi* after Joda during three years; but this appears a mistake—he was killed in defending Satulmeer.

have had its full share in rescuing the nation from the Mahomedan yoke. It is sufficient to state that a Rahtore was in the battle, to know that he would bear its brunt; and although we are ignorant of the actual position of the Rana, we may assume that their post was in the van. The young prince Raemul (grandson of Ganga), with the Mairtea chieftains Khartoe and Rutna, and many others of note, fell against the Chagitai on this eventful day.

Ganga died* four years after this event, and was succeeded by Maldeo in S. 1588 (A. D. 1532), a name as distinguished as any of the noble princes in the chronicles of Maroo. The position of Marwar at this period was eminently excellent for the increase and consolidation of its resources. The emperor Baber found no temptation in her sterile lands to divert him from the rich plains of the Ganges, where he had abundant occupation; and the district and strong-holds on the emperor's frontier of Maroo, still held by the officer of the preceding dynasty, were rapidly acquired by Maldeo, who planted his garrisons in the very heart of Dhoonder. The death of Sanga Rana and the misfortunes of the house of Mewar, cursed with a succession of minor princes, and at once beset by the Moguls from the north, and the kings of Guzerat, left Maldeo to the uncontrolled exercise of his power, which, like a true Rajpoot, he employed against friend and foe, and became beyond a doubt the first prince of Rajwarra, or, in fact, as styled by the Mahomedan historian Ferishta, "the most potent prince in Hindustan."

The year of Maldeo's installation, he redeemed the two most important possessions of his house, Nagore and Ajmeer. In 1596 he captured Jhalore, Sewanoh, and Bhadraro from the Sindhis; and two years later dispossessed the sons of Beeka of supreme power in Bikaner. Mehwo, and the tracts on the Looni, the earliest possessions of his house, which had thrown off all dependance, he once more subjugated, and compelled the ancient allodial tenantry to hold of him in chief, and serve with their quotas. He engaged in war with the Bhattis, and conquered Beekumpur, where a branch of his family remained, and are now incorporated with the Jessulmer state, and the under the name of Maldotes,† have the credit of being the most daring robbers of the desert. He even established branches of his family in Mewar and Dhoondar, took, and fortified Chatsoo, not twenty miles south of the capital of the Cuchwahs. He captured and restored Serohi from the Deoras, from which house was his mother. But Maldeo not only acquired, but determined to retain, his conquests, and erected numerous fortifications throughout the country. He enclosed the city of Jodhpur with a strong wall, besides erecting a palace, and adding other works to the fortress. The circumvallations of the Mairtea and its fort, which he called Malkote, cost him £24,000. He dismantled Satulmeer, and with the materials fortified Pokurn, which he took from the Bhattis, transplanting the entire population, which comprehended the richest merchants of Rajasthan. He erected forts at Bhadraro, on the hill of Bheemlode, near Sewanoh, at Goondoch, at Reeah, Peepar, and Dhoonara. He made the Koondulkote at Sewanoh, and greatly added to that of Filodi, first made by Hamira Nirawut. He also erected that bastion in Gurh Beetli (the citadel of Ajmeer) called the

* The Yati's roll, says Ganga, was poisoned; but this is not confirmed by any other authority.

† Mr. Elphinstone apprehended an attack from the Maldotes on his way to Cabul.

Kote-boorj, and shewed his skill in hydraulics by the construction of a wheel to bring water into the fort. The chronicler adds, that "by the wealth of Sumbur," meaning the resources of this salt lake, he was enabled to accomplish these works, and furnishes a list of the possessions of Jodhpur at this period, which we cannot exclude: Sojot, Samburg, Mairtea, Khatah, Bednore, Ladnoo, Raepur, Bhadratoon, Nagore, Sewanoh, Lohagurh, Jykgurh, Bikaner, Beenmahl, Pokurn, Barmair, Kusoli, Rewasso, Jajawur, Jhalore, Baoli, Mular, Nadole, Filodi, Sanchore, Deedwanr, Chatsoo, Lowain, Mularna, Deorah, Futtehpur, Umursir, Khawur, Baniapur, Tonk, Thoda, Ajmeer, Jehajpur, and Pramarc-a-Oodipur (in Sikhavati); in all thirty-eight districts, several of which, at Jhalore, Ajmeer, Tonk, Thoda, and Bednore, comprehended each three hundred and sixty townships, and there were none which did not number eighty. But of those enumerated in Dhoondar, at Chatsoo, Lowain, Tonk, Thoda, and Jehajpur in Mewar, the possession was but transient; and although Bednore, and its three hundred and sixty townships, were peopled by Rahthores, they were 'the descendants of the Mairteas under Jeimul, who became one of the great vassals of Mewar, and would, in its defence, at all times draw their swords against the land which gave them birth.* This branch of the house of Joda had for some time been too powerful for subjects, and Mairtea was resumed. To this act Mewar was indebted for the services of this heroic chief. At the same time, the growing power of others of the great vassalage of Marwar was checked by resumptions, when Jytarun from the Oodawuts, and several other fiefs, were added to the fisc. The feudal allotments had never been regulated, but went on increasing with the energies of the state, and the progeny of its princes, each having on his birth and appanage assigned to him, until the whole land of Maroo was split into innumerable portions. Maldeo saw the necessity for checking this subdivision, and he created a gradation of ranks, and established its perpetuity in certain branches of the sons of Rimul and Joda, which has never been altered.

Ten years of undisturbed possession were granted Maldeo to perfect his designs, ere his cares were diverted from these to his own defence. Baber, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, was dead, and his son and successor had been driven from his newly-conquered throne by his provincial lieutenant, Shere Shah: so rapidly do revolutions crowd upon each other where the sword is the universal arbitrator. We have elsewhere related that the fugitive monarch sought the protection of Maldeo, and we stigmatized his conduct as unnatural; but we omitted to state that Maldeo, then heir-apparent, lost his eldest, perhaps then only son Raemul in the battle of Biana, who led the aid of Marwar on that memorable day, and consequently the name of Chagitai, whether in fortune or in flight, had no great claims to his regard. But little did Maldeo dream how closely the fortunes of his house would be linked with those of the fugitive Hemayoon, and that the infant Akbar, born in this emergency, was destined to revenge this breach of hospitality. Still less could the proud Rahthore, who traced his ancestry on the throne of Canouj one thousand years before the birth of the "barbarian" of Ferghana, deem it within the range of probability, that he should receive honours at such hands, or that the first title of *Raja*, *Rajeswar*, or 'raja, lord of rajas,' would be conferred on his own son by this infant, then rearing amidst the sand-hills at the extremity of his desert dominion!

* Such is the Rajpoot's notion of *swamdherma*, or "fidelity to him whose salt they eat," their immediate lord, even against their king.

It is curious to indulge in the speculative inquiry, whether when the great Akbar girded Oodi Sing with the sword of honour, and marked his forehead with the unguent of Raja-shah, he brought to mind the conduct of Maldeo, which doomed his birth to take place in the dismal castle of Amerkote, instead of in the splendid halls of Delhi.

Maldeo derived no advantage from his inhospitality; for whether the usurper deemed his exertions insufficient to secure the royal fugitive, or felt his own power insecure with so potent a neighbour, he led an army of eighty thousand men into Marwar. Maldeo allowed them to advance, and formed an army of fifty thousand Rajpoots to oppose him. The judgment and caution he exercised were so great, that Shere Shah, well versed in the art of war, was obliged to fortify his camp at every step. Instead of an easy conquest, he soon repented of his rashness when the fadmirable dispositions of the Rajpoots made him dread an action, and from a position whence he found it impossible to retreat. For a month the armies lay in the sight of each other, every day the king's situation becoming more critical, and from which he saw not the slightest chance of extrication. In this exigence he had recourse to one of those stratagems which have often operated successfully on the Rajpoot, by sowing distrust in his mind as to the fidelity of his vassals. He penned a letter, as if in correspondence with them, which he contrived to have dropped, as by accident, by a messenger sent to negotiate. Perhaps the severity of the resumptions of estates seconded this scheme of Shere Shah; for when the stipulated period for the attack had arrived, the raja countermanded it. The reasons for this conduct, when success was apparent, were soon propagated; when one or two of the great leaders, in order to demonstrate their groundlessness, gave an instance of that devotion with which the annals of these states abound. At the head of twelve thousand, they attacked and forced the imperial entrenched camp, carrying destruction even to the quarters of the emperor; but multitudes prevailed, and the patriotic clans were almost annihilated. Maldeo, when too late, saw through the stratagem which had made him doubt the loyalty of his vassals. Superstition, and the reproaches of his chieftains for his unworthy suspicions, did the rest; and this first *levee en masse* of the descendants of Seoji, arrayed in defence of their national liberties, was defeated. With justice did the usurper pay homage to their gallantry, when he exclaimed, on his deliverance from this peril, "he had nearly lost the empire of Hindusthan for a handful of barley."*

Maldeo was destined to outlive the Shere-shahi dynasty, and to see the imperial crown of India once more encircle the brows of the fugitive Hemayoon.† It had been well for the Rakhthores had his years been lengthened; for his mild disposition and natural indolence of character gave them some chance that these qualities would be their best advocate. But he did not long survive the restoration. Whether the mother of his successor, prince Akbar, not yet fifteen, stimulated by the recollection of his misfortunes, nursed his young animosity against Maldeo for the miseries of Amerkote, or whether it was merely an act of cautionary

* In allusion to the poverty of the soil, as unfitted to produce richer rains.

† There is a biographical account of this monarch, during his exile in Persia, written by his *abdar*, or 'cup-bearer,' in the library of Major W. Yule, of Edinburgh, and which, when translated, will complete the series of biography of the members of the house of Timor.

policy to curb the Rajpoot power, which was inconsistent with his own, in S. 1617 (A.D. 1561) he invaded Marwar, and laid siege to Malakote or Mairtea, which he took after an obstinate and sanguinary defence, part of the garrison cutting their way through his host, and making good their retreat to their prince. The important castle of Nagore was also captured; and both these strong-holds and their lands were conferred by Akbar on the younger branch of their family, Rae Sing, prince of Bikaner, now established in independence of the parent state, Jodhpur.

In 1625 (A.D. 1569), Maldeo succumbed to necessity; and in conformity with the times, sent his second son, Chundersen, with gifts to Akbar, then at Ajmeer, which had become an integral part of the monarchy; but Akbar was so dissatisfied with the disdainful bearing of the desert king, who refused personally to pay his court, that he not only guaranteed the free possession of Bikaner to Rae Sing, but presented him with the *firman* for Jodhpur itself, with supremacy over his race. Chundersen, appears to have possessed all the native pride of the Rahtore, and to have been prepared to contest his country's independence, in spite of Akbar and the claims of his elder brother, Oodi Sing, who eventually was more supple in ingratiating himself into the monarch's favour. At the close of life, the old Rao had to stand a siege in his capital, and after a brave but fruitless resistance, was obliged to yield homage, and pay it in the person of his son Oodi Sing, who, attending with a contingent, was enrolled amongst the commanders of 'one thousand;' and shortly after was invested with the title of *Mota Raja*, or 'the fat Raja,' by which epithet alone he is designated in the annals of that period.

Chundersen, with a considerable number of the brave vassals of Maroo, determined to cling to independence and the rude fare of the desert, rather than servilely follow in the train of the despot. When driven from Jodhpur, they took post in Sewanoh, in the western extremity of the state, and there held out to the death. For seventeen years he maintained his title to the *gadi*, and divided the allegiance of the Rahtores with his elder brother Oodi Sing (though supported by the king), and stood the storm in which he nobly fell, leaving three sons, Oogursen, Aiskurn, and Rae Sing, who fought a duel with Rao Soortan, of Sirohi, and was slain, with twenty-four of his chiefs,* near the town of Duttani.

Maldeo, though he submitted to acknowledge the supremacy of the emperor, was at least spared the degradation of seeing a daughter of his blood bestowed upon the opponent of his faith; he died soon after the title was conferred on his son, which sealed the dependence of Maroo. His latter days were a dismal contrast to those which witnessed his conquests in almost every part of Rajpootana, but he departed from this world in time to preserve his own honour untarnished, with the character of the most valiant and energetic Rajpoot of his time. Could he have added to his years and maintained their ancient vigour, he might, by a junction with Pertap of Mewar, who single-handed commenced his career just as Maldeo's closed, have maintained Rajpoot independence against the rising power of the Moguls.†

* It was fought with a certain number on each side, Rahtores, against Deoras, a branch of the Chohans, the two bravest of all the Rajpoot races. It reminds us of some of the duels related by Froissart.

† See Annals of Mewar.

Maldeo, who died S. 1671 (A. D. 1615), had twelve sons :—

1. Ram Sing, who was banished, and found refuge with the Rana of Mewar; he had seven sons, the fifth of whom; Kesoodas, fixed at Chooly Maheswur.

2. Raemul, who was killed in the battle of Biana.

3. Oodi Sing, Raja of Marwar.

4. Chundersen, by a wife of the Jhala tribe; had three sons, the eldest, Oogursen, got BINAI; he had three sons, Kurrun, Kanji, and Kahun.

5. Aiskurn; descendants at Jooneah.

6. Gopal-das; killed at Eedur.

7. Pirthi Raj; descendants at Jhalore.

8. Ruttunsi; descendants at Bhadratoon.

9. Bhairaj; descendants at Ahari.

10. Bikramajeet

11. Bhan

12. ———

} No notice of them.

CHAPTER IV.

THE death of Maldeo formed an important epoch in the annals of the Rahthores. Up to this period, the will had waited upon the wish of the gallant descendants of Siva; but now the vassals of Maroo acknowledged one mightier than they. The banner of the empire floated pre-eminent over the '*panchranga*,' the five-coloured flag, which had led the Rahthores from victory to victory, and waved from the sandhills of Amerkote to the salt-lake of Sambhur; from the desert bordering the Garah to the peaks of the Aravali. Henceforward, the Rahtthore princes had, by their actions or subservience, to ascend by degrees the steps to royal favour. They were required to maintain a contingent or their proud vassals, headed by the heir, to serve at the Mogul's pleasure. Their deeds own them, not ignobly, the grace of the imperial court; but had slavish submission been the sole path to elevation, the Rahtthore princes would never have attained a grade beyond the first '*munsab*,' conferred on Oodi Sing. Yet, though streams of wealth enriched the barren plains of Maroo; although a portion of the spoils of Golconda and Beejpur augmented its treasures, decorated its palaces, and embellished its edifices and mausoleums; although the desert kings took the 'right hand' of all the feudality of Hind, whether indigenous or foreign—a feudal assemblage of no less than seventy-six petty kingdoms—yet the Rahtthore felt the sense of his now degraded condition, and it often burst forth even in the presence of the suzerain.

Maldeo's death occurred in S. 1625; but the chronicles do not admit of Oodi Sing's elevation until the death of his brother Chundersen, from which period we may reckon that he was, though junior, the choice both of his father and the nobles, who did not approve of Oodi Sing's submission to Akbar. In fact, the Raja led the royal forces against the most powerful of his vassals, and resumed almost all the possessions of the Mairteas, and weakened the others.

Before we proceed to trace the course pursued by Oodi Sing, who was seated upon the cushion of Maldeo in S. 1640 (A. D. 1584), let us cast a short retrospect over the annals of Maroo, since the migration of the

grandson of the potentate of Canouj, which, compared with the ample page of western history, present little more than a chronicle of hard names, though not destitute of facts interesting to political science.

In the table before the reader, aided by the explanations in the text, he will see the whole process of the conquest, peopling, and settlement of an extensive region, with its partition or allotments amongst an innumerable *frerage* (*bhyad*), whose children continue to hold them as vassals of their king and brother, the descendant of their mutual ancestor Sivaji.

We may divide the annals of Marwar, from the migration of Sivaji from Canouj to the accession of Oodi Sing; into three distinct epochs :

1st. From the settlement of Seoji in the land of Kher, in A. D. 1212, to the conquest of Mundore by Chonda, in A. D. 1381 ;

2nd. From the conquest of Mundore to the founding of Jodhpur, in A. D. 1459 ; and

3rd. From the founding of Jodhpur to the accession of Oodi Sing, in A. D. 1584, when the Rakhthores acknowledged the supremacy of the empire.

The two first epochs were occupied in the subjugation of the western portion of the desert from the ancient allodality ; nor was it until Chonda conquered Mundore, on the decline of the Chohans of the east, that the fertile lands on either side the Looni were formed into fiefs for the children of Rinnull and Joda. A change of capital with the Rajpoot is always productive of change in the internal organization of the state ; and not unfrequently the race changes its appellation with its capital. The foundation of Jodhpur was a new ere, and henceforth the throne of Maroo could only be occupied by the tribe of Joda, and from branches not constituting the vassals of the crown, who were cut off from succession. This is a peculiar feature in Rajpoot policy, and is common to the whole race, as will be hereafter more distinctly pointed out in the annals of Ajmeer.

Joda, with the ambition of the founder of a state, gave a new form to the feudal institutions of his country. Necessity, combined with pride, led him to promulgate a statute of limitation of the sub-infeudation of Maroo. The immense progeny of his father Rinnull, twenty-four sons, and his own, of fourteen, almost all of whom had numerous issue, rendered it requisite to fix the number and extent of the fiefs ; and amongst them, henceforward constituting permanently the *frerage* of Maroo, the lands were partitioned, Kandul having emigrated and established his own numerous issue, the Kandulotes, in Bikaneer. The two brothers next to Joda, *vis.*, Champa, and Koompa, with his two sons, Doodo and Kurmsi, and his grandson, Oodoh, were declared the heads of the feudal association under their names, the Champawuts, Kampawuts, Mairteas (sons of Doodo), Kurmsotes, and Oodauts, continue to be "the pillars of Maroo." Eight great estates, called the *ayht thacoorait*, or 'eight lordships' of Marwar, each of the nominal annual value of fifty thousand rupees (£5,000), were settled on these persons, and their immense influence has obtained many others for younger branches of their clans. The title of the first noble of Maroo was given to Champa and his issue, who have often made its princes tremble on their thrones. Besides these, inferior appanages were settled on the junior branches, brothers, sons, and grandsons of Joda, which were also deemed hereditary and irresumable ; to use their own phrase, their *bath*,* or 'allotment,' to which they

* From *batna*, 'to divide, to partition.'

consider their title as sacred as that of their prince to his throne, of whom they say. "When our services are acceptable, then is he our lord, when not, we are again his brothers and kin, claimants, and laying claim to the land."

Rao Maldeo, confirmed this division of Joda, though he increased the secondary fiefs, and as the boundaries of Marwar were completed in his reign, it was essentially necessary to confirm the limitation. The feudal states of Marwar are, therefore, perpetuated in the offspring of the princes from Joda to Maldeo, and a distinction exists between them and those subsequently conferred; the first, being obtained by conquest, are deemed irrevocable, and must be perpetuated by adoption on the failure of lineal issue; whereas the other may, on lapses, be resumed and added to the fisc whence it emanated. The fiscal domain of the Rajpoot princes cannot, says their traditionary lore, be alienated for more than a life-interest; but this wise rule, though visible in anecdotes of past days, has been infringed with their general disorganization. These instances, it may be asserted, afford the distinctions of allodial and feudal lands. Of the numerous clans, the issue of Seoji to Joda, which are spread over the northern and western parts of the state, some, partly from the difficulty of their position, partly from a feeling of respect to their remote ancestry, enjoy almost entire independence. Yet they recognize the prince of Maroo as their liege lord when his crown is endangered, and render homage on its accession or any great family event. These clans hold without grant or fine, and may properly be called the allodial chieftains. Of this number we may enumerate the lordships of Barmair, Kotorah, Seo, Phulsoond, etc. Others there are who, though less independent, may also be styled the allodality of Marwar, who are to furnish their quotas when demanded, and perform personal homage on all great days of rejoicing; of these are Mehwo, Sindri, etc. The ancient clans scattered over the land, or serving the more modern chieftains, are recognised by their patronymic distinctions, by those versed in the chronicles; though many hear the names of Doohurea, Mangulea, Oohur, and Dhandul, without knowing them to be Rahtthore. The mystic page of the bard is always consulted previous to any marriage, in order to prevent a violation of the matrimonial canons of the Rajpoots, which are stricter than the Mosaic, and this keeps up the knowledge of the various branches of their own and other races, which would otherwise perish.

Whatever term may be applied to these institutions of a martial race, and which for the sake of being more readily understood we have elsewhere called, and shall continue to designate, 'feudal,' we have not a shadow of doubt that they were common to the Rajpoot races from the remotest ages, and that Seoji conveyed them from the seat of his ancestors, Canouj. A finer picture does not exist of the splendour of feudal array than the camp of its last monarch, Jeichund, in the contest with the Chohan. The annals of each and every states bear evidence to a system strictly parallel to that of Europe; more especially Mewar, where, thirteen hundred years ago, we see the entire feudatories of the state throwing up their grants, giving their liege lord defiance, and threatening him with their vengeance. Yet, having 'eaten his salt,' they forebore to proceed to hostilities till a whole year had elapsed, at the expiration to which they deposed him. Akber, who was partial to Hindu institutions, borrowed much from them, in all that concerned his own regulations.

In contrasting these customs with analogous ones in the west, the

reader should never lose sight of one point, which must influence the analogy, *vis*, the patriarchal form which characterizes the feudal system in all countries; and as amongst the Rajpoots, all their vassalage is of their own kin and blood (save a slight mixture of foreign nobles as a counterpoise), the *paternity* of the sovereign is no fiction, as in Europe; so that from the son of Champa, who takes the right hand of his prince, to the meanest vassal, who serves merely for his '*pairi*'* (rations), all are united by the tie of consanguinity, of which it is difficult to say whether it is most productive of evil or good, since it has afforded examples as brilliant and as dark as any in the history of mankind. The devotion which made twelve thousand, out of the fifty thousand, "sons of Joda," prove their fidelity to Maldeo, has often been emulated even to the present day.

The chronicles, as before stated, are at variance with regard to the accession of Oodi Sing: some date it from the death of Maldeo, in S. 1625 (A. D. 1569); others from that of his elder brother Chundersen, slain in the storm of Sewanoh. The name of Oodi appears one of evil portent in the annals of Rajasthan.† While "Oodi, the fat," was inhaling the breeze of imperial power, which spread a haze of prosperity over Maroo, Pertap of Mewar, the idol of the Rajpoots, was enduring every hardship in the attempt to work out his country's independence, which had been sacrificed by his father, Oodi Sing. In this he failed, but he left a name hallowed in the hearts of his countrymen, and immortalized in the imperishable verse of the bard.

On the union of the imperial house with that of Jodhpur, by the marriage of Jod Bae to Akber, the emperor not only restored all possessions he had wrested from Marwar, with the exception of Ajmeer, but several rich districts in Malwa, whose revenues doubled the resources of his own fiscal domain. With the aid of his imperial brother-in-law, he greatly diminished the power of the feudal aristocracy, and clipped the wings of almost all the greater vassals, while he made numerous sequestrations of the lands of the ancient allodials and lesser vassals; so that it is stated, that, either by new settlement or confiscation, he added four-tenths hundred villages to the fisc. He resumed almost all the lands of the sons of Doodoh, who, from their abode, were termed *Mairtea*; took Jaitaran from the Oodawuts, and other towns of less note from the sons of Champa and Koompo.

Oodi Sing was not ungrateful for the favours heaped upon him by the emperor, for whom his Rakhthores performed many signal services: for the raja was latterly too unwieldly for any steed to bear him to battle. The 'king of the Desert' (the familiar epithet applied to him by Akber) had a numerous progeny; no less than thirty-four legitimate sons and daughters, who added new clans and new-estates to the feudal association of Maroo: of these the most conspicuous are Govingurh and Pisan-gurh; while some obtained settlements beyond its limits which became

* Literally, 'a bellyful.'

† Instead of being, as it imports, the "ascending," (1) it should for ever, in both the houses of Maroo and Mewar, signify "setting;" the pusillanimity of the one sunk Mewar, that of the other Marwar.

(1) *Oodya*, in Sanskrit, (*Oodi*, in the dialect,) is tantamount to *Criens*, the point of rising:—*ex*, *Udyaditya*, 'the rising sun.'

independent and bear the name of the founders. Of these are Kishengurh and Rutlam in Malwa.

Oodi Sing died thirteen years after his inauguration on the cushion of Joda, and thirty-three after the death of Maldeo. The manner of his death, as related in the biographical sketches termed '*Kheat*,' affords such a specimen of superstition and of Rajpoot manners that it would be improper to omit it. The narrative is preceded by some reflections on the moral education of the Rakhthore princes, and the wise restraints imposed upon them under the vigilant control of chiefs of approved worth and fidelity; so that, to use the words of the text, "they often passed their twentieth year, ignorant of woman." If the 'fat raja' had ever known this moral restraint, in his riper years he forgot it; for although he had no less than twenty-seven queens, he cast the eye of desire on the virgin-daughter of a subject, and that subject a Brahmin.

It was on the raja's return from court to his native land, that he beheld the damsel, and he determined, notwithstanding the sacred character of her father and his own obligations as the dispenser of law and justice, to enjoy the object of his admiration. The Brahmin was an '*Aya-punti*,' or votary of *Aya-Mata*, whose shrine is at Bai-Bhilara. These sectarians of Maroo, very different from the abstinent Brahmins of Bengal, eat flesh, drink wine, and share in all the common enjoyments of life with the martial spirits around them. Whether the scruples of the daughter were likely to be easily overcome by her royal tempter, or whether the raja threatened force, the '*Kheat*' does not inform us; but as there was no other course by which the father could save her from pollution but by her death, he resolved to make it one of vengeance and horror. He dug a sacrificial pit, and having slain his daughter, cut her into fragments, and mingling therewith pieces of flesh from his own person, made the '*homa*,' or burnt sacrifice to *Aya Mata*, and as the smoke and flames ascended, he pronounced an imprecation on the raja: "Let peace be a stranger to him! and in three pahars,* three days, and three years, let me have revenge!" Then exclaiming, "My future dwelling is the *Dabi Baori*!" sprang into the flaming pit. The horrid tale was related to the raja, whose imagination was haunted by the shade of the Brahmin; and he expired at the assigned period; a prey to unceasing remorse.

Superstition is sometimes made available for moral ends; and the shade of the *Aya-punti* Brahmin of Bhilara has been evoked, in subsequent ages, to restrain and lead unto virtue libidinous princes, when all other control has been unavailing. The celebrated Jeswant Sing, the great grandson of Oodi, had an amour with the daughter of one of his civil officers, and which he carried on at the *Dabi Baori*.† But the avenging ghost of the Brahmin interposed between him and his wishes. A dreadful struggle ensued, in which Jeswant lost his senses, and no effort could banish the impression from his mind. The ghost persecuted his fancy, and he was generally believed to be possessed with a wicked spirit, which, when exercised, was made to say he would only depart on the self-sacrifice of a chief equal in dignity to Jeswant. Nahur Khan, 'the tiger lord,' chief of the Koompawut clan, who led the van in all his battles, immediately offered his head in expiation for his prince; and he had no sooner expressed this loyal determination, than the holy men who exercised the spirit, caused it to descend into a vessel of water, and

* A pahr is a watch of the day, about three hours.

† A reservoir excavated by one of the Dabi tribe.

having waved it thrice round his head, they presented it to Nahur Khan who drank it off, and Jeswunt's senses were instantly restored. This miraculous transfer of the ghost is implicitly believed by every chief of Rajasthan, by whom Nahur was called 'the faithful of the faithful.' Previous to dying, he called his son, and imposed on him and his descendants, by the solemnity of an oath, the abjuration of the office of *Purdhan* or hereditary premier of Marwar, whose dignity involved such a sacrifice; and from that day, the Champawuts of Ahwa succeeded the Koompawuts of Asopo, who renounced the first seat on the right for that on the left of their princes.

We shall conclude the reign of Oodi Sing with the register of his issue from 'the Book of Kings.' It is by no means an unimportant document to such as are interested in these singular communities, and essentially useful to those who are called upon to interfere in their national concerns. Here we see the affinities of the branch (*sacha*) to the parent tree, which in one short century has shaded the whole land; and to which the independents of Kishengurh, Roopnagur, and Rutlam, as well as the feudal chiefs of Govingurh, Khyrwa, and Pisangurh, all issues from Oodi Sing, look for protection.

Issue of Raja Oodi Sing :—

1. Soor Sing, succeeded.
2. Akhiraj.
3. Bugwandas; had issue Bullo, Gopaldas, Govindas who founded Govingurh.
4. Nururdas ... }
5. Sukut Sing ... } had no issue attaining eminence.
6. Bhoput ... }
7. Dilput had four sons; 1 Muhesdas, whose son, Rutna, founded Rutlam; * 2 Jeswant Sing; 3 Pertap Sing; 4 Kunirain.
8. Jaet had four sons; 1 Hur Sing; 2 Umra; 3 Kunniram; 4 Praimraj, whose descendants held lands in the tract called Bullati and Khyrwa.
9. Kishen, in S. 1663 (A.D. 1619), founded Kishengurh; he had three sons, Sehesmul, Jugmul, Bharmul, who had Hari Sing, who had Roop Sing, who founded Roopnagurh.
10. Jeswant, his son Maun founded Manpura his issue called Man-roopa Joda.
11. Kessoo founded Pisangurh.
12. Ramdas ... }
13. Poorunmul ... }
14. Madoodas ... } No mention of them.
15. Mohundas ... }
16. Keerut Sing ... }
17. —

And seventeen daughters not registered in the chronicle.

* Rutlam, Kishengur, and Roopnagurh, are independent, and all under the separate protection of the British Government.

CHAPTER V.

SOOR SING succeeded in S. 1651 (A.D. 1595). He was serving with the Imperial forces at Lahore, where he had commanded since S. 1648, when intelligence reached him of his father's death. His exploits and services were of the most brilliant nature, and had obtained for him, even during his father's life, the title of 'Sawae Raja,' and a high grade amongst the dignitaries of the empire. He was commanded by Akber to reduce the arrogant prince of Sirohi, who, trusting to the natural strength of his mountainous country, still refused to acknowledge a liege lord. This service well accorded with his private views, for he had a feud (*wer*) with Rao Soortan, which, according to the chronicle, he completely revenged. "He avenged his feud with Soortan and plundered Sirohi. The Rao had not a pallet left to sleep upon, but was obliged to make a bed for his wives upon the earth." This appears to have humbled the Deora, "who, in his pride, shot his arrows at the sun for daring to shine upon him." Soortan accepted the Imperial firman in token of submission, and agreed to serve with a contingent of his hardy clansmen in the war then entrusted to Raja Soor against the king of Guzerat, whose success we shall relate in the simple language of the chronicle:—"The Raja took the *pan* against the king Mozuffur, with the title of viceroy of Guzerat. The armies met at Dhundoca, where a terrible conflict ensued. The Rahthores lost many valiant men, but the Shah was defeated, and lost all the insignia of his greatness. He sent the spoil of seventeen towns to the king, but kept a crore of *dribs* for himself, which he sent to Jodhpur, and therewith he enlarged the town and fort. For this service Akber increased his *munsab*, and sent him a sword, with a *khelat*, and a grant of fresh lands."

Raja Soor, it appears in the sequel, provided liberally for the bards; for no less than 'six lords of verse, whose names are given, had in gift £10,000 each of the spoils of Guzerat, as incentives to song.

On the conquest of Guzerat, Raja Soor was ordered to the Dekhan. "He obeyed, and with thirteen thousand horse, ten large guns, and twenty elephants, he fought three grand battles. On the Rewa (Nerbudda) he attacked Umra Balecha,* who had five thousand horse, whom he slew, and reduced all his country. For this service the king sent him a *nobut* (kettle-drum), and conferred on him Dhar and its domain."

On Akber's death and the accession of Jehangir Soor Sing attended at court with his son and heir, Guj Sing, whom the king with his own hands invested with the sword, for his bravery in the escalade of Jhalore, which had been conquered by the monarch of Guzerat and added to his domain. The poet thus relates the event: "Guj† was commanded against Behari Pathan; his war-trump sounded; Arabudha heard and trembled. What took Alla-o-din years, Guj accomplished in three months; he escaladed Jhalindra‡ sword in hand; many a Rahthore of fame was killed, but he put to the sword seven thousand Pathans, whose spoils were sent to the king."

Raja Soor, it would appear, after the overthrow of the dynasty of Guzerat, remained at the capital, while his son and heir, Guj Sing, attended the king's commands, and soon after the taking of Jhalore, was

* Balecha is one of the Chohan tribes.

† Guj, 'the elephant.'

‡ Classical appellation of Jhalore.

ordered with the Marwar contingent against Rana Umra of Mewar: it was at the very moment of its expiring liberties,* for the chronicle merely adds, "Kurrun agreed to serve the king, and Gaj Sing returned to Tarragurh.† The king increased both his own *munsab* (dignity) and that of his father, Raja Soor."

Thus the Rajpoot chronicler, solicitous only to record the fame of his own princes, does not deem it necessary to concern himself with the agents conjoined with them, so that a stranger to the events of the period would imagine, from the high relief given to their actions, that the Ralhthore princes commanded in all the great events described; for instance, that just mentioned, involving the submission of the Rana, when Raja Guj was merely one of the great leaders who accompanied the Mogul heir-apparent, Prince Khoorm, on this memorable occasion. In the Diary of Jehangir, the emperor, recording this event, does not even mention the Ralhthore prince, though he does those of Kotah and Duttia, as the instruments by which Prince Khoorm carried on the negotiation;‡ from which we conclude that Raja Guj merely acted a military part in the grand army which then invaded Mewar.

Raja Soor died in the Dekhan, in S. 1676 (A. D. 1620). He added greatly to the lustre of the Ralhthore name, was esteemed by the emperor, and, as the bard expresses it, "His spear was frightful to the Southron." Whether Raja Soor disapproved of the exterminating warfare carried on in these regions, or was exasperated at the unlimited service he was doomed to, which detained him from his native land, he, in his last moments, commanded a pillar to be erected with a curse engraven thereon, imprecated upon any of his race who should once cross the Nerbudda. From his boyhood he had been almost an alien to his native land: he had accompanied his father wherever he led the aid of Maroo, was serving at Lahore at the period of his accession, and died far from the monuments of his fathers, in the heart of the peninsula. Although the emperor was not ungrateful in his estimate of these services,—for Raja Soor held by patent no less than "sixteen grand fiefs"§ of the empire, and with the title of *Sowae* raised above all the princes, his associates at court,—it was deemed no compensation for perpetual absence from the hereditary domain, thus abandoned to the management of servants. The great vassals, his clansmen, participated in this dissatisfaction, separated from their wives, families, and estates; for to them the pomp of Imperial greatness, or the sunshine of court-favour, was as nothing when weighed against the exercise of their influence within their own cherished patrimony. The simple fare of the desert was dearer to the Ralhthore than all the luxuries of the Imperial banquet

* The chronicle says, "In S. 1669 (A. D. 1613), the king formed an army against the Rana:" which accords exactly with the date in the emperor's own memoirs.

† Ajmeer, of which the citadel is styled Tarragurh.

‡ See Annals of Mewar, Vol. I.

§ Of these, nine were the subdivisions of his native dominions, styled "The Nine Castle of Maroo;" for on becoming one of the great feudatories of the empire, he made a formal surrender of these, receiving them again by grant, renewed on every lapse, with all the ceremonies of investiture and relief. Five were in Guzerat, one in Malwa, and one in the Dekhan. We see that thirteen thousand horse was the contingent of Marwar for the lands thus held.

which he turned from with disgust to the recollection of 'the green pulse of Mundawur,' or his favourite *rabri*, or 'maize porridge,' the prime dish with the Rahtnore. These minor associations conjoined with greater evils to increase the *mal de pays*, of whose influence no human being is more susceptible than the brave Rajpoot.

Raja Soor greatly added to the beauty of his capital, and left several works which bear his name; amongst them, nor the least useful in that arid region, is the lake called the *Soor Sagur*, 'or Warrior's Sea,' which irrigates the gardens on its margin. He left six sons and seven daughters, of whose issue we have no account, *viz.*, Guj Sing, his successor; Subbul Sing, Beerundeo, Bejoy Sing, Pertap Sing, and Jeswant Sing.

Raja Guj, who succeeded his father in A.D. 1620, was born at Lahore, and the *teeka* of investiture found him in the royal camp at Boorhanpur. The bearer of it was Darab Khan, the son of the Khankhana, or premier noble of the emperor's court, who, as the Imperial proxy, girt Raja Guj with the sword. Besides the 'nine castle' (*Nokotee Marwar*), his patrimony, his patent contained a grant of 'seven divisions' of Guzerat, of the district of Jhulage in Dhoondar; and what was of more consequence to him, though of less intrinsic value, that of Musaoda in Ajmeer, the heir-loom of his house. Besides these marks of distinction, he received the highest proof of confidence in the elevated post of Viceroy of the Dekhan; and, as a special testimony of Imperial favor, the Rahtnore cavaliers composing his contingent were exempted from the *dagh*, that is, having their steeds branded with the Imperial signet. His elder son, Umra Sing, served with his father in all his various battles, to the success of which his conspicuous gallantry on every occasion contributed. In the sieges and battles of Kirkigurh, Golconda, Kelena, Pernala, Gujurgurh, Asair and Satarra, the Rahtnors had their full share of glory, which obtained for their leader the title of *Dulthumna*, or 'barrier of the host.' We have already remarked the direct influence which the Rajpoot princes had in the succession to the Imperial dignity, consequent upon the intermarriage of their daughters with the crown and the various interests arising therefrom. Sultan Purvez, the elder son, and heir of Jehangir, was the issue of a princess of Marwar, while the second son, Khoorm, as his name imports, was the son of a Cuchwaha* princess of Amber. Being the offspring of polygamy, and variously educated, these princes were little disposed to consider consanguinity as a bond of natural union; and their respective mothers, with all the ambition of their race, thought of nothing but obtaining the diadem for the head of their children. With either of these rival queens, the royal children who were not her own, had no affinity with her or hers, and these feelings were imparted from the birth to their issue, and thus it too often happened that the heir of the throne was looked upon with an envious eye, as a bar to be removed at all hazards. This evil almost neutralized the great advantages derived from intermarriage with the indigenous races of India; it was one which would have ceased with polygamy. Khoorm felt his superiority over his elder brother, Purvez, in all but the accidental circumstance of birth. He was in every respect a better man, and a braver and more successful soldier; and, having his ambition thus early nurtured by the stimulants administered by Bheem of Mewar, and the intrepid Mohabet,† he determined to remove this barrier between him

* *Cuchwa* and *Khoorm* are synonymous terms for the race, which rules Amber,—the *Tortoise* of Rajasthan.

† A Rajpoot of the Rana's house, converted to the faith.

and the crown. His views were first developed whilst leading the armies in the Dekhan, and he communicated them to Raja Guj of Marwar, who held the post of honour next the prince, and solicited his aid to place him on the throne. Gratitude for the favours heaped upon him by the king, as well as the natural bias to Purvez, made the Raja turn a deaf ear to his application. The prince tried to gain his point through Govindas, a Rajpoot of the Bhatti tribe, one of the foreign nobles of Maroo, and confidential adviser of his prince; but, as the annals say, "Govindas reckoned no one but his master and the king." Frustrated in this, Khoorm saw no hopes of success but by disgusting the Rahthores, and he caused the faithful Govindas to be assassinated by Kishen Sing;* on which Raja Guj, in disgust, threw up his post, and marched to his native land. From the assassination of Purvez, which soon followed, the deposal of his father appeared but a step; and Khoorm had collected means, which he deemed adequate to the design, when Jehangir appealed to the fidelity of the Rajpoots, to support him against filial ingratitude and domestic treason: and, in their general obedience to the call, they afforded a distinguished proof of the operation of the first principle, *Gadi-ca-an*, allegiance to the throne, often obeyed without reference to the worth of its occupant. The princes of Marwar, Amber, Kotah, and Boondi put themselves at the head of their household retainers on this occasion, which furnishes a confirmation of a remark already made, that the respective annals of the states of Rajasthan so rarely embrace the contemporaneous events of the rest, as to lead to the conclusion, that by the single force of each state this rebellion was put down. This remark will be further exemplified from the annals of Boondi.

Jehangir was so pleased with the zeal of the Rahthore prince,—alarmed as he was at the advance of the rebels,—that he not only took him by the hand, but what is most unusual, kissed it. When the assembled princes came in sight of the rebels, near Benares, the emperor gave the *herole*, or vanguard, to the Cutchwaha prince, the Mirza Raja of Amber. Whether this was a point of policy, to secure his acting against prince Khoorm, who was born of this race, or merely, as the Marwar annals state, because he brought the greater number into the field, is immaterial; but it was very nearly fatal in its consequences: for the proud Rahthore, indignant at the insult offered to him in thus bestowing the post of honour, which was his right, upon the rival race of Amber, furlled his banners, separated from the royal army, and determined to be a quite spectator of the result. But for the impetuous Bheem of Mewar, the adviser of Khoorm, he might that day have been emperor of India. He sent a taunting message to Raja Guj, either to join their cause or "draw their swords." The Rahthores overlooked the neglect of the king in the sarcasm of one of their own tribe; and Bheem was slain, Govindas avenged, the rebellion quelled, and Khoorm put to flight, chiefly by the Rahthores and Haras.

In S. 1694 (A.D. 1638), Raja Guj was slain in an expedition into Guzerat; but whether in the fulfilment of the king's commands, or in the chastisement of free-booters on his own southern frontier, the chronicles do not inform us. He left a distinguished name in the annals of his

* This was the founder of Kishengurh; for this iniquitous service he was made an independent Raja in the town which he erected. His descendant is now an ally by treaty with the British government.

country, and two valiant sons, Umra and Jeswunt, to maintain it: another son, Achil, died in infancy.

The second son, Jeswunt, succeeded, and furnishes another of many instances in the annals of Rajpootana, of the rights of primogeniture being set aside. This proceeded from a variety of motives, sometimes merely paternal affection, sometimes incapacity in the child 'to head fifty thousand Rahthores,' and sometimes, as in the present instance, a dangerous turbulence and over-boiling impetuosity in the individual, which despised all restraints. While there was an enemy against whom to exert it, Umra was conspicuous for his gallantry, and in all his father's wars in the south, was ever foremost in the battle. His daring spirit collected around him those of his own race, alike in mind, as connected by blood, whose actions, in periods of peace, were the subjects of eternal complaint to his father, who was ultimately compelled to exclude Umra from his inheritance.

In the month of Bysak, S. 1690 (A. D. 1634), five years before the death of Raja Guj, in a convocation of all the feudality of Maroo, sentence of exclusion from the succession was pronounced upon Umra, accompanied by the solemn, and seldom practised, rite of *Des-vatoh* or exile. This ceremony, which is marked as a day of mourning in the calendar, was attended with all the circumstances of funeral pomp. As soon as the sentence was pronounced, that his birth-right was forfeited and assigned to his junior brother, and that he ceased to be a subject of Maroo, the *khelat* of banishment was brought forth, consisting of sable vestments, in which he was clad; a sable shield was hung upon his back, and a sword of the same hue girded round him; a black horse was then led out, being mounted on which, he was commanded, though not in anger, to depart whither he listed beyond the limits of Maroo.

Umra went not alone; numbers of each clan, who had always regarded him as their future lord, voluntarily partook of his exile. He repaired to the imperial court; and although the emperor approved and sanctioned his banishment, he employed him. His gallantry soon won him the title of Rao and the *munsab* of a leader of three thousand, with the grant of Nagore as an independent domain, to be held directly from the crown. But the same arrogant and uncontrollable spirit which lost him his birth-right, brought his days to a tragical conclusion. He absented himself for a fortnight from court, hunting the boar or the tiger, his only recreation. The emperor (Shah Jehan) reprimanded him for neglecting his duties, and threatened him with a fine. Umra proudly replied, that he had only gone to hunt, and as for a fine, he observed, putting his hand upon his sword, that was his sole wealth.

The little contrition which this reply evinced, determined the king to enforce the fine, and the paymaster general, Sallabut Khan,* was sent to Umra's quarters to demand its payment. It was refused, and the observations made by the Syed not suiting the temper of Umra, he uncere-

* Sallabut Khan Bukshee, he is called. The office of Bukshee is not only one of paymaster (as it implies), but of inspection and audit. We can readily imagine, with such levies as he had to muster and pay, his post was more honourable than secure, especially with such a band as was headed by Umra, ready to take offence if the wind but displaced their moustache. The annals declare that Umra had a feud (*wer*) with Sallabut; doubtless for no better reason than that he fulfilled the trust reposed in him by the emperor.

moniously desired him to depart. The emperor thus insulted in the person of his officer, issued a mandate for Umra's instant appearance. He obeyed; and having reached the *aumkhas*, or grand divan, beheld the king, "whose eyes were red with anger," with Sallabut in the act of addressing him. Inflamed with passion at the recollection of the injurious language he had just received, perhaps at the king's confirmation of his exclusion from Marwar, he unceremoniously passed the Omrahs of five and seven thousand, as if to address the king; when, with a dagger concealed in his sleeve, he stabbed Sallabut to the heart. Drawing his sword he made a blow at the king, which descending on the pillar, shivered the weapon in pieces. The king abandoned his throne and fled to the interior apartment. All was uproar and confusion. Umra continued the work of death, indifferent upon whom his blows fell, and five Moghul chiefs of eminence had fallen, when his brother-in-law, Urjoon Gore, under pretence of cajoling him, inflicted a mortal wound, though he continued to ply his dagger until he expired. To avenge his death, his retainers, headed by Bulloo Champawut and Bhao Khoompawut, put on their *saffron garments*, and a fresh carnage ensued within the *loll kallah*.^{*} To use the words of their native bard, "The pillars of Agra bear testimony to their deeds, nor shall they ever be obliterated from the record of time; they made their obeisance to Umra in the mansions of the sun." The faithful band was cut to pieces; and his wife, the princess of Boondi, came in person and carried away the dead body of Umra, with which she committed herself to the flames. The Bokhara gate by which they gained admission, was built up, and henceforward known only as Umra Sing's gate," and in proof of the strong impression made by this event,† it

* The place within the citadel (*kallah*), built of red (*loll*) freestone.

† It may be useful to record such facts, by the way of contrast with the state policy of the west, and for the sake of observing that which would actuate the present paramount power of India should any of its tributary princes defy them as Umra did that of the universal potentate of that country. Even these despots borrowed a lesson of mercy from the Rajpoot system, which does not deem treason hereditary, nor attains a whole line for the fault of one unworthy link. Shah Jehan, instead of visiting the sins of the father on the son, installed him in his fief of Nagore. This son was Rae Sing; and it devolved to his children and grand-children,(1) until Indur Sing, the fourth in descent, was expelled by the head of the Rakhthores, who in the weakness of the empire, re-annexed Nagore to Jodhpur. But perhaps we have not hitherto dared to imitate the examples set us by the Mogul and even by the Mahratra; not having sufficient hold of the affections of the subjected to venture to be merciful; and thence our vengeance, like the bolt of heaven, sears the very heart of our enemies. Witness the many chieftains ejected from their possessions; from the unhallowed league against the Rohillas, to that last act of destruction at Bhurtpoor, where, as arbitrators, we acted the part of the lion in the fable. Our present attitude, however, is so commanding, that we can afford to display the attribute of mercy; and should unfortunately, its action be required in Rajpootana, let it be ample,

(1) Namely, Hati Sing, his son Anop Sing, his son Indur Sing, his son Mokum Sing. This lineal descendant of Raja Guj, and the rightful heir to the 'cushion of Joda,' has dwindled into one of the petty *thakoor*s, or lords of Marwar. The system is of eternal vicissitudes, amidst which the germ of reproduction never perishes.

remained closed through centuries, until opened in 1809 by Capt. Geo. Steel, of the Bengal engineers.*

CHAPTER VI.

RAJA JESWUNT, who obtained, by the banishment of Umra, the 'cushion' of Marwar, was born of a princess of Mewar; and although this circumstance is not reported to have influenced the change of succession, it will be borne in mind that, throughout Rajpootana, its princes regarded a connection with the Rana's family as a primary honour.

"Jeswunt (says the Bardai) was unequalled amongst the princes of his time. Stupidity and ignorance were banished; and science flourished where he ruled: *many were the books composed under his auspices.*"

The south continued to be the arena in which the martial Rajpoot sought renown, and the emperor had only rightly to understand his character to turn the national emulation to account. Shah Jehan, in the language of the chronicler, "became a slave to the seraglio," and sent his sons, as viceroys, to govern the grand divisions of the empire. The first service of Jeswunt was in the war of Gondwana, when he led a body composed of "twenty-two different contingents" in the army under Arungezeb. In this and various other services (to enumerate which would be to go over the ground already passed),† the Ralhthores were conspicuous. Jeswunt played a comparatively subordinate part, until the illness of the emperor, in A.D. 1658, when his elder son Dara was invested with the powers of regent. Prince Dara increased the *munsab* of Jeswunt to a leader of 'five thousand,' and nominated him his viceroy in Malwa.

In the struggle for empire amongst the sons of Shah Jehan, consequent upon his illness, the importance of the Rajpoot princes and the fidelity we have often had occasion to depict, were exhibited in the strongest light. While Raja Jey Sing was commanded to oppose prince Shuja, who advanced from his viceroyalty of Bengal, Jeswunt was entrusted with means to quash the designs of Arungezeb, then commanding

for there its greatful influence is understood, and it will return, like the dews of heaven, upon ourselves. But if we are only to regulate our political action by the apprehension of danger, it must one day recoil upon us in awful retribution. Our system is filled with evil to the governed, where a fit of bile in ephemeral political agents, may engender a quarrel leading to the overthrow of a dominion of ages.

* Since these remarks were written, Captain Steel related to the author a singular anecdote connected with the above circumstance. While the works of demolition was proceeding, Capt. S. was urgently warned by the native of the danger he incurred in the operation, from a denunciation on the closing of the gate, that it should thenceforward be guarded by a huge serpent—when suddenly, the destruction of the gate being nearly completed, a large Cobra-di-capella rushed between his legs, as if in fulfilment of the anathema. Capt. S. fortunately escaped without injury.

† The new translation of Ferishta's History, by Lieut. Col. Briggs, a work much wanted, may be referred to by those who wish to see the opinion of the Mahomedan princes of their Rajpoot vassalage.

in the south, who had long cloaked, under the garb of hypocrisy and religion, views upon the empire.

The Rahtore prince was declared generalissimo of the army destined to oppose Arungezeb, and he marched from Agra at the head of the united contingents of Rajpootana, besides the imperial guards, a force which, to use the hyperbole of the bard, "made Shesang writhe in agony." Jeswunt marched toward the Nerbudda, and had encamped his army in a position fifteen miles south of Oojein, when tidings reached him of his opponent's approach. In that field on which the emperor erected a town subsequently designated *Futtehabad*, or 'abode of victory,' Jeswunt, awaited his foes. The battle which ensued, witnessed and so circumstantially related by Bernier, as has been already noticed in this work,* was lost by the temerity of the Rahtore commander-in-chief, who might have crushed the rebellious hopes of Arungezeb, to whom he purposely gave time to effect a junction with his brother Morad, from the vainglorious desire "to conquer two princes at once." Dearly did he pay for his presumption; for he had given time to the wily prince to sow intrigues in his camp, which were disclosed as soon as the battle joined, when the Moghul horse deserted and left him at the head of his thirty thousand Rajpoots, deemed, however, by their leader and themselves, sufficient against any odds. "Jeswunt, spear in hand, mounted his steed *Maboob*, and charged the imperial brothers; ten thousand Moslems fell in the onset, which cost seventeen hundred Rahtores, besides *Gehlotes*, *Haras*,† *Gores*, and some of every clan of Rajwarra. Arung and Morad only escaped because their days were not yet numbered. Maboob and his rider were covered with blood; Jesoh looked like a famished lion, and like one he relinquished his prey." The bard is fully confirmed in his relation of the day, both by the Moghul historian and by Bernier, who says, that notwithstanding the immense superiority of the imperial princes, aided by a numerous artillery served by Frenchmen, night alone put a stop to the contest of science, numbers, and artillery, against Rajpoot courage. Both armies remained on the field of battle, and though we have no notice of the anecdote related by the first translator of *Ferishta*, who makes Jeswunt "in bravado drive his car round the field," it is certain that Arungzeb was too politic to renew the combat, or molest the retreat which took place next day towards his native dominions. Although, for the sake of alliteration, the bard especially singles out the *Gehlotes* and *Gores*, the tribes of Mewar and Seopur, all and every tribe was engaged; and if the Rajpoot ever dared to mourn the fall of kindred in battle, this day should have covered every house with the emblems of grief; for it is stated by the Moghul historian that fifteen thousand fell, chiefly Rajpoots. This was one of the events glorious to the Rajpoot, shewing his devotion to whom fidelity (*swam-dherma*) had been pledged,—the aged and enfeebled emperor Shah Jehan, whose "salt they ate,"—against all the temptations offered by youthful ambition. It is forcibly contrasted with the conduct of the immediate household troops of the emperor, who, even in the moment of battle, worshipped the rising sun, whilst the Rajpoot sealed his faith in his blood; and none more liberally than the brave Haras of Kotah and Boondi. The annals of no nation on earth can furnish such an example, as an

* See Vol. I.

† See Kotah annals, which state that that prince and five brothers all fell in this field of carnage.

entire family, six royal brothers, stretched on the field, and all but one in death.*

Of all the deeds of heroism performed on this day, those of Rutna of Rutlam, by universal consent, are pre-eminent, and "are wreathed into immortal rhyme by the bard" in the *Rasa Rao Rutna*.† He also was a Rahtore, the great grandson of Oodi Sing, the first Raja of Maroo; and nobly did he shew that the Rahtore blood had not degenerated on the fertile plains of Malwa. If aught were wanting to complete the fame of this memorable day, which gave empire to the scourge of Rajpootana, it is found in the conduct of Jeswunt's queen, who, as related,‡ shut the gates of his capital on her fugitive lord, though he "brought back his shield" and his honour.

Arungzeb, on Jeswunt's retreat, entered the capital of Malwa in triumph, whence, with all the celerity requisite to success, he pursued his march on the capital. At the village of Jajow, thirty miles south of Agra, the fidelity of the Rajpoots again formed a barrier between the aged king and the treason of his son; but it served no other purpose than to illustrate this fidelity. The Rajpoots were overpowered, Dara was driven from the regency, and the aged emperor deposed.

Arungzeb, soon after usurping the throne, sent, through the prince of Amber, his assurances of pardon to Jeswunt, and a summons to the presence, preparatory to joining the army forming against his brother Shuja, advancing to vindicate his claims to empire. The Rahtore, deeming it a glorious occasion for revenge, obeyed, and communicated to Shuja his intentions. The hostile armies met at Kujwa, thirty miles north of Allahabad. On the first onset, Jeswunt, wheeling about with his Rahtore cavaliers, attacked the rear-ward of the army under prince Mohammed, which he cut to pieces, and plundering the imperial camp (left unprotected), he deliberately loaded his camels with the most valuable effects, which he despatched under part of the force, and leaving the brotlier to a contest, which he heartily wished might involve the destruction of both, he followed the *cortege* to Agra. Such was the panic on his appearance at that capital, joined to the rumours of Arungzeb's defeat, which had nearly happened, that the wavering garrison required only a summons to have surrendered, when he might have released Shah Jehan from confinement, and with this "tower of strength" have rallied an opposition fatal to the prince.

That this plan suggested itself to Jeswunt's sagacity we cannot doubt; but besides the manifest danger of locking of his army within the precincts of a capital, if victory was given to Arungzebe, he had other reasons for not halting at Agra. All his designs were concert with prince Dara, the rightful heir to the throne, whom he had instructed to hasten to the scene of action; but while Jeswunt remained hovering in the rear of Arungzeb, momentarily expecting the junction of the prince, the latter loitered on the southern frontier of Marwar, and thus lost, for ever, the crown within his grasp. Jeswunt continued his route to his native dominions, and had at least the gratification of housing the spoils, even the regal tents, in the

* See Kotah annals, which state that that prince and five brothers all fell in this field of carnage.

† Amongst the MSS. presented by the Author to the Royal Asiatic Society, is this work, the *Rasa Rao Rutna*.

‡ See Vol. I.

castle of Joda. Dara tardily formed a junction at Mairta; but the critical moment was lost, and Arungzebe, who had crushed Shuja's force, rapidly advanced, now joined by many of the Rajpoot princes, to overwhelm this last remnant of opposition. The crafty Arungzeb, however, who always preferred stratagem to the precarious issue of arms, addressed a letter to Jeswunt, not only assuring him of his entire forgiveness, but offering the viceroyalty of Guzerat, if he would withdraw his support from Dara, and remain neuter in the contest. Jeswunt accepted the condition, and agreed to lead the Rajpoot contingents, under prince Moazzim in the war against Sevaji, bent on reviving the independence of Mahrashtra. From the conduct again pursued by the Rakhore, we have a right to infer that he only abandoned Dara, because, though possessed of many qualities which endeared him to the Rajpoot, besides his title to the throne, he wanted these virtues necessary to ensure success against his energetic brother. Scarcely had Jeswunt reached the Dekhan when he opened a communication with Sevaji, planned the death of the king's lieutenant, Shaista Khan, on which he hoped to have the guidance of the army, and the young vic-roy. Arungzeb received authentic intelligence of this plot, and the share Jeswunt had in it; but he temporized, and even sent letters of congratulation on his succeeding to the commander-in-chief. But he soon superseded him by Raja Jey Sing of Amber, who brought the war to a conclusion by the capture of Sevaji. The honour attending this exploit was, however, soon exchanged for disgrace; for when the Amber prince found that the tyrant had designs upon the life of his prisoner, for whose safety he had pledged himself, he connived at his escape. Upon this, Jeswunt was once more declared the emperor's lieutenant, and soon inspired prince Moazzim with designs, which again compelled the king to supersede him, and Delire Khan was declared general-in-chief. He reached Arungabad, and the night of his arrival, would have been his last, but he received intimation and rapidly retreated, pursued by the prince and Jeswunt to the Nerbudda. The emperor saw the necessity of removing Jeswunt from this dangerous post, and he sent him the *firman* as viceroy of Guzerat, to which he commanded him to repair without delay. He obeyed, reached Ahmedabad, and found the king had outwitted him and his successor in command; he, therefore, continued his course to his native dominions, where he arrived in S. 1726 (A. D. 1670).

The wily tyrant had, in all these changes, used every endeavour to circumvent Jeswunt, and, if the annals are correct, was little scrupulous as to the means. But the Raja was protected by the fidelity of his kindred vassalage. In the words of the bardic chronicler, "*The Aswapati** Arung, finding treachery in vain, put the collar of simulated friendship round his neck, and sent him beyond the Attok to die."

The emperor saw that the only chance of counteracting Jeswunt's inveterate hostility was to employ him where he would be least dangerous. He gladly availed himself of a rebellion amongst the Afghans of Cabul; and with many promises of favour to himself and his family, appointed him to the chief command, to lead his turbulent Rajpoots against the equally turbulent and almost savage Afghans. Leaving his elder son, Pirtliwi Sing, in charge of his ancestral domains, with his wives, family, and the chosen bands of Maroo, Jeswunt departed for the land of the 'barbarian,' from which he was destined never to return.

* The common epithet of the Islamite emperors, in the dialect of the bard, is *Asput*, classically *Aswapati*, 'lord of horses.'

It is related, in the chronicles of Maroo, that Arungzeb having commanded the attendance at court of Jeswunt's heir, he obeyed, and was received not only with the distinctions which were his due, but with the most specious courtesy: that one day, with unusual familiarity, the king desired him to advance, and grasping firmly his folded hands (the usual attitude of deference) in one of his own, said, "Well, Rahthore, it is told me you possess as nervous an arm as your father; what can you do now?" "God preserve your majesty," replied the Rajpoot prince, "when the sovereign of mankind lays the hand of protection on the meanest of his subjects, all his hopes realized; but when he condescends to take both of mine, I feel as if I could conquer the world." His vehement and animated gesture gave full force to his words, and Arungzeb quickly exclaimed, "Ah! here is another Khootun," (the term he always applied to Jeswunt); yet, affecting to be pleased with the frank boldness of his speech, he ordered him a splendid dress, which as customary, he put on, and having made his obeisance, left the presence in the certain assurance of exaltation.

That day was his last!—he was taken ill soon after reaching his quarters, and expired in great torture, and to this hour his death is attributed to the poisoned robe of honour presented by the king.*

Prithwi Sing was the staff of his father's age, and endowed with all the qualities required to lead the swords of Maroo. His death, thus reported, cast a blight on the remaining days of Jeswunt, who in this cruel stroke, saw that his mortal foe had gone beyond him in revenge. The sacrifice of Prithwi Sing was followed by the death of his only remaining sons, Juggut Sing and Dulthumun, from the ungenial climate of Cabul, and grief soon closed the existence of the veteran Rahthore. He expired amidst the mountain of the north, without an heir to his revenge, in S. 1737 (A. D. 1681), having ruled the tribes of Maroo for two and forty years. In this year, death released Arungzeb from the greatest terrors of his life; for the illustrious Sevaji and Jeswunt paid the debt to nature within a few months of each other. Of the Rahthore, we may use the words of the biographer of his contemporary, Rana Raj Sing of Mewar; "Sighs never ceased flowing from Arung's heart while Jeswunt lived."

The life of Jeswunt Sing is one of the most extraordinary in the annals of Rajpootana, and a full narrative of it would afford a perfect and deeply interesting picture of the history and manners of the period. Had his abilities, which were far above mediocrity, been commensurate with his power, credit, and courage, he might, with the concurrent aid of the many powerful enemies of Arungzeb, have overturned the Moghul throne. Throughout the long period of two and forty years, events of magnitude crowded upon each other, from the period of his first contest with Arungzeb, in the battle of the Nerbudda, to his conflicts with the Afghans amidst the snows of Caucasus. Although Rahthore had a preference amongst the

* This mode of being rid of enemies is firmly believed by the Rajpoots, and several other instances of it are recorded in this work. Of course, it must be by porous absorption; and in a hot climate, where only a thin tunic is worn next the skin, much mischief might be done, though it is difficult to understand how death could be accomplished. That the belief is of ancient date, we have only to recall the story of Hercules put into doggerel by Pope:

—"He whom Dejanira

'Wrapp'd in the envenomed shirt, and set on fire."

sons of Shah Jehan, esteeming the frank Dara above the crafty Arungzeb, yet he detested the whole race as inimical to the religion and the independence of his own; and he only fed the hopes of any of the brothers, in their struggles for empire, expecting that they would end in the ruin of all. His blind arrogance lost him the battle of the Nerbudda, and the supineness of Dara prevented his reaping the fruit of his treachery at Kujwa. The former event, as it reduced the means and lessened the fame of Jeswunt, redoubled his hatred to the conqueror. Jeswunt neglected no opportunity which gave a chance of revenge. Impelled by this motive, more than by ambition, he never declined situations of trust, and in each he disclosed the ruling passion of his mind. His overture to Sevaji (like himself the implacable foe of the Moghul), against whom he was sent to act; his daring attempt to remove the imperial lieutenants, one by assassination, the other by open force; his inciting Moazzim, whose inexperience he was sent to guide, to revolt against his father, are some among the many signal instances of Jeswunt's thirst for vengeance. The emperor, fully aware of this hatred, yet compelled from the force of circumstances to dissemble, was always on the watch to counteract it, and the artifices this mighty king had recourse to in order to conciliate Jeswunt, perhaps to throw him off his guard, best attest the dread in which he held him. Alternately he held the viceroyalty of Guzerat, of the Dekhan, of Malwa, Ajmeer, and Cabul (where he died), either directly of the king, or as the king's lieutenant, and second in command under one of the princes. But he used all these favours merely as stepping-stones to the sole object of his life. Accordingly, if Jeswunt's character had been drawn by a biographer of the court, viewed merely in the light of a great vassal of the empire, it would have reached us marked with the stigma of treachery in every trust reposed in him; but, on the other hand, when we reflect on the character of the king, the avowed enemy of the Hindu faith, we only see in Jeswunt a prince putting all to hazard in its support. He had to deal with one who placed him in these offices, not from personal regard, but because he deemed a hollow submission better than avowed hostility, and the Raja, therefore, only opposed fraud to hypocrisy, and treachery to superior strength. Doubtless the Rahthore was sometimes dazzled by the baits which the politic king administered to his vanity; and when all his brother princes eagerly contended for royal favour, it was something to be singled out as the first amongst his peer in Rajpootana. By such conflicting impulses were both parties actuated in their mutual conduct throughout a period in duration nearly equal to the life of man; and it is no slight testimony to Arungzeb's skill in managing such a subject, that he was able to neutralize the hatred and the power of Jeswunt throughout this lengthened period. But it was this vanity, and the immense power wielded by the kings who could reward service by the addition of a vice-royalty to their hereditary domains, that made the Rajpoot princes slaves; for, had all the princely contemporaries of Jeswunt,—Jey Sing of Amber, the Rana Raj of Marwar, and Sevaji,—coalesced against their national foe, the Moghul power must have been extinct. Could Jeswunt, however, been satisfied with the mental wounds he inflicted upon the tyrant, he would have had ample revenge; for the image of the Rahthore crossed all his visions of aggrandizement. The cruel sacrifice of his heir, and the still more barbarous and unrelenting ferocity with which he pursued Jeswunt's innocent family, are the surest proofs of the dread which the Rahthore prince inspired while alive.

Previous, however, to entering on this and the eventful period which followed Jeswunt's death, we may record a few anecdotes illustrative of

the character and manner of the vassal chieftains, by whose aid he was thus enabled to brave Arungzeb. Nor can we do better than allow Nahur Khan, chief of the Koompawuts and premier noble, to be the representative portrait of the clans of Maroo. It was by the vigilance of this chief, and his daring intrepidity, that the many plots laid for Jeswunt's life were defeated; and in the anecdote already given, when in order to restore his prince from a fit of mental delusion,* he braved the superstitions of his race, his devotion was put to a severer test than any which could result from personal peril. The anecdote connected with his *nom de guerre* of Nahur (*tiger*) Khan, exemplifies his personal, as the other does his mental intrepidity. The real name of this individual, the head of the Koompawut clan, was Mokundas. He had personally incurred the displeasure of the emperor, by a reply which was deemed disrespectful to a message sent by royal *ahdy*, for which the tyrant condemned him to enter a tiger's den, and contend for his life unarmed. Without a sign of fear, he entered the arena, where the savage beast was pacing, and thus contemptuously accosted him: "Oh tiger of the *meah*,† face the tiger of Jeswunt;" exhibiting to the king of forest a pair of eyes, which anger and opium had rendered little less inflamed than his own. The animal, startled by so unaccustomed a salutation, for a moment looked at his visitor, put down his head, turned round and stalked from him. "You see," exclaimed the Rahthore, "that he dare not face me, and it is contrary to the creed of a true Rajpoot to attack an enemy who dare not confront him." Even the tyrant, who beheld the scene, was surprised into admiration, presented him with gifts, and asked if he had any children to inherit his prowess. His reply, "how can we get children, when you keep us from our wives beyond the Attok?" fully shews that the Rahthore and fear were strangers to each other. From this singular encounter, he bore the name of Nahur Khan, 'the tiger lord.'

On another occasion, from the same freedom of speech, he incurred the displeasure of the Shahzada, or prince-royal, who, with youthful levity, commanded 'the tiger lord' to attempt a feat which he deemed inconsistent with his dignity, namely, gallop at speed under a horizontal branch of a tree and cling to it while the steed passed on. This feat, requiring both agility and strength, appears to have been a common amusement, and it is related, in the annals of Mewar, that the chief of Bunera broke his spine in the attempt; and there were few who did not come off with bruises and falls, in which consisted the sport. When Nahur heard the command, he indignantly replied, he "was not a monkey;" that "if the prince wished to see his feats, it must be where his sword had play;" on which he was ordered against Soortan, the Deorah prince of Sirohi, for which service he had the whole Rahthore contingent at his disposal. The Deorah prince, who could not attempt to cope against it in the field, took to his native hills; but while he deemed himself secure, Mokund, with a chosen band, in the dead of night, entered the glen where the Sirohi prince reposed, stabbed the solitary sentinel, bound the prince with his own turban to his pallet, while, environing him with his clansmen, he gave the alarm. The Deorahs starting from their rock beds, collected round their prince, and were preparing for the rescue, when Nahur called

* See Vol. I.

† *Meah* is a term used by the Hindu to a Mooslim, who himself generally applies it to a *pédagogue*: the village-schoolmaster has always the honourable epithet of *Meah-jī*!

aloud, "You see his life is in my hands; be assured it is safe if you are wise; but he dies on the least opposition to my determination to convey him to my prince. My sole object in giving the alarm, was that you might behold me carry off my prize." He conveyed Soortan to Jeswunt, who said he must introduce him to the king. The Deorah prince was carried to court, and being led between the proper officers to the palace, he was instructed to perform that profound obeisance, from which none were exempted. But the haughty Deorah replied, "His life was in the king's hands, his honour in his own; he had never bowed the head to mortal man, and never would." As Jeswunt had pledged himself for his honourable treatment, the officers of the ceremonies endeavoured by stratagem to obtain a constrained obeisance, and instead of introducing him as usual, they shewed him a wicket, knee high, and very low overhead, by which to enter but putting his feet foremost, his head was the last part to appear. This stubborn ingenuity, his noble bearing, and his long-protracted resistance, added to Jeswunt's pledge, won the king's favour; and he not only proffered him pardon, but whatever lands he might desire. Though the king did not name the return, Soortan was well aware of the terms, but he boldly and quickly replied, "What can your majesty bestow equal to Achilgurh? let me return to it is all I ask." The king had the magnanimity to comply with his request; Soortan was allowed to retire to the castle of Aboo,* nor did he or any of the Deorahs ever rank themselves amongst the vassals of the empire; but they have continued to the present hour a life of almost savage independence.

From such anecdotes we learn the character of the tiger lord of Asope, and his brother Rahthores of Marwar; men reckless of life when put in competition with distinction and fidelity to their prince, as will be abundantly illustrated in the reign we are about to describe.

CHAPTER VII.

"**W**HEN Jeswunt died beyond the Attok, his wife, the (future) mother of Ajit, determined to burn with her lord, but being in the seventh month of her pregnancy, she was forcibly prevented by Ooda Koompa-wut. His other queen and seven *patras* (concubines) mounted the pyre; and as soon as the tidings reached Jodhpur, the Chundravati queen, taking a turban of her late lord, ascended the pile at Mundore. The Hindu race was in despair at the loss of the support of their faith. The bells of the temple were mute; the sacred shell no longer sounded at sunrise; the Brahmins vitiated their doctrines and learned the Mooslem creed."

The queen was delivered of a boy, who received the name of Ajit. As soon as she was able to travel, the Rahtthore contingent, with their infant prince, his mother, the daughters, and establishment of their late sovereign, prepared to return to their native land. But the unrelenting tyrant, carrying his vengeance towards Jeswunt even beyond the grave, as soon they reached Delhi, commanded that the infant should be

* *Achilgurh* or 'the immoveable castle,' is the name of the fortress of the Deorah princes of Aboo and Sirohi, of which wonderful spot I purpose in another work to give a detailed account.

surrendered to his custody. "Arung offered to divide Maroo amongst them if they would surrender their prince; but they replied, 'Our country is with our sinews, and these can defend both it and our lord.' With eyes red with rage, they left the *Aum-khas*. Their abode was surrounded by the host of the Shah. In a basket of sweetmeats they sent away the young prince, and prepared to defend their honour; they made oblations to gods, took a double portion of opium, and mounted their steeds. Then spoke Rinchor, and Govind the son of Joda, and Chundurbhan the Darawut, and the son of Raghoo, on whose shoulder the sword had been married at Oojein, with the fearless Bharmul the Oodawut, and the Soojawut, Raghoonath. 'Let us swim,' they exclaimed, 'in the ocean of fight. Let us root up these Asuras, and be carried by the Apsaras to the mansions of the sun.' As thus each spoke, Soojah the bard took the word: 'for a day like this,' said he, 'you enjoy your fiefs (*puttas*), to give in your lord's cause your bodies to the sword, and in one mass to gain *swarga* (heaven). As for me, who enjoyed his friendship and his gifts, this day will I make his salt resplendent. My father's fame will I uphold, and lead the death in this day's fight, that future bards may hymn my praise.' Then spoke Doorga son of Assoh: 'the teeth of the Yavans are whetted, but by the lightning emitted from our swords, Delhi shall witness our deeds; and the flame of our anger shall consume the troops of the Shah.' As thus the chiefs communed, and the troops of the king approached, the *Raj-loca** of their late lord was sent to inhabit *swarga*. Lance in hand, with faces resembling Yama, (Pluto) the Rahthores rushed upon the foe. Then the music of swords and shields commenced. Wave followed wave in the field of blood. Sankara† completed his chaplet in the battle fought by the children of Doohur in the streets of Delhi. Rutna contended with nine thousand of the foe; but his sword failed, and as he fell, Rembha‡ carried him away. Dilloh the Daruwut made a gift of life;§ the salt of lord he mixed with the water of the field.|| Chundurbhan was conveyed by the Apsaras to Chandrapur.¶ The Bhatti was cut piece-meal and lay on the field beside the son of Soortan. The faithful Oodawut appeared like the crimson lotos; he journeyed to Swarga to visit Jeswunt. Sandoh the bard, with a sword in either hand, was in the front of the battle, and gained the mansion of the moon.** Every tribe and every clan performed its duty in this day's pilgrimage to the stream of the sword, in which Doorgadas ground the foe and saved his honour."††

* A delicate mode of naming the female part of Jeswunt's family; the '*royal abode*' included his young daughters, sent to inhabit heaven (*swarga*).

† 'The lord of the shell,' an epithet of Siva, as the god of war; his war-trump being a shell (*sankh*); his chaplet (*mala*), which the Rahtore bard says was incomplete until this fight, being of human skulls.

‡ Queen of the Apsaras, or celestial nymphs.

§ Pope makes Sarpedon say:

The life that others pay, let us bestow.

And give to fame what we to nature owe.

|| i.e., Blood.

¶ 'The city of the moon.'

** The *lunar abode* seems allotted for all bards, who never mention *Bhanuloca*, or the 'mansion of the sun,' as a place of reward for them. Doubtless they could assign a reason for such a distinction.

†† This is but a short transcript of this poetic account of this battle, in which the deeds, name, and tribe of every warrior who fell, are related. The heroes of Thermopylæ had not a more brilliant theme for the bard.

When these brave men saw that nothing short of the surrender of all that was dear to a Rajpoot was intended by the fiend-like spirit of the king, their first thought was the preservation of the prince; the next to secure their own honour and that of their late master. The means by which they accomplished this were terrific. The females of the deceased, together with their own wives and daughters, were placed in an apartment filled with gunpowder, and the torch applied—all was soon over; This sacrifice accomplished, their sole thought was to secure a niche in that immortal temple, which the Rajpoot bard, as well as the great minstrel of the west, peoples with "youths who died, to be by poets sung." For this, the Rajpoot's anxiety has in all ages been so great, as often to defeat even the purpose of revenge, his object being to die gloriously rather than to inflict death; assured that his name would never perish, but, preserved in "immortal rhyme" by the bard, would serve as the incentive to smiliar deeds. Accordingly, the battle fought by the sons of Doohurea* in the streets of Delhi," is one of the many themes of everlasting eulogy to the Rathores: and the seventh of Sravan, S. 1736 (the second month of the Monsoon of A.D. 1689), is a sacred day in the calendar of Maroo.

In the midst of the furious contest, this infant prince was saved. To avoid suspicion the heir of Maroo, concealed in a basket of sweetmeats, was entrusted to a Mooslem, who religiously executed his trust and conveyed him to the appointed spot, where he was joined by the gallant Doorgadas with the survivors who had cut their way through all opposition, and who were doomed often to bleed for the prince thus miraculously preserved. It is pleasing to find that, if to "the leader of the faithful," the bigoted Arungezeb, they owed so much misery, to one (and he of humble life), of the same faith, they owed the preservation of their line. The preserver of Ajit lived to witness his manhood and the redemption of of his birth-right, and to find that princes are not always ungrateful; for he was distinguished at court, was never addressed but as *Kaka*, or uncle, by the prince; and to the honour of his successors be it told, the lands then settled upon him are still enjoyed by his descendants.

With the sole surviving scion of Jeswunt, the faithful Doorga and a few chosen friends repaired to the isolated rock of Aboo, and placed him in a monastery of recules. There the heir of Maroo was reared in entire ignorance of his birth. Still rumours prevailed, that a son of Jeswunt lived; that Doorga and a few associates were his guardians; and this was enough for the loyal Rajpoot, who, confiding in the chieftain of Droonara, allowed the mere name of '*Dhunni*' (lord) to be his rallying word in the defence of his rights. These were soon threatened by a host of enemies, amongst whom were the Eenods, the ancient sovereigns of Maroo, who saw an opening for the redemption of their birth-right, and for a short time displayed the flag of the Purihars on the walls of Mundore. While the Eenodos were rejoicing at the recovery of their ancient capital, endeared to them by tradition, an attempt was made by Rutna, the son of Umra Sing (whose tragical death has been related), to obtain the seat of power, Jodhpur. This attempt, instigated by the king, proved futile; and the clans, faithful to the memory of

* Here is another instance of the ancient patroynymic being brought in by the bards, and it is thus they preserve the names and deeds of the worthies of past days. Rao Doohur was one of the earliest Rathore kings of Marwar.

Jeswunt and the name of Ajit, soon expelled the Eenods from Mundore, and drove the son of Umra to his castle of Nagore. It was then that Arungezeb, in person, led his army into Maroo; the capital was invested; it fell and was pillaged, and all the great towns in the plains of Mairtea, Deedwana, and Rohit, shared a similar fate. The emblems of religion were trampled under foot, the temples thrown down, mosques were erected on their site, and nothing short of the compulsory conversion to the tenets of Islam of every Rajpoot in Marwar, would satisfy his revenge. The consequences of this fanatical and impolitic conduct recoiled not only upon the emperor but his whole race, for it roused an opposition to this iron yoke, which ultimately broke it in pieces. The emperor promulgated that famous edict, the 'Jezeya,' against the whole Hindu race, which cemented into one compact union all who cherished either patriotism or religion. It was at this period of time, when the Rahthores and Seesodias united against the tyrant, that Rana Raj Sing indited that celebrated epistle, which is given in a preceding part of this work.*

"Seventy thousand men," says the bard,† "under Tyber Khan, were commanded to destroy the Rajpoot, and Arung followed in person to Ajmeer. The Mairtea clan assembled, and advanced to Pooshkur to oppose him. The battle was in front of the temple of Varaha, where the swords of the Mairteas, always first in the fight, played the game of

* See Vol I.

† It may be well to exhibit the manner in which the poetic annalist of Rajpootana narrates such events, and to give them in his own language rather than in an epitome, by which not only the pith of the original would be lost, but the events themselves deprived of half their interest. The character of historic fidelity will thus be preserved from suspicion, which could scarcely be withheld if the narrative were exhibited in any but its native garb. This will also serve to sustain the Annals of Marwar, formed from a combination of such materials, and dispose the reader to acknowledge the impossibility of reducing such animated chronicles to the severe style of history. But more than all, it is with the design to prove what in the preface of this work, the reader was compelled to take on credit; that the Rajpoot kingdoms were in no ages without such chronicles; and if we may not compare them with Froissart, or with Monstrelet, they may be allowed to compete with the Anglo-Saxon chronicles, and they certainly surpass those of Ulster. But we have stronger motives than even legitimate curiosity, in allowing the bard to tell his own tale of the thirty years' war of Rajpootana; the desire which has animated this task from its commencement, to give a correct idea of the importance of these events, and to hold them up as a beacon to the present governors of these brave men. How well that elegant historian, Orme, appreciates their importance, as bearing on our own conduct in power, the reader will perceive by reference to his Fragments (p. 165), where he says, "there are no states or powers on the continent of India, with whom our nation has either connexion or concern, which do not owe the origin of their present condition to the reign of Arungezeb, or its influence on the reigns of his successors." It behoves us therefore, to make ourselves acquainted with the causes, as well as the characters of those who occasioned the downfall of our predecessors in the sovereignty of India. With this object in view, the bard shall tell his own tale from the birth of Ajit, in S. 1737, to 1767, when he had vanquished all opposition to Arungezeb, and regained the throne of Maroo.

destruction on the heads of the Asuras. Here the Mairteas were all slain on the 11th Bhadoon, S. 1736.

"Tiber continued to advance. The inhabitants of Moordhur fled to the mountains. At Goorah the brothers Roopa and Koombo took post with their clan to oppose him; but they fell with twenty-five of their brethren. As the cloud pours water upon the earth, so did Arung pour his barbarians over the land. He remained but five days at Ajidoorg (Ajmeer), and marched against Cheetore. It fell! it appeared as if the heavens had fallen. Ajit was protected by the Rana, and the Rahthores, led the van in the host of the Seesodias. Seeing the strength of the Yavans, they shut up the young prince, like a flame confined in a vessel. Delhi-pat (the king of Delhi) came to Debarri,* at whose pass he was opposed by Koombo, Oogursen, and Oodoh, all Rahthores. While Arungzeb attacked Oodipoor, Azim was left at Cheetore. Then the king learned that Doorgadas had invaded Jhalore; he abandoned his conquest, and returned to Ajmeer, sending Mokurra Khan to aid Beharri at Jhalore; but Doorga had raised contributions (*dind*), and passed to Jodhpur, alike forced to contribute; for the son of Indur Sing, on the part of the king, now commanded in Tricuta (*triple-peaked mount*). Arung Shah measured the heavens; he determined to have but one faith in the land. Prince Akber was sent to join Tyber Khan. Rapine and conflagration spread over the land. The country became a waste; fear stalked triumphant. Providence had willed this affliction. The Eendos were put in possession of Jodhpur; but were encountered at Kaitapur and put to the sword by the Champawuts. Once more they lost the title of Raos of Moordurdes, and thus the king's intentions of bestowing sovereignty on the Purihars were frustrated on the 13th day of Jeit, S. 1736.

"The Aravali gave shelter to the Rahthores. From its fastnesses they issued, and mowed down entire harvests of the Mooslem, piling them in *kullas*.† Arung had no repose. Jhalore was invaded by one body, Sewanoh by another of the faithful chiefs of Ajit, whose *an†* daily increased, while Arung's was seldom invoked. The king gave up the war against the Rana to send all his troops into Maroo; but the Rana, who provoked the rage of Arung from granting refuge to Ajit, sent his troops under his own son, Bheem, who joined the Rahthores, led by Indurbhan and Doorgadas in Godwar. Prince Akber and Tyber Khan advanced upon them, and a battle took place at Nadole. The Seesodias had the right. The combat was long and bloody. Prince Bheem fell at the head of Mewarees: he was a noble bulwark to the Rahthores.‡ Indurbhan was slain, with Jait the Oodawut, performing noble deeds; and Soning Doorga did wonders on that day, the 14th Asoj, S. 1737," (the winter of A.D. 1681).

* The Cenotaph of the these warriors still marks the spot where they fell, on the right on entering the portals.

† The heaps of grain thrashed in the open field, preparatory to being divided and housed are termed *kullas*.

‡ Oath of allegiance.

§ The Mewar chronicle claims a victory for the combined Rajpoot army, and relates a singular stratagem by which they gained it; but either I have overlooked it, or the *Raj Vilas* does not specify that Prince Bheem, son of the heroic Rana Rai, fell on this day, so glorious in the annals of both states.—See Vol. I.

The gallant bearing of the Rajpoots in the unequal combat, their desperate devotion to their country and prince, touched the soul of prince Akber, who had the magnanimity to commiserate the sufferings he was compelled to inflict, and to question the policy of his father towards these gallant vassals. Ambition came to the aid of compassion for the suffering of the Rahthores, and the persecution of the minor son of Jeswunt. He opened his mind to Tyber Khan, and exposed the disgrace of bearing arms in so unholy a warfare, and in severing from the crown such devoted and brave vassals at the Rahthores. Tyber was gained over, and an embassy sent to Doorgadas offering peace, and expressing a wish for a conference. Doorga convened the chiefs, and disclosed to overtire ; but some suspected treachery in the prince, others, selfish views on the part of Doorga. To prevent the injurious operation of such suspicions, Doorga observed, that if assent were not given to the meeting, it would be attributed to the base motive of fear. "Let us proceed in a body," said he, "to this conference; who ever heard of a cloud being caught?" They met; mutual views were developed; a treaty was concluded, and the meeting ended by Akber waving the umbrella of regality over his head. He coined in his own name; he established his own weights and measures. The poisoned intelligence was poured into Arung's ear at Ajmeer; his soul was troubled; he had no rest; he plucked his beard in grief when he heard that Doorga and Akber had united. Every Rahthore in the land flocked to Akbar's standard. The house of Delhi was divided, and Govind* again supported the Hindu faith.

The dethronement of the tyrant appeared inevitable. The scourge of Rajpoots was in their power, for he was almost alone and without the hope of succour. But his energies never forsook him; he knew the character of his foes, and that on an emergency his grand auxiliary, strata-gem, was equal to an army. As there is some variation both in the Moghul historian's account of this momentous transaction, and in the annals of Mewar and Marwar, we present the latter *verbatim* from the chronicle.

"Akber, with multitudes of Rajpoots, advanced upon Ajmeer. But while Arung prepared for the storm, the prince gave himself up to the women and the song, placing every thing in hands of Tyber Khan. We are the slaves of fate; puppets that dance as it pulls the strings. Tyber allowed himself to dream of treason; it was whispered in his ear that if he could deliver Akber to his father, high rewards would follow. At night he went privily to Arungzeb, and thence wrote to the Rahthores: 'I was the bond of union betwixt you and Akber, but the dam which separated the waters has broken down, Father and son again are one. Consider the pledges, given and received, as restored, and depart for your own lands.' Having sealed this with his signet, and dispatched a messenger to the Rahthores, he appeared before Arungzeb to receive the fruit of his service. But his treason met its reward, and before he could say, the imperial orders were obeyed, *a blow of the mace from the hand of the monarch sent his soul to hell*. At midnight the Dervesh messenger reached the Rahthore camp; he put the letter into their hand, which stated father and son were united; and added from himself that Tyber Khan was slain. All was confusion; the Rahthores saddled and mounted, and moved a coss from Akber's camp. The panic spread to his troops, who fled like the dried leaves of the sugar-cane when carried up in a

whirl wind, while the prince was attending to the song and the wiles of the wanton."

This narrative exemplifies most strongly the hasty unreflecting character of the Rajpoot, who always acts from the impulse of the moment. They did not even send to Akber's camp, although close to their own, to inquire the truth or falsehood of the report, but saddled and did not halt until they were twenty miles asunder. It is true, that in these times of peril, they did not know in whom to confide: and being headed by one of their own body, they could not tell how far he might be implicated in the treachery.

The next day they were undeceived by the junction of the prince, who, when made acquainted with the departure of his allies, and the treason and death of Iyber Khan, could scarcely collect a thousand men to abide by his fortunes. With these he followed his panic-struck allies, and threw himself and his family upon their hospitality and protection:—an appeal never be made in vain to the Rajpoot. The poetic account, by the bard Kurnidhan, of the reception of the prince by the chivalry of Maroo, is remarkably minute and spirited:—the warriors and senators enter into a solemn debate as to the conduct to be pursued to the prince now claiming *sirna* (sanctuary,) when the bard takes occasion to relate the pedigree and renown of the chiefs of every clan. Each chief delivers his sentiments in a speech full of information respecting their national customs and manners. It also displays a good picture of "the power of the *swans* and the necessity of *feeding them with pearls*," to enable them to sing with advantage. The council breaks up with the declaration of its determination to protect Akber at all hazards, and Jaita, the brother of the head of the Champawuts, is nominated to the charge of protector of Akber's family. The gallant Doorga, the Ulysses of the Rahthores, is the manager of this dramatic convention, the details of which are wound up with an eulogy in true oriental hyperbole, in the Doric accents of Maroo:—

"*Eh! Māta poot esa jin*
Jessa Doorga-das
Band Moordra rakheo
Bin thamba akhas."

"Oh mother! produce such sons as Doorga-das, who first supported the dam of Moordra, and then propped the heavens."

This model of a Rajpoot, as wise as he was brave, was the saviour of his country. To his suggestion it owed the preservation of its prince, and to a series of heroic deeds, his subsequent and more difficult salvation. Many anecdotes are extant recording the dread Arungzebe had of this leader of the Rahthores, one of which is amusing. The tyrant had commanded pictures to be drawn of two of the most mortal foes to his repose, Sivaji and Doorga: "Siva was drawn seated on a couch; Doorga in his ordinary position on horseback toasting *bhawties*, or barley-cakes, with the point of his lance, on a fire of maize-stalks. Arungzeb, at the first glance, exclaimed, 'I may entrap that fellow (meaning Sivaji), but this dog is born to be my bane.'"

Doorga at the head of his bands, together with young Akber, moved towards the western extremity of the state, in hopes that they might lead the emperor in pursuit amongst the sand-hills of the Looni; but the wily monarch tried other arts, and first attempted to corrupt Doorga. He sent him eight thousand gold mohurs,* which the Rajpoot instantly applied

* The Mewar chornicle says forty thousand.

to the necessities of Akber, who was deeply affected at this proof of devotion, and distributed a portion of it amongst Doorga's retainers. Arungzeb, seeing the futility of this plan, sent a force in pursuit of his son, who, knowing he had no hope of mercy if he fell into his father's hands, was anxious to place distance between them. Doorga pledged himself for his safety, and relinquished all to ensure it. Making over the guardianship of young Ajit to his elder brother, Soning, and placing himself at the head of one thousand chosen men, he turned towards the south. The bard enumerates the names and families of all the chieftains of note who formed the body-guard of prince Akber in this desperate undertaking. The Champawuts were the most numerous, but he specifies several of the home clans, as the Joda and Mairtea, and amongst the foreign Rajpoots, the Jadoon, Chohan, Bhatti, Deorah, Sonigurra, and, Mangulea.

"The king followed their retreat: his troops surrounded the Rahthores; but Doorga with one thousand chosen men left the north on their backs, and with the speed of the winged quitted the camp. Arun continued the pursuit to Jhalore, when he found he had led on a wrong scent; and that Doorga, with the prince, keeping Guzerat on his right and Chuppun on his left, had made good his retreat to the Nerbuddat Raga so far got the better of his religion, that he threw the *Koran* at the head of the Almighty. In wrath, he commanded Azim to exterminate the Rahthores, but to leave Oodipur on one side,* and every other design, and first secure his brother. The deeds of Camunda† removed the troubles of Mewar, as the wind disperses the clouds which shade the brightness of the moon. In ten days after Azim marched, the emperor himself moved, leaving his garrison in Jodhpur and Ajmeer, Doorga's name was the charm which made the hosts of locusts quit their ground.‡ Doorga was the sea-serpent; Akber the mountain with which they churned the ocean Arung, and made him yield the fourteen gems, one of which our religion regained, which is Lacshmi, and our faith, which is Dhununtari he sage.

"In fidelity who excelled the Kheeches Seo Sing and Mokund, who never left the person of Ajit, when his infancy was concealed in the mountains of Arbood? to them alone, and the faithful Sonigurra, did Doorga confide the secret of his retreat. The vassals of the *Nine Castles of Maroo* knew that he was concealed; but where or in whose custody all were ignorant. Some thought he was at Jessulmeer; others at Beekumpur; others at Sirohi. The eight divisions nobly supported the days of their exile; their sinews sustained the land of Mordhur. Raos, Rajas, and Ranas applauded their deeds, for all were alike enveloped in the net of destruction. In all the nine thousand [towns] of Mordhur, and the ten thousand of Mewar,§ inhabitants there were none. Enayet Khan was left with ten thousand men to preserve Jodhpur; but the Champawut is the Soomer of Maroo, and without fear was Doorga's brother, Soning. With Khemkurn the Kurnote, and Subhul the Joda, Beejmal the

* That is, dropped all schemes against it at that moment.

† The Camdhuj; epithet of the Rahthores.

‡ Charms and incantations, with music, are had recourse to, in order to cause the flight of these destructive insects from the fields they light on.

§ The number of towns and villages formerly constituting the arondissement of each state.

Mahecha, Jaitmal Soojote, Kesuri Kurnote, and the Joda brethren Seodan and Bheem, and many more collected their clans and kin, and as soon as they heard that the king was within four coss of Ajmeer, they blockaded the Khan in the city of Joda; but twenty thousand Moguls came to the rescue. Another dreadful conflict ensued at the gates of Jodhpur, in which the Jadoon Kesore, who led the battle, and many other chiefs were slain, yet not without many hundreds of the foe; the 9th Asar, S. 1737.

"Soning carried the sword and the flame into every quarter. Arung could neither advance nor retreat. He was like the serpent seizing the muskrat, which, if liberated, caused blindness; but if swallowed, was like poison. Hurnat and Kana Sing took the road to Sojut. They surrounded and drove away the cattle, which brought the Asoors to the rescue. A dreadful strife ensued; the chief of the Asoors was slain, but the brothers and all their kin bedewed the land with their blood. This the *saca* of Sojut, was when 1737 ended and 1738 commenced, when the sword and the pestilence (*murri*)* united to clear the land.

"Soning was the Roodra of the field; Agra and Delhi trembled at his deeds; he looked on Arung as the waning moon. The king sent an embassy to Soning; it was peace he desired. He offered the munsab of *Sath Hagari* for Ajit, and what dignities he might demand for his brethren—the restoration of Ajmeer, and to make Soning its governor. To the engagement was added, 'the *punja* is affixed in ratification of this treaty, witnessed by God Almighty.'† The Dewan, Assud Khan, was the negotiator, and the *Aremdi*,‡ who was with him, solemnly swore

* *Murri*, or 'death' personified, is the name for that fearful scourge the spasmodic *cholera morbus*, which has caused the loss of so many lives for the last thirteen years throughout India. It appears to have visited India often, of which we have given a frightful record in the Annals of Mewar in the reign of Rana Raj Sing (See Vol. I.), in S. 1717 or A. D. 1661 (twenty years prior to the period we treat of); and Orme describes it as raging in the Dekhan in A. D. 1684. They had likewise a visitation of it within the memory of many individuals now living.

Regarding the nature of this disease, whether epidemic, or contagious, and its cure, we are as ignorant now as the first day of our experience. There have been hundreds of conflicting opinions and hypotheses, but none satisfactory. In India, nine medical men out of ten, as well as those non-professional, deny its being contagious. At Oodipur, the Rana's only son, hermetically sealed in the palace against contact, was the first seized with the disorder: a pretty strong proof that it was from atmospheric communication. He was also the last man in his father's dominions likely, from predisposition, to be attacked, being one of the most athletic and prudent of his subjects. I saw him through the disorder. We were afraid to administer remedies to the last heir of Bappa Rawul, but I hinted to Amurji, who was both bard and doctor, that strong doses of musk (12 grs. each) might be beneficial. These he had and I prevented his having cold water to drink, and also checking the insensible perspiration by throwing off the head-clothes. Nothing but his robust frame and youth made him resist this tremendous assailant.

† See Vol. I. for an explanation of the *punja*—and the treaty which preceded this made by Rana Raja Sing, the fourth article of which stipulates for term, to the minor son of Jeswunt.

‡ I know not what officer is mean by *Aremdi*, sent to swear to the good faith of the king.

to its maintenance. The treaty concluded, the king, whose thoughts could not be diverted from Akber, departed for the Dekhan. Asud Khan was left at Ajmeer, and Soning at Mairta. But Soning was a thorn in the side of Arunzeb; he bribed the Brahmins, who threw pepper into the *homa* (burnt sacrifice) and secure for Soning a place in *Sooraj Mandala* (the mansion of the sun). The day following the treaty, by the incantations of Arung, Soning was no more.* Asoj the 6th, S. 1738.

Asud sent the news to the king. This terror being removed, the king withdrew his *punja* from his treaty, and in joy departed for the Dekhan. The death of Soning shed gloom and grief over the land. Then Mokund Sing Mairtea, son of Kulian, abandoned his *munsab* and joined his country's cause. A desperate encounter soon followed with the troops of Asud Khan near Mairta, in which Ajit, the son of Beetuldas, who led the fight, was slain, with many of each clan, which gave joy to the Asoors, but grief to the faithful Rajpoot, on the second day of the bright half of the moon of Kartik, S. 1738.

Prince Azim was left with Asud Khan; Enayet at Jodhpur; and their garrisons were scattered over the land, as their tombs (*ghor*) everywhere attest. The lord of Chunpawut, Simboo Koompawut, now led the Rahthores with Oodung Sing Bakshee, and Tejsi, the young son of Doorga, the bracelet on the arm of *Mahadeva*, with Futteh Sing and Ram Sing, just return from placing Akber safely in the Dekhan, and many other valiant Rahthores.† They spread over the country even to Mewar, sacked Poor-Mandil, and slew the governor Kasim Khan."

These desultory and bloody affrays, though they kept the king's troops in perpetual alarm and lost them myriads of men, thinned the ranks of the defenders of Maroo, who again took refuge in the Aravali. From hence, watching every opportunity, they darted on their prey. On one occasion, they fell upon the garrison of Jyturun, which they routed and expelled, or as the chronicle quaintly says, "with the year 1739 they also fled." At the same time, the post of Sojut was carried by Beejo Champawut, while the Jodawut, under Ram Sing, kept their foes in play to the northward, and led by Oodi-bhan, attacked the Mirza Noor Alli at Cheraie: "the contest lasted for three hours; the dead bodies of the Yavans lay in the heaps in the Akhara; who even abandoned their *Nakarras*."

"After the affair of Jyturun, when Oodi Sing Champawut, and Mokhim Sing Mairtea were the leaders, they made a push for Guzerat, and had penetrated to Kheiraloo, when they were attacked, pursued, and surrounded in the hills at Rainpur, by Syed Mohammed, the Hakim of Guzerat. All night they stood to their arms. In the morning the sword rained and filled the cars of the Apsaras. Kurrun and Kesuri were slain, with Gokuldas Bhatti, with all their civil officers, and Ram Sing himself renounced life on this day.‡ But the Asoors pulled up the reins, having lost many men. Palli was also attacked in the month of Bhadoon

* His death was said to be effected by incantations, most probably poison.

† Many were enumerated by the bardic chronicler, who would deem it sacrilege to omit a single name in the page of fame.

‡ He was one of the gallant chiefs who, with the Doorga, conveyed prince Akber to the sanctuary with the Mahrattas.

this year 1739; then the game of destruction was played with Noor Alli, three hundred Rahthores against five hundred of the king's troops, which were routed, losing their leaders, Ufzul Khan, after a desperate struggle.

Balla was the hero who drove the Yavan from this post. Oodya attacked the Sidi at Sojut. Jyturun was again reinforced. In Bysak, Mokhim Sing Mairtea attacked the royal post at Mairta, slew Syed Ali, and drove out the king's troops."

The year 1739 was one of the perpetual conflict, of captures and recaptures, in which many parties of twenty and thirty on each side fell. They afford numerous examples of heroic patriotism, in which Rahthore blood was lavishly shed; but while to them each warrior was a loss not to be replaced, the despot continued to feed the war with fresh troops. The Bhattis of Jessulmeer came forward this year, and nobly shed their blood in seconding the efforts of the Rahthores in this patriotic warfare.

"In S. 1740, Azim and Asud Khan joined the emperor in the Dekhan, and Enayet Khan was left in command at Ajmeer—being enjoined not to relax the war in Marwar, even with the setting in of the rains. Mairwarra afforded a place of rendezvous for the Rahthores, and security for their families. Here eleven thousand of best troops of Enayet invaded the hills to attack the united Jodas and Champawuts, who retaliated on Palli, Sojut, and Godwar. The ancient Mundore, which was occupied by a garrison under Khwaja Saleh, was attacked by the Mandaicha Bhatti and driven out. At Bagrie, a desperate encounter took place in the month of Bysak when Ram Sing and Samunt Sing, both Bhatti chiefs, fell with two hundred of their vassals, slaying one thousand of the Moghuls. The Kurumsotes and Koompawuts under Anop Sing, scoured the banks of the Looni, and put to the sword the garrisons of Oosturroh and Gangani. Mokhim with his Mairteas, made a descent on his patrimonial lands, and drew upon him the whole force of its governor, Mohammad Alli. The Mairteas met him on their own native plains. The Yavan proposed a truce, and at the interview assassinated the head of the Mairteas, tidings of whose death rejoiced the Shah in the Dekhan.

"At the beginning of 1741, neither strife nor fear had abated. Soojan Singh led the Rahthores in the south, while Lakha Champawut and Kesar Koompawut aided by the Bhattis and Chohans, kept the garrison of Jodhpur in alarm. When Soojan was slain, the bard was sent to Singram, who held a munsub and lands from the king; he was implored to join his brethren; he obeyed, and all collected around Singram.* Sewancha† was attacked, and with Bhalotra and Panchbadra were plundered; while the blockaded garrisons were unable to aid. An hour before sun set, every gate of Maroo was shut. The Asoors had the strong-holds in their power; but the plains resounded with the An† of Ajit. Oodibhan, with his Jodawuts, appeared before Bhadratoon; he assaulted the foe and captured his guns and treasure. An attempt from Jodhpur made to recapture the trophies, added to the triumph of the Joda.

* We are not informed of what clan he was, or his rank, which must have been high.

† The tract so called, of which Sewanch is the capital.

‡ Oath of allegiance.

"Poordil Khan* held Sewanoh; and Nahur Khan Mewatti, Kunari. To attack them, the Champawuts convened at Mokulsir. Their thirst for vengeance redoubled all the tidings that Noor Alli had abducted two young women of the tribe of Assani. Rutna led Rahthores; they reached Kunari and engaged Poordil Khan, who was put to the sword with six hundred of his men. The Rahthores left one hundred in the field that day, the ninth of Cheyt. The Mirza† no sooner heard of this defeat than he fled towards Thoda, with the Assani damsels, *gazing on the mangoes as they ripened*, and having reached Koochal, he encamped. Subhul Sing, the son of Aiskurn, heard it; he took his opium, and though the Mirza was surrounded by pillars, the dagger of Aiskurn's son reached his heart; but the Bhatti‡ was cut in pieces. The roads were now impassable; the *Thanas*§ of the Yavans were reduced to great straits.

"The year 1742 commenced with the slaughter of the king's garrison at Sambhur by the Lakhawuts and Assawuts;|| while from Godwar the chiefs made incursions to the gates of Ajmeer. A battle took place at Mairta, where the Rahthores were defeated and dispersed; but in revenge Singram burned the suburbs of Jodhpur, and then came to Dhoonara, where once more the clans assembled. They marched, invested Jhalore, when Beharri, left without succour, was compelled to capitulate, and the gate of honour (*Dhermadwara*) was left open to him. And thus ended 1742.

CHAPTER VIII.

"In the year 1743, the Champawuts, Koompawuts, Oodawuts, Mairteas, Jodas, Kurumsotes and all the assembled clans of Maroo, became impatient to see their sovereign. They sent for the Kheechie Mokund, and prayed that they might but behold him; but the faithful to his trust replied 'He,¶ who confided him to me, is yet in the Dekhan.'—'Without the sight of our Lord, bread and water have no flavour.' Mokund could not withstand their suit. The Hara prince Doorjun Sal, having come to their aid with one thousand horse from Kotah,** they repaired to the hill of Aboo, when on the last day of Cheyt 1743, they saw their prince. 'As the lotos expands at the sunbeam, so did the heart of each Rahthore at the sight of their infant sovereign; they drank his looks, even as the *papiya* in the month of Asoj sips drops of

* It is almost superfluous to remark, even to the mere English reader, that whenever he meet the title *Khan*, it indicates a Mahomedan; and that of *Sing* (lion) a Rajpoot.

† Noor Alli. Mirza is a title only applied to a Mogul.

‡ As a Bhatti revenged this disgrace, it is probable the Assani damsels, thus abducted by the Mirza, were of his own race.

§ Garrisons and military posts.

|| These are of the most ancient vassalage of Maroo.

¶ Meaning Doorgadas.

** His principle object was to marry the daughter of Sujaun Sing Champawut, the sister of the brave Mokund Sing, often mentioned in the chronicle. The Kotah prince dared not, according to every Rajpoot maxim of gallantry, refuse his aid on such occasion; but the natural bravery and high mind of Doorjun Sal required no stimulus.

amrita (*ambrosia*) from the *Champa*.^{*} There were present, Oodi Sing, Beeji-Pal, Tej Sing, Mokund Sing, and Nahur son of Hurree, all Champawuts. Raj Sing, Juggut Sing, Jeit Sing, Samunt Sing, of the Oodawuts;—Ram Sing, Futteh Sing, and Kesuri, Koompawuts. There was also the Oohur chief of pure descent† besides the Kheechi Mokund, the Puraht, the Purihar, and the Jain priest, Yati Gyan, Beejy. In a fortunate hour, Ajit became known to the world. The Hara Rao first made his salutation; he was followed by all Marwar with offerings of gold, pearls, and horses.

"Enayet conveyed the tidings to Arung Shah; the Asoor chief said to the king, 'if without a head, so long they had combated him, what could now be expected?' he demanded reinforcements.

"In triumph they conveyed the young Raja to Ahwa, whose chief made the *badhoo*‡ with pearls, and presented him with horses; here he was entertained, and here they prepared the *teeke dour*. Thence, taking Raepur, Bilara, and Baroonda in his way, and receiving the homage and nuzurs of their chiefs, he repaired to Asope, where he was entertained by the head of the Koompawuts. From Asope he went to the Bhatti fief of Lowairoh; thence to Reah, the chief abode of the Mairteas; thence to Kewnsir, of the Kurmsotes. Each chief entertained their young lord, around whom all the clans gathered. Then he repaired to Kaloo, the abode of Pabhoo Rao Dhandul,§ who came forth with all his bands; and at length he reached Pokurn, where he was joined by Doorgadas from the Dekhan, the 10th of Bhadoon 1744.

"Enayet Khan was alarmed. He assembled a numerous array to quell this fresh tumult, but death pounced upon him. The king was afflicted thereat. He tried another stratagem, and set up a pretended son of Jeswunt, styled Mohammed Shah, and offered Ajit the munsuf of five thousand to submit to his authority. The pretender also died as he set out for Jodhpur, and Sujait Khan was made the governor of Marwar in the place of Enayet. Now the Rahthores and Haras united, having cleared Maroo of their foes, attacked them in a foreign land. The garrisons of Maldoora and Poor Mandil were put to the sword, and here the Hara prince was killed by a cannon shot in leading the storm. Here they levied eight thousand mohurs in contribution and returned to Marwar, while the civil officers and Purohits made collections in his country; and thus passed 1744.

"The year 1745 commenced with proposals from Sujait Khan to hold Marwar in farm; he promised one-fourth of all transit duties if the Rahthores would respect foreign commerce: to this they agreed. The son of Enayet left Jodhpur for Delhi; he had reached Rainwal, but was overtaken by the Joda Hurnat, who released him both of wives and wealth. The Khan fled to the Cuchwahs for shelter. Sujah Beg, who left Ajmeer to release him, fared no better: he was attacked, defeated, and plundered by Mokundas Champawut.

* The Hindu poet says the Papiya bird becomes intoxicated with the flowers.

† A name now lost.

‡ Waving a brass vessel, filled with pearls, round his head.

§ Pabhoo Rao Rahthore is immortalized by the aid of his lance on this occasion; he was of the ancient chivalry of Maroo, and still held his allodial domain.

"In 1747, Sefi Khan was Hakim of Ajmeer; Doorga determined to attack him. The Hakim took post in the pass which defends the road; there Doorga assailed him, and made him fly to Ajmeer. The tidings reached the king; he wrote to the Khan, if he discomfited Doorgadas, he would raise him over all the khans of the empire; if he failed, he should send him bracelets,* and order Sujait from Jodhpur to supersede him. Sefi before abandoning his trust, tried to retain his honours by the circumvention of Ajit. He addressed a letter to him, saying he held the imperial sunnud for the restoration of his paternal domains, but that, as the king's representative, he must come and receive it. Ajit marched at the head of twenty thousand Rahthores, sending in advance Mokund Champawut to observe whether any treachery was contemplated. The snare was discovered and reported to Ajit, as he arrived at the foot of the pass beyond the mountains. 'Let us, however, have a sight of Ajidoorg as we are so near,' said the young prince, 'and receive the compliments of the Khan.' They moved on towards the city, and Sefi Khan had no alternative but to pay his obeisance to Ajit. To enjoy his distress, one said, 'let us fire the city.' The Hakim sat trembling for its safety and his own; he brought forth jewels and horses, which he presented to Ajit.

"In 1743, the troubles re-commenced in Mewar. Prince Umra rebelled against his father, Rana Jey Sing, and was joined by all his chiefs. The Rana fled to Godwar, and at Ganorah collected a force, which Umra prepared to attack. The Rana demanded succour of the Rahthores, and all the Mairteas hastened to relieve him; and soon after Ajit sent Doorgadas and Bugwan, with Rimmull Joda, and 'the eight ranks of Rahtores' to espouse the father's cause. But the Chondawuts and Suktawuts, the Jhalas and Chohans, rather than admit foreign interference in their quarrel, thought it better to effect a reconciliation between father and son; and thus the Rana was indebted to Marwar for the support of his throne.

"The year 1749 passed in negotiation to obtain the daughter of prince Akber, left in charge of Doorgadas, for whose honour Arungzeb was alarmed. as Ajit was reaching manhood; Narayandas Koolmbi was the medium of negotiation, and Sefi Khan caused all hostilities to cease while it lasted.

"In 1750, the Mooslem governors of Jodhpur, Jhalore, and Sewanoh, combined their forces against Ajit, who was again compelled to retreat to the mountains. Akho, the Balla, received their attack, but was defeated in the month of Magh. Another combat was hastened by the wanton slaughter of a *sandh*,† when the Hakim of Chank, with all his train, were made prisoners at Mokulsir by the Champawut Mokundas.

"To such straits were the Mooslems put in 1751, that many districts paid *chouth*, others tribute, and many tired of this incessant warfare, and unable to conquer their bread, took service with the Rahthores. This year, Kasim Khan and Lushkur Khan marched against Ajit, who took post at Beejipur. Doorga's son led the onset, and the Khan was defeated. With each year of Ajit grew the hopes of the Rahthores; while Arungzeb was afflicted at each month's growth of his grand-daughter. He wrote to Sujait, the Hakim of Jodhpur, to secure his

* A mark of contempt.

† One of those pampered bulls, allowed to wander at liberty, and fed by every one.

honour at whatever cost; his applications for Akber's daughter were unwearied.

"This year the *coco-nut studded with gems*,* two elephants and ten steeds, all richly caparisoned, were sent by the Rana to affiancé the daughter of his younger brother, Guj Sing, to Ajit. The present was accepted, and in the month of Jeit, the prince of the Rahthores repaired to Oodipur, where the nuptials were solemnized. In Asar he again married at Deolah.†

"In 1753, negotiations were renewed through Doorgadas, and the protracted restoration of the *Sultani* obtained the seat of his ancestors for the *Fodani*. Doorga was offered for himself the munsub of five thousand, which he refused; he preferred that Jhalore, Sewanchi, Sanchore, and Theraud, should revert to his country. Even Arung admired the honourable and distinguished treatment of his grand-daughter.

"In Pos 1757.‡ Ajit regained possession of his ancestral abode; on his reaching Jodhpur he slew a buffalo at each of its five gates. The Shahzada Sooltan led the way, Sujait being dead.§

"In 1759, Azim Shah again seized on Jodhpur, and Ajit made Jhalore his abode. Some of his chiefs now served the foe, some the Rana whose hopes were on Eklinga alone; while the lord of Amber served the king in the Dekhan. The enormities of the Asnoors had reached their height; the sacred kine were sacrificed even at Mathoorra, Pryag, and Okamandel; the Jogis and Byragis invoked heaven for protection, but iniquity prevailed as the Hindu strength decayed. Prayers were everywhere offered up to heaven to cleanse the land from the iniquities of the barbarians.|| In this year, the month of Magh 1759, the *Mittum Laggun*, (the 'sun in Gemini'), a son was born of the Chohani, who was called Abhye Sing, (See end of this chapter, for the Horoscope of Abhye Sing).

"In 1761, Eusoph was superseded by Murshid Kuli as Hakim of Jodhpur. On his arrival he presented the royal sunnud for the restoration of Mairta to Ajit. Koosul Sing the Mairtea *Sirmor*, with the Dhandul Gobindas, were ordered to take the charge, which incensed the son of Indur, (Mohkim Sing), who deemed his faithful service during his minority overlooked by this preference. He wrote to the king to nominate him to the command of Marwar, and that he would fulfil his charge to the satisfaction both of Hindu and Moslem.

"In 1761 the star of the foe began to decline. Moorshid Kuli, the Mogul, was relieved by Jaffier Khan. Mohkim's letter was intercepted. He had turned traitor to his prince, and joined the king's troops. Ajit

* The coco, the symbol of a marriage offer.

† Pertabgurgh Deolah, a small principality grown out of Marwar.

‡ I cannot now call to mind whether this break of four years in the chronicle of the bard Kurmidhan occurs in the original, or that in translating I left the hiatus from their being nothing interesting therein. The tyrant was now fully occupied in the Dekhan wars, and the Rajpoots had time to breathe.

§ The Shahzada must have been prince Azim, who was nominated viceroy of Guzerat and Marwar.

|| This record of the manifold injuries, civil and religious, under which the Hindoo nation groaned, is quite akin to the sentiments of the letter of remonstrance addressed by Rana Raj Sing to Arungezeb.—See Vol. I.

marched against them; he fought them at Droonara; the king's troops were defeated, and the rebel Eendawut was slain. This was in 1762.

"In 1763, Ibrahim Khan the king's lieutenant* at Lahore, passed through Marwar to relieve Azim in the vice-royalty of Guzerat. On the second day of Cheit, the obscure half of the moon, the joyful tidings arrived of the death of the king.† On the fifth, Ajit took to horse; he reached the town of Joda, and sacrificed to the gates, but the Assors feared to face him. Some hid their faces in fear, while others fled. The Mirza came down, and Ajit ascended to the halls of his ancestors. The wretched Yavans, now abandoned to the infuriated Rajpoots smarting under twenty-six years of misery, found no mercy. In hopeless despair they fled, and the wealth which they had amassed by extortion and oppression, returned to enrich the proprietor. The barbarians, in turn, were made captive; they fought, were slaughtered and dispersed. Some sought *sirna* (sanctuary), and found it; even the barbarian leader himself threw fear to the winds in the unconcealed sanctuary of the Koompawut. But the triumph of the Hindu was complete, when, to escape from perdition, their flying foes invoked Seeta-Ram and Hur-govind, begging their bread in the day, and taking to their heels at night. The chaplet of the Moolla served to count the name of Rana, and a handful of gold was given to have their beards removed.‡ Nothing but the despair and flight of the 'Mletcha' was heard throughout Moordhur. Mairta was evacuated, and the wounded Mokhim fled to Nagore. Sojot and Palli were regained, and the land returned to the Jodani. Jodgurh was purified from the contaminations of the barbarian with the water of the Ganges and the sacred Toolsi, and Ajit received the Tiluk of sovereignty.

Then Azim marched from the south and Moazim from the north. At Agra a mighty battle for empire took place between the two Assors, but Allum§ prevailed and got the throne. The tidings soon reached the king, that Ajit had plundered his armies in Maroo and taken possession of the 'cushion' of his fathers.

"The rainy season of 1764 had vanished, the king had no repose; he formed an army and came to Ajmeer. Then Huridas, the son of Bugwan, with the Oohur and Mangalea chiefs,|| and Rutna the leader of the Oodawuts, with eight hundred of their clan, entered the castle and swore to Ajit, that whatever might be his intentions, they were resolved to maintain the castle to the death. The royal army encamped at Bai Bilara, and Ajit prepared for the storm, but the king was advised to try peaceful arts, and an overture was made, and the messenger was sent back to the king accompanied by Nahur Khan. The embassy returned bearing the royal firman to Ajit; but before he would accept it, he said he would view the royal army, and on the first day of Phalagoon he left the hill of Joda and reached Beesilpur. Here he was received by a deputation from the King, headed by Sujait Khan, son of the Khankhanan, accompanied by the Raja of Badoria

* He is called the *sumdi*, or 'son-in-law of the king.'

† 5th Cheit. S 1763. The 28th Zekaud.

‡ The Rajpoots gave up beards the better to distinguish them from the Mooslems.

§ Shah Allum, who assumed the title of Bahadur Shah, on mounting the throne.

|| The Mangalea is a branch of the Ghelotes, severed from the original stem in the reign of Bappa Rawul eleven centuries ago.

and Rao Boodh Sing of Boondi:—the place of meeting was Peeper. That night passed in adjusting the terms of the treaty. The ensuing morn he marched forward at the head of all the men of Maroo; and at Anundpur the eyes of the king of the barbarians (*Mletcha*) fell on those of the lord of the earth. He gave him the title of *Tej Bahadur*.^{*} But fate decreed that the city of Joda was coveted by the king; by stealth he sent Mairab Khan to take possession, accompanied by the traitor Mokhim. Ajit burned with rage when he heard of this treachery, but he was compelled to dissimulate and accompany Allum to the Dekhan, and to serve under Kambuksh. Jey Sing of Amber† was also with the king, and had a like cause for discontent, a royal garrison being placed in Amber, and the *gadi* of the Raja bestowed on his younger brother, Beejoy Sing. Now the army rolled on like a sea overflowing its bounds. As soon as the king crossed the Nerbudda,‡ the Rajas executed their designs, and without saying a word, at the head of their vassals retrograded to Rajwarra. They repaired to Oodipur, and were received by Rana Umra with rejoicing and distinction, who advanced to conduct them to his capital. Seated together, the *Chaori* waving over their heads, they appeared like the *Triuna*.§ Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesa. From this hour the fortunes of the Assoors sunk, and virtue again began to shew herself.|| From Oodipur the two Rajas passed to Marwar. They reached Ahwa, and here and Champawut Singram, son of Oodibhan, spread the foot-carpet (*pug-moonda*) for his lord.

"The month of Sawan 1765 set in, and the hopes of the Asoor expired. Mairab was in consternation when he heard that Ajit had returned to his native land. On the 7th the hall of Joda was surrounded by thirty thousand Rahthores. On the 12th the gate of honour was thrown open to Mairab; he had to thank the son of Aiskurn¶ for his life. He was allowed an honourable retreat, and Ajit once more entered the capital of Maroo.

"Jey Sing encamped upon the banks of the Soor Sagar; but a prince without a country, he was unhappy. But as soon as the rains were passed, Ajmal, the sanctuary of the Cuchwaha, proposed to reinstate him in Amber. When conjoined they had reached Mairta, Agra and Delhi trembled. When they arrived at Ajmeer its governor sought *sirna* with the saint,** and paid the contributions demanded. Then, like the falcon, Ajit darted upon Sambhur; and here the vassals of Amber repaired from all quarters to the standard of their lord. With twelve thousand men, the Syed advanced along the edge of the salt lake, to encounter Ajmal. The Koompawut led the charge; a desperate battle ensued; Hussein, with six thousand men, lay on the field, while the rest took to flight and sought

* 'The warrior's sword.'

† This is the *Mirsa Raja*, Jey Sing;—the posterior Jey Sing had epithet *Sowae*.

‡ The Mooslem historian mentions that Bahadur was then *enroute* to Lahore. See Vol. I.

§ Tri-anga, the *triple-bodied*, or *tri-murti*.

|| The bard of Maroo passes over the important fact of the inter-marriage which took place on this occasion of the Rajpoot triple alliance.—See Vol. I.

¶ Doorgadas, who recommenced the acceptance of the proffered capitulation.

** The shrine of Khwaja Kootub.

refuge in the castle.* His lieutenant, the Purihar, *chief pandoo*,† here fell into the hands of Ajit; he then felt he had recovered Mundore. On intelligence of this history, the Asoors abandoned Amber, and having placed a garrison in Sambhur, in the month of Megsir, Ajit restored Jey Sing to Amber and having prepared to attack Bikanere. Ajit committed the administration of all civil affairs to the faithful Raghonath Bindarri, with the title of Dewan. He was well qualified, both from his experience in civil affairs and from his valour as a soldier.

"In Bhadoon of the year 1766, Arungzeb put to death Kambuksh,‡ and Jey sing entered into negotiations with the king. Ajit now went against Nagore; but Indur Sing being without resource, came forth and embraced Ajit's feet, who bestowed Ladnoo upon him as a heritage. But this satisfied not him who had been the lord of Nagore, and Indur carried his complaints to Delhi.§ The king was enraged—his threats reached the Rajas, who deemed it safe again to re-unite. They met at Koleo near Didwanah, and the king soon after reached Ajmeer. Thence he sent his firmans and the *punja* as terms to friendship to the Rajas: Nahur Khan, *chelah* of the king, was the bearer. They were accepted, and on the first Asar both the Rajas repaired to Ajmeer. Here the king received them graciously, in the face of the world; to Ajit he presented the sunnud of the *Nine Castles* of Maroo, and to Jey Sing that of Amber. Having taken leave of the king, the two Rajas went on the *purbh* to the sacred lake of Pooshkur. Here they separated for their respective domains, and Ajit reached Jodhpur in Sawun 1767. In this year he married a Gor Rani, and thus quenched the feud caused by Arjoon, who slew Umra Sing in the Aum-khas.|| Then he went on a pilgrimage to Curukhet, the field of battle of the Mahabharat, and made his ablutions in the fountain of Bhisma.¶ Thus 1767 passed away."

* Although the Morwar chronicler takes all the credit of this action, it was fought by the combined Rajpoots of the alliance. See. —Vol. I.

† Pandoo is the square, the shield-bearer, of the Rajpoots.

‡ Kambuksh was the child of the old age of the tyrant Arungzeb, by a Rajpoot princess. He appears to have held him in more affection than any of his other sons, as his letter on his death-bed to him testifies.—See Vol. I.

§ Indur Sing was the son of Umra, the eldest brother of Jeswunt, and the father of Mohkim, who, being disappointed of the Government of Mairta, deserted to the king.

|| This is another of the numerous instances of contradictory feelings in the Rajpoot character. Umra, elder brother of Jeswunt, was banished from Marwar, lost his birth-right, and was afterwards slain at court as already related. His son, Indur Sing, and grandson Mohkim, from Nagore, which they held in separate grants from the king, never forgot their title as elder branch of the family, and eternally contested their claim against Ajit. Still, as a Rahthore, he was bound to avenge the injuries of a Rahthore, even though his personal foe.—Singular inconsistency!

¶ There is an anecdote regarding the fountain of this classic field of strife, the Troad of Rajasthan, which well exemplifies the superstitious belief of the warlike Rajpoot. The emperor Bahadur Shah was desirous to visit this scene of the exploits of the heroes of antiquity, stimulated no doubt, by his Rajpootani queen, or his mother, also of this race. He was seated under a tree which shaded the sacred fount, named after the great leader of the *Curus*, his queen by his side, surrounded by *kanats* to hide

Here let us for a while, suspend the narrative of the chronicler, and take a retrospective glance at the transactions of the Rahthores, from the year 1737, the period of Raja Jeswunt's death at Kabul, to the restoration of Ajit, presenting a continuous conflict of thirty years' duration. In vain might we search the annals of any other nation for such inflexible devotion as marked the Rahtthore character through this period of strife, during which, to use their own phrase, "hardly a chieftain died on his pallet." Let those who deem the Hindu warrior void of patriotism read the rude chronicle of this thirty years' war; let them compare it with that of any country, and do justice to the magnanimous Rajpoot. This narrative, the simplicity of which is the best voucher for its authenticity, presents an uninterrupted record of of patriotism and disinterested loyalty. It was a period when the sacrifice of these principles was rewarded by the tyrant king with the highest honour of the state; nor are we without instances of the temptation being too strong to be withstood; but they are rare, and serve only to exhibit, in more pleasing colours, the virtues of the tribe which spurned the attempts at seduction. What a splendid example is the heroic Doorgadas of all that constitutes the glory of the

them from profane eyes, when a vulture perched upon the tree with a bone in its beak, which falling in the fountain, the bird set up a scream of laughter. The king looked up in astonishment, which was greatly increased when the vulture addressed him in human accents, saying, "that in a former birth she was a *Jogini* and was in the field of slaughter of the *great war*, whence she flew away with the dissevered arm of one of its mighty warriors, with which she alighted on that very tree, that the arm was encumbered with a ponderous golden bracelet, in which, as an amulet, were set thirteen brilliant symbols of Siva, and that after devouring the flesh, she dropped the bracelet, which fell into the fountain, and it was this awakened coincidence which had caused "the scream of laughter." We must suppose that this, the *pulchara* of the field of slaughter, spoke Sanscrit or its dialect interpreted by his Rajpoot queen. Instantly the pioneers were commanded to clear the fountain, and behold the relic of the Mahabharat, with the symbolic emblems of the god all-perfect! and so large were they, that the emperor remarked they would answer excellently well for 'slaves of the carpet.' The Hindu princes then present, among whom were the Rajas Ajit and Jey Sing, were shocked at this levity, and each entreated of the king one of the phallic symbols. The Mirza Raja obtained two, and both are yet at Jeypur, one in the Temple of Silla Devi, (1) the other in that of Govinda. Ajit had one, still preserved and worshipped at the shrine of *Girdhari* at Jodpur. My old tutor and friend, the Yati Gyanchandra, who told the story while he read the chronicles as I translated them, has often seen and made homage to all the three relics. There is one, he believed, at Boondi or Kotah, and the Rana by some means obtained another. They are of pure rock crystal, and as each weighs some pounds, there must have been giants in the days of the Bharat, to have supported thirteen in one armet. Homer's heroes were pigmies to the Curus, whose bracelet we may doubt if Ajax could have lifted. My venerable tutor, though liberal in his opinions, did not chuse to dissent from the general belief, for man, he said, had beyond a doubt greatly degenerated since the heroic ages, and was rapidly approximating to the period, the immediate forerunner of a universal renovation, when only dwarfs would creep over the land.

(1) The goddess of arms, their Pallas.

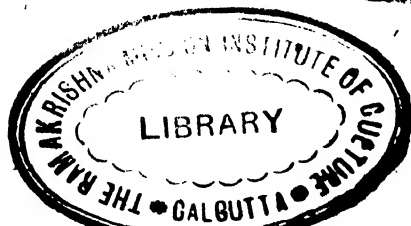
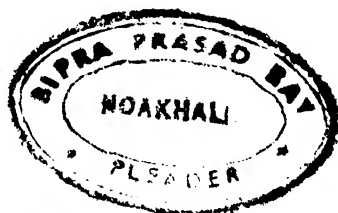
Rajpoot! Valour, loyalty, integrity, combined with prudence in all the difficulties which surrounded him, are qualities which entitle him to the admiration which his memory continues to enjoy. The temptations held out to him were almost irresistible: not merely the gold, which he and thousands of his brethren would alike have spurned, but the splendid offer of power in the proffered 'munsub of five thousand,' which would at once have lifted him from his vassal condition to an equality with the princes and chief nobles of the land. Doorga had, indeed but to name his reward; but, as the bard justly says, he was '*amolac*,' beyond all price, '*unoko*,' unique. Note even revenge, so dear to the Rajpoot, turned him aside from the dictates of true honour. The foul assassination of his brother, the brave Soning, effected through his enemies, made no alteration in his humanity whenever the chance of war placed his foe in his power; and in this, his policy seconded his virtue. His chivalrous conduct, in the extrication of prince Akber from inevitable destruction had he fallen into his father's hands, was only surpassed by his generous and delicate behaviour towards the prince's family, which was left in his care, forming a marked contrast to that of the enemies of his faith on similar occasions. The virtue of the grand-daughter of Arungzeb, in the sanctuary (*sirna*) of Droonara,* was in far better keeping than in the trebly-walled harem of Agra. Of his energetic mind, and the control he exerted over those of his confiding brethren, what a proof is given, in his preserving the secret of the abode of his prince throughout the six first years of his infancy! But, to conclude our eulogy in the words of their bard: he has reaped the immortality destined for good deeds; his memory is cherished, his actions are the theme of constant praise, and his picture on his white horse, old, yet in vigour, is familiar amongst the collections of portraits of Rajpootana.†

But there was not a clan, or family, that did not produce men of worth in this protracted warfare, which incited constant emulation, and the bards of each had abundant materials to emblazon the pages of their chronicles. To the recollection of these, their expatriated descendants allude in the memorial‡ of their hardships from the cruel policy of the reigning chief, the last lineal descendant of the prince, whose history, has just been narrated. We now resume the narrative in the language of the chronicle.

* Doorga's fief on the Looni.

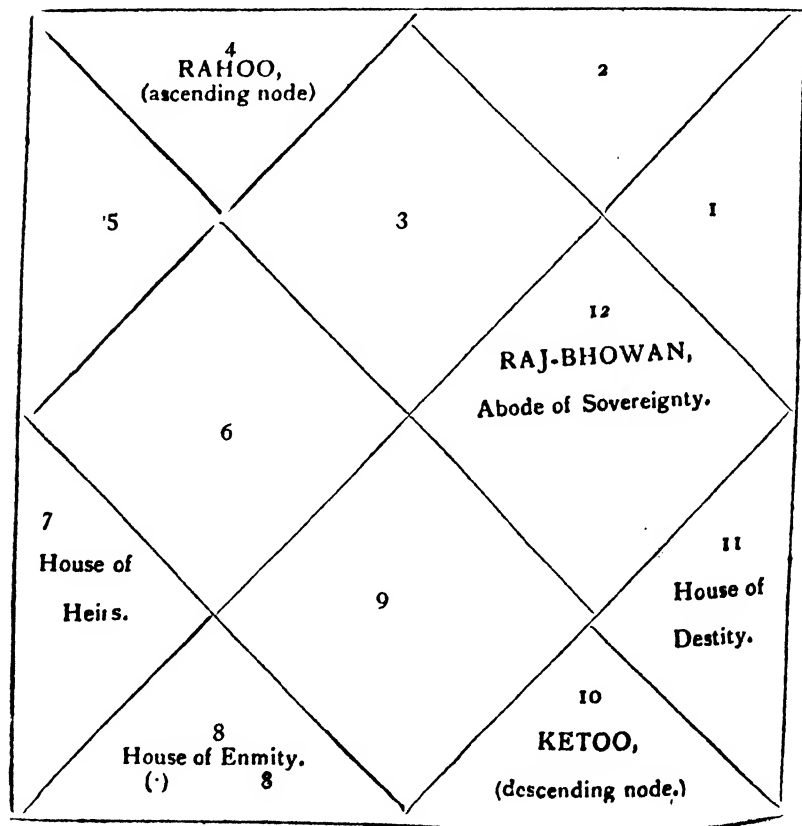
† See Vol. I.

‡ See Vol. I.



HOROSCOPE OF RAJA ABHYE SING.

In the *janam-patri*, or horoscope of Abhye Sing (See Vol. I.) the 4th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th and 12th houses denote the destinies of the heir of Ajit. In the 4th we have the monster *Rahoo*, the author of eclipses. Of the 7th or house of heirs, the Moon and Venus have taken possession; of the 8th or house of strife, the Sun and Mercury. In the 10th is *Ketoo*, brother of *Rahoo*, both signs of evil portent. Mars rides in the house of fate, while Saturn and Jupiter are together in the abode of sovereignty. Like that of every man living, the horoscope of the heir of Maroo is filled with good and evil: could the *Jotishi*, or astrological seer, have put the parricidal sign in the house of destiny, he might have claimed some merit for superior intelligence. Those who have ever consulted any works on this foolish pursuit, will observe that the diagrams of the European astrologers are exact copies of the Hindu, in proof of which I have inserted this: to trace darkness as well as light from the East.



CHAPTER IX.

"In 1768 Ajit was sent against Nahn and the chiefs of the snowy mountains, whom he reduced to obedience. Thence he went to the Ganges, where he performed his ablutions, and in the spring he returned to Jodhpur.

"In 1769 Shah Allum went to heaven. The torch of discord was lighted by his sons, with which they fired their own dwelling. Azim Ooshawn was slain, and the umbrella of royalty waved over the head of Moiz-oo-deen. Ajit sent the Bindarri Kaimsi to the presence, who returned with the sunnud of the vice-royalty of Guzerat. In the month of Megsir 1769, he prepared an army to take possession of the *Satra-sches*,* when fresh dissensions broke out in the house of the Chagitai. The Syeds slew Moiz-oo-deen, and Ferochsear became king. Zoofecar Khan was put to death, and with him departed the strength of the Moguls. Then the Syeds became headstrong. Ajit was commanded to send his son, Abhya Sing, now seventeen years of age, with his contingent, to court; but Ajit having learned that the traitor Mokund was there and in great favour, sent a trusty band, who slew him even in the middle of Delhi. This daring act brought the Syed with an army to Jodhpur. Ajit sent off the men of wealth to Sewanoh, and his son and family to the desert of Rardurroh.† The capital was invested, and Abhya Sing demanded as a hostage for the conduct of Ajit, who was also commanded to court. To neither was the Raja inclined, but the advice of the Dewan, and still more of Kesar the bard, who gave as a precedent the instance of Rao Ganga when invaded by the Lodi, Dowlut Khan, who entrusted his affairs to his son Maldeo, was unanimously approved.‡ Abhya Sing was recalled from Rardurroh, and marched with Hosein Alli to Delhi, the end of Asar, 1770. The heir of Maroo received the munsob of five thousand from the king.

"Ajit followed his son to the court, then held at Delhi. There the sight of the altars raised over the ashes of chiefs who had perished to preserve him in his infancy, kindled all his wrath, and he meditated revenge on the whole house of Timoor. Four distinct causes for displeasure had Ajmal:—

- "1st. The *Norosa*;§
- "2nd. The compulsory marriage of their daughters with the king;
- "3rd. The killing of kine;
- "4th. The *Feseya*, or capitation tax."||

Here we must interrupt the narrative, in order to supply an important omission of the bard, who slurs over the hardest|| of the conditions demanded of Ajit on the invasion of the Syed, *viz.*, the giving a daughter to Ferochsear, the important political results of which are already related in the first part of this work.¶ This compulsory marriage only aggravated Ajit's desire of vengeance, and he entered into the views of the Syeds with the true spirit of his father; obtaining meanwhile, as the price of coalition, the compliance with the specified demands, besides others of

* The 'seventeen thousand' towns of Guzerat.

† The tract west of the Looni.

‡ They slur over the most important demand—a daughter to wife to the king—it is at this Ajit hesitates, and for which the precedent is given.

§ See Vol. I.

|| Described in Vol. I.

¶ See Vol. I.

less moment, such as "that the bell for prayer should be allowed to toll in the quarters of the city allotted to the Rajpoots, and that their temples should be held sacred; and last, but not least, the aggrandisement of his hereditary dominions." Let us again recur to the chronicle.

"In Jeit 1771, having secured all his wishes, Ajit left the court, and with the renewed patent as viceroy of Guzerat, returned to Jodhpur. Through Kaimsi, his minister, the *jebeya* was repealed. The Hindoo race owed eternal obligation to the Mor (*crown*) of Mordhur, the sanctuary of princes in distress.

"In 1772, Ajit prepared to visit his government: Abhya Sing accompanied his father. He first proceeded to Jhalore, where he passed the rainy season. Thence he attacked the '*Mewasso*':* first Neemuji, which he took, when the Deoras paid him tribute. Feeroz Khan advanced from Palhanpur to meet him. The Rana of Therad paid a lack of rupees. Cambay was invested and paid; and the Koli chief, Kemkurn, was reduced. From Patun, Sukta the Champawut, with Beejo Bindarri, sent the year preceding to manage the province, came forth to meet him.

"In 1773, Ajit reduced the Jhala of Hulwud, and Jam of Noanuggar, who paid as tribute three lacs of rupees, with twenty-five choice steeds; and having settled the province, he worshipped at Dwarica, and bathed in the Gomtee.† Thence he returned to Jodhpur, where he learned that Indur Sing had regained Nagore; but he stood not before Ajit.

"The year 1774 had now arrived. The Syeds and their opponents were engaged in civil strife. Hosein Alli was in the Dekhan, and the mind of Abdoolla was alienated from the king. Paper on paper came, inviting Ajit. He marched by Nagore, Mairta, Poshkur, Marote, and Sambhur, whose garrisons he strengthened, to Delhi. From Marote he sent Abhye Sing back to take care of Jodhpur. The Syed advanced from Delhi to meet the *Dhunni* (lord) of Marwar, who alighted at Aliverdi's serai. Here the Syed and Ajit formed a league, to oppose Jey Sing and the Moguls, while the king remained like a snake coiled up in a closed vessel. To get rid of their chief opponent Zoolfecar Khan, was first determined.

"When the king heard that Ajit had reached Delhi, he sent the Hara Rao Bheem of Kotah, and Khandowran Khan to introduce him to the presence. Ajit obeyed. Besides his own Rahthores, he was accompanied by Rao Bishen Sing of Jessulmeer, and Paddum Sing of Derawul, with Futteh Sing, a noble of Mewar, Maun Sing Rahthore, chief of Seeta Mhow, and the Chunderawut, Gopal of Rampura, besides Oodi Sing of Kundalia, Sakut Sing of Munohurpur, Kishen of Kulchipur, and many

* *Mewasso* is a term given to the fastnesses in the mountains, which the aboriginal tribes, Kolis, Meenas, and Mairs, and not unfrequently the Rajpoots, make their retreats; and in the present instance the bard alludes to the '*Mewasso*' of the Deoras of Sirohi and Aboo, which has annoyed the descendants of Ajit to this hour, and has served to maintain the independence of the Chohan tribe.

† This is all in the district of Oka (*Oka-mandala*), where the Badhails fixed themselves on the migration of Sevaji from Canouj. It would have been instructive had the bard deigned to have given us any account of the recognition which this visit occasioned, and which beyond a doubt caused the '*books of Chronicles and Kings*' to be opened and referred to.

others.* The meeting took place at the Moti Bagh. The king bestowed the *munsab* of *Heft Hazari* (seven thousand horse) on Ajit, and added a crore of *dams* to his rent-roll. He presented him with the insignia of the *Mahi Moratib*, with elephants and horses, a sword and dagger, a diamond aigrette (*Sirpech*) and plume, and a double string of pearls. Having left the presence, Ajit went to visit Abdoolah Khan. The Syed advanced to meet him, and his reception, with his attendants, was distinguished. They renewed their determination to stand or fall together. Their conference caused dismay to the Moguls, who lay in ambush to put Ajit to death.

"On the second day of the bright moon of Pos, 1775, the king honoured Ajit with a visit. Ajit seated the king on a throne formed of bags of rupees to the amount of one lack.† and presented elephants, horses, and all that was precious. In the month of Falgoun, Ajit and the Syed went to visit the king; and after the conference wrote to Hosein Alli revealing their plans, and desiring his rapid march to unite with them from the Dekhan. Now the heavens assumed portentous appearances: the *desa*‡ was red and fiery; jackasses brayed unusually; dogs barked; thunder rolled without a cloud; the court, late so gay, was now sad and gloomy; all were forebodings of change at Delhi. In twenty days, Hosein reached Delhi: his countenance was terrific; his drum, which now beat close to the palace, was the knell of falling greatness. He was accompanied by myriads of horse. Delhi was enveloped in the dust raised by his hostile steeds. They encamped in the north of the city, and Hosein joined Ajit and his brother. The trembling king sent congratulations and gifts; the Mogul chiefs kept aloof in their abodes; even as the quail cowers in the grass when the falcon hovers over it, so did the Moguls when Hosein reached Delhi. The lord of Amber was like a lamp left without oil. "On the second day, all convened at Ajit's tents, on the banks of the Jumna, to execute the plans now determined upon. Ajit mounted his steed; at the head of his *Rahthores*, he marched direct to the palace, and at every post he placed his own men: he looked like the fire destined to cause *pralaya*.§ When the sun appears darkness flies; when the oil fails the lamp goes out: so is it with crowns and kings, when good faith and justice, the oil that feeds their power, is wanting. The crash which shivered the umbrella of Delhi reverberated throughout the land. The royal treasures were plundered. None amidst the Moguls came forward to rescue their king (Ferochsear), and Jey Sing fled from the scene of destruction. Another king was set up, but in four months he was seized with a distemper and died. Then Dowlah|| was placed on the throne. But the Moguls at Delhi set up Neko Shah at Agra, and Hosein marched against them, leaving Ajit and Abdoola with the king.¶

* This list well exemplifies the tone now assumed by the *Rahthores*: but this grand feudal assemblage was in virtue of his office of viceroy of Guzerat. Each and all of these chieftainships the author is as familiar with as with the pen he now holds.

† £10,000 to £12,000.

‡ The final doom.

§ Omen of the quarter.

|| Ruffeh-pol Dowla.

¶ This is both minutely and faithfully related, and fully as much so as the Mahomedan record of this black deed. We have already (see Vol. I.) described it, and given a translation of an autograph letter of the prince of Amber, written on this memorable day. The importance of the transaction, as well as the desire to shew the Bardic version, will justify its repetition.

"In 1776, Ajit and the Syed moved from Delhi; but the Moguls surrendered Neko Shah, who was confined in Selimgurh. At this time the king died, and Ajit and the Syeds made another, and placed Mahomed Shah on the throne. Many countries were destroyed, and many were made to flourish, during the dethronement of kings by Ajit. With the death of Ferochsear Jey Sing's views were crushed, and the Syeds determined to punish him. The lord of Amber was like water carried in a platter.* The king reached the Durgah at Sikri, in progress to Amber, and here the chieftains sought the *sirna* (sanctuary) of Ajit. They said the *Khoorm* was lost if he protected them not against the Syeds. Even as Krishna saved Arjoon in the Bharat, so did Ajit take Jey Sing under his protection. He sent the chiefs of the Champawuts and his minister to dispel his fears; they returned with the lord of Amber, who felt like one who had escaped the doom (*pralaya*). Ajit placed one monarch on the throne, and saved another from destruction. The king bestowed upon him the grant of Ahmedabad, and gave him permission to visit his home. With Jey Sing of Amber, and Bood Sing Hara of Boondi, he marched for Jodhpur, and in the way contracted a marriage with the daughter of the Shekhawut chief of Munohurpoor. In the month of Ashin, he reached Jodagir, when the lord of Amber encamped at Soor Sagur, and the Hara Rao north of the town.

"The cold season had fled; the spring (*bussunt*) approached. The peacock was intoxicated with the nectar-drops distilled from the sweet blossomed *ama* (mango); the rich sap exuded; the humming-bees clustered round the flowers; new leaves budded forth; songs of joy resounded; the hearts of gods, men, and women expanded with mirth. It was then the lord of Amber was bedecked in saffron robes to espouse the 'virgin of the sun' (*Surya Kumari*), the child of Ajit. On this he had consulted the Champawuts, and according to ancient usage, the *Ad-Purdhan*, or chief minister, the Koompawut; likewise the Bindarri Dewan, and the Guru. But were I to dwell on these festivities, this book would become too large; I therefore say but little!

"The rains of 1777 set in, and Jey Sing and Bood Sing remained with Ajit, when a messenger arrived with tidings that the Moguls had assassinated the Syeds, and were now on the watch for Ajit. He drew his sword, and sword he would possess himself of Ajmer. He dismissed the lord of Amber. In twelve days after Ajit reached Mairta. In the face of day he drove the Moslem from Ajmer and made it his own. He slew the king's governor and seized on Tarragurh.† Once more the bell of prayers was heard in the temple, while the *bang*‡ of the Mesjid was silent. Where the *Koran* was read, the *Puran* was now heard, and the Mundira took the place of the Mosque. The Kazi made way for the Brahmin, and the pit of burnt sacrifice (*homa*) was dug, where the sacred kine were slain. He took possession of the salt lakes of Sambhur and Didwanoh, and the records were always moist with inserting fresh conquests. Ajit ascended his own throne; the umbrella of supremacy he waved over his head. He coined in his own name, established his own *gus* (measure), and *seer* (weight), his own courts of justice, and a new scale of rank for his chiefs, with nalkees and mace-bearers, nobuts and standards, and every emblem

* In allusion to his vacillation, for which the 'Mirza Raja' was notorious.

† The *Star Fort*, the castle of Ajmer.

‡ The call to prayer of the Moslem.

of sovereign rule. Ajmal in Ajmer, was equal to Aspati in Delhi.* The intelligence spread over the land; it reached even Mecca and Iran, that Ajit had exalted his own faith, while the rites of Islam, were prohibited throughout the land of Maroo.

'In 1778, the king determined to regain Ajmer. He gave the command to Mozuffur, who in the rains advanced towards Marwar. Ajit entrusted the conduct of this war to his son, the 'shield of Maroo,' the 'fearless' (*Abhya*), with the eight great vassals, and thirty thousand horse; the Champawuts on the right, the Koompawuts on the left, while the Kurumsotes, Mairteas, Jodas, Eendos, Bhattis, Sonigurras, Deoras, Kheechies, Dhonduls and Gogawuts,† composed the main body. At Amber, the Rahthores and imperialists came in sight; but Mozuffur disgraced himself, and retired within that city without risking an encounter. Abhya Sing, exasperated at this display of pusillanimous bravado, determined to punish the king. He attacked Shahjehanpur, sacked Narnol, levied contributions on Patun (*Tuarvati*) and Rewari. He gave the villages to the flames, and spread conflagration and consternation even to Aliverdi's Serai. Delhi and Agra trembled with affright; the Asoors fled without their shoes at the deeds of Abhya, whom they styled *Dhonkul*, 'the exterminator.' He returned by Sambhur and Ludhana, and here he married the daughter of the chief of the Narooocas.‡

"In 1779, Abhya Sing remained at Sambhur, which he strengthened, and hither his father Ajit came from Ajmer. The meeting was like that between 'Kasyapa and Surya;' for he had broken the bow of Mozuffur and made the Hindu happy. The king sent his *Chelah*, Nahur Khan, to expostulate with Ajit; but his language was offensive, and the field of Sambhur devoured the tiger lord (Nahur Khan) and his four thousand followers. The son of Choramun the Jat,§ now claimed sanctuary with Ajit. Sick of these dissensions, the unhappy Mahomed Shah determined to abandon his crown, and retire to Mecca. But determined to revenge the death of Nahur Khan, he prepared a formidable army. He collected (the contingents of) the twenty-two Satraps|| of the empire, and placed at their head Jey Sing of Amber, Hyder Kooli, Eradut Khan Bungush, etc., In the month of Srawun (July), Taragurgh was invested; Abhya Sing marched out and left its defence to Umra Sing. It had held out four

* This exact imitation of the manners of the imperial court is still strictly maintained at Jodpore. The account of the measures which followed the possession of Ajmer is taken from the chronicle *Surya Prakas*; the only part not entirely translated from the *Raj Roopac Akhcat*. Ajmal is a license of the poet, where it suits his rhyme, for Ajit. Aspati, 'lord of steeds,' is the common epithet applied to the emperors of Delhi. It is, however, but the second degree of paramount power—Gujpati 'lord of elephants;' is the first.

† The two latter tribes are amongst the most ancient of the allodial chieftains of the desert; the Dhonduls being descendants of Rao Gango: the Gogawuts, of the famous Goga the Chohan, who defended the Sutlej in the earliest Moslem invasion recorded. Both Goga and his steed *Fowadia* are immortal in Rajasthan. The author had a chestnut Cattia-war, called *Fowadia*: he was perfection, and a piece of living fire when mounted, scorning every pace but the antelope's bounds and curvets.

‡ One of the great clans of Amber; of whom more hereafter.

§ Founder of the Bhurtpore state.

|| The Byceas, or 'twenty-two' viceroys of India.

months, when through the prince of Amber (Jey Sing,) Ajit listened to terms, which were sworn to on the *Koran* by the nobles of the king; and he agreed to surrender Ajmer. Abhya Sing then accompanied Jey Sing to the camp. It was proposed that in testimony of his obedience he should repair to the presence. The prince of Amber pledged himself; but the fearless (Abhya) placed his hand on his sword, saying, 'this is my surety!'

The heir of Marwar was received by the king with the utmost honour; but being possessed of a double portion of that arrogance which forms the chief characteristic of his race, (more especially of the Rahtore and Chohan, from which he sprang), his reception nearly produced at Delhi a repetition of the scene recorded in the history of his ancestor Umra at Agra. Knowing that his father held the first place on the king's right hand, he considered himself, as his representative, entitled to the same honour, and little heeding the unbending etiquette of the proudest court in the world, he unceremoniously hustled past all the dignitaries of the state, and had even ascended a step of the throne, when, checked by one of the nobles, Abhya's hand was on his dagger, and but for the presence of mind of the monarch "who threw his own chaplet round his neck" to restrain him, the Divan would have been deluged with blood.

We shall now drop the chronicles, and in recording the murder of Ajit, the foulest crime in the annals of Rajasthan, exemplify the mode in which their poetic historians gloss over such events. It was against Ajit's will that his son went to court, as if he had a presentiment of the fate which awaited him, and which has been already circumstantially related.* The authors from whose records this narrative is chiefly compiled, were too polite to suffer such a stigma to appear in their chronicles, 'written by desire' and under the eye of the parricide, Ajit's successor. The *Surya Prakas* merely says, "at this time Ajit went to heaven;" but affords no indication of the person who sent him there. The *Raj Roopaca*, however, not bold enough to avow the mysterious death of his prince, yet too honest altogether to pass it over, has left an expressive blank leaf at this part of his chronicle, certainly not accidental, as it intervenes between Abhya Sing's reception at court, and the incidents following his father's death, which I translate *verbatim*, as they present an excellent picture of the results of a Rajpoot potentate's demise.

"Abhya, a second Ajit, was introduced to the *Aspati*; his father heard the news and rejoiced. But this world is a fable,—a lie. Time will sooner or later prey on all things. What king, what raja can avoid the path leading to extinction? The time allotted for our sojourn here is predetermined; prolong it we cannot. The decree penned by the hand of the Creator is engraven upon each forehead at the hour of birth. Neither addition nor subtraction can be made. Fate (*hanhar*) must be fulfilled. It was the command of *Govinda*† that Ajit, (the Avatar of Indra) should obtain immortality, and leave his renown in the world beneath. Ajit, so long a thorn in the side of his foe, was removed to *Paraloca*‡. He kept afloat the faith of the Hindu, and sunk the Moslem in shame. In the face of day, the lord of Maroo took the road which leads to Paradise (*Vaicoontha*). Then dismay seized the city; each looked

* See Vol. I.

† The sovereign judge of mankind.

‡ 'The other world;' *lit.*, 'another place.'

with dread in his neighbour's face as he said, 'our sun has set !' But when the day of *Yama-raj** arrives, who can retard it ? Were not the five *Pandus* enclosed in the mansion of Himalaya ?† Harchund escaped not the universal decree ; nor will gods, men, or reptiles avoid it, not even *Vicrama* or *Karna* ; all fall before *Yama*. How then could Ajit hope to escape ?

"On Asar, the 13th, the dark half of the moon of 1780, seventeen hundred warriors of the eight ranks of Maroo, for the last time marched before their lord ‡. They placed his body in a boat,§ and carried him to the pyre,|| made of sandal wood and perfumes, with heaps of cotton, oil, and camphor. But this is a subject of grief : how can the bard enlarge on such a theme ? The Nazir went to the *Rawula*¶ and as he pronounced the words '*Rao sidaoe*,' the Chohani queen, with sixteen damsels in her suite, came forth : 'This day,' said she, 'is one of joy ; my race shall be illustrated ; our lives have passed together, how then can I leave him ?'***

"Of noble race was the Bhattiani queen, a scion (*sakha*) of Jessul, and daughter of Birjung. She put up a prayer to the Lord who wields the discus,†† 'With joy I accompany my lord ; that my fealty (*sati*) may be accepted, rests with thee.' In like manner did the Gazelle (*Mirgavati*) of Derawul,‡‡ and the Tuar queen of pure blood,§§ the Chaora Rani,||| and her of Shekhavati, invoke the name of Heri, as they determined to join their lord. For these six queens death had no terrors ; but they were the affianced wives of their lord : the curtain wives of affection, to the number of fifty-eight, determined to offer themselves a sacrifice to Agni,¶¶ 'Such another opportunity,' said they, 'can never occur, if we survive our lord ; disease will seize and make us a prey in our apartments. Why then quit the society of our lord, when at all events we must fall into the hands of *Yama*, for whom the human race is but a mouthful ? Let us leave the iron age (*Kalyuga*) behind us.' 'Without our lord, even life is death,' said the Bhattiani, as she bound the beads of Toolsi round her neck, and made the *tilac* with earth from the Ganges. While thus each spoke, Nathoo, the Nazir,*** thus addressed them : 'This is no amusement ; the sandal-wood you now anoint with is cool : but will your resolution abide, when you remove it with the flames of Agni ? When this scorches your tender frames, your hearts may fail, and the desire to recede will disgrace your lord's memory. Reflect, and remain where you are. You have lived like *Indrani*,††† nursed in softness amidst flowers and perfumes ; the winds of heaven never offended you, far less the flames of fire.' But to all his arguments they replied : 'The

* 'Lord of hell.' † *Him*, 'ice ;' and *alya*, 'an abode.'

‡ Both head and feet are uncovered in funeral processions.

§ *Id est* a vehicle formed like a boat, perhaps figurative of the sail crossing the 'Voiturna,' or Styx of the Hindu.

|| For the mode of conveying princes to their final abode, I refer the reader to a description in Vol. I. *Trans. Royal Asiatic Society*.

¶ The queen's palace.

** This is the lady whom Ajit married in his non-age, the mother of the Parricide.

†† *Crishna*. ‡‡ Ancient capital of the Bhattis.

§§ Descended from the ancient dynasty of the Hindu kings of Delhi.

||| Tribe of the first dynasty of Anhulwara Pattun. ¶¶ The fire.

*** The Nazir (a Moslem epithet) has the charge of the harem.

††† The queen of heaven.

world we will abandon, but never our lord.' They performed their ablutions, decked themselves in their gayest attire, and for the last time made obeisance to their lord in his car. The ministers, the bards, the family priests (*Purohīts*), in turn, expostulated with them. The chief queen (*Patrani*), the Chohani, they told to indulge her affection for her sons, Abhya and Bukhta; to feed the poor, the needy, the holy, and lead a life of religious devotion. The queen replied: 'Koonṭi, the wife of Pandu, did not follow her lord; she lived to see the greatness of the *five brothers*, her sons; but were her expectations realized? The life is a vain shadow; this dwelling one of sorrow; let us accompany our lord to that of fire, and there close it.'

"The drum sounded; the funeral train moved on; all invoked the name of *Heri*.* Charity was dispensed like falling rain, while the countenances of the queens were radiant as the sun. From heaven Uma† looked down; in recompense of such devotion she promised they should enjoy the society of Ajit in each successive transmigration. As the smoke, emitted from the house of flame, ascended to the sky, the assembled multitudes shouted *Khaman! Khaman!* 'well done! well done!' The pile flamed like a volcano; the faithful queens lavd their bodies in the flame, as do the celestials in the lake of *Mansarwar*.‡ They sacrificed their bodies to their lord, and illustrated the races whence they sprung. The gods above exclaimed. '*Dhun Dhun*§ Ajit!' who maintained the faith, and overwhelmed the Asuras.' Savitri, Gouri, Sarasvati, Gunga and Gomti|| united in doing honour to these faithful queens. Forty-five years, three months, and twenty-two days, was the space of Ajit's existence, when he went to inhabit Amrapoora, an immortal abode!"

Thus closed the career of one of the most distinguished princes who over pressed the 'cushion' of Maroo; a career as full of incident as any life of equal duration. Born amidst the snows of Cabul, deprived at his birth of both parents, one from grief, the other by suicidal custom; saved from the Herodian cruelty of the king by the heroism of his chiefs, nursed amidst the rocks of Aboo or the intricacies of the Aravalli until the day of danger passed, he issued forth, still an infant, at the head of his brave clans, to redeem the inheritance so iniquitously wrested from him. In the history of mankind there is nothing to be found presenting

* *Heri* Crishna is the mediator and preserver of the Hindu Triad; his name alone is invoked in the funeral rites. (See Vol. I.) The following extract from Dr. Wilkins' translation of the *Gesta* will best disclose his attributes:—Crishna speaks:

"I am the journey of the good; the comforter; the creator; the witness; the resting-place; the asylum; and the friend. I am generation and dissolution; the place where all things are deposited, and the inexhaustible soul of all nature. I am death and immortality; I am never-failing time; the preserver, whose face is turned on all sides. I am all-grasping death; and I am the resurrection of those who are about to die."

† A name of Doorga, the Hindu Juno.

‡ The sacred lake in Thibet.

§ *Dhun* is 'riches,' but is here used in the sense of glory; so that riches and glory are synonymous in term with the Hindu, as in practice in the west; the one may always command the other, at least that species of it for which nine-tenths of mankind contend, and are satisfied with obtaining.

|| Celestial queen.

a more brilliant picture of fidelity, than that afforded by the Rahtthore clans in their devotion to their prince, from his birth until he worked out his own and his country's deliverance. It is one of those events which throw a gleam of splendour upon the dark picture of feudalism, more prolific perhaps in crime than in virtue. That of the Rajpoots, indeed, in which consanguinity is superadded to the other reciprocalities which bind a feudal body, wears the more engaging aspect of a vast family. How affecting is the simple language of these brave men, while daily shedding their blood for a prince whom, until he had attained his seventh year, they had never beheld! "Without the sight of our lord, bread and water have no flavour," and how successfully does the bard pourtray the joy of these stern warriors, when he says, "as the lotus expands at the sun-beam, so did the heart of each Rahtthore at the sight of their infant sovereign; they drank his looks even as the *pepaya* in the month of Asoj sips the drops of *amrita* (ambrosia) from the *Champa*."

The prodigality with which every clan lavished its blood, through a space of six-and-twenty years, may in part be learned from the chronicle; and in yet more forcible language from the cenotaphs scattered over the country, erected to the *manes* of those who fell in this religious warfare. Were other testimony required, it is to be found in the annals of their neighbours and their conquerors; while the traditional couplets of the bards, familiar to every Rajpoot, embalm the memory of the exploits of their forefathers.

Ajit was a prince of great vigour of mind as well as of framee Valour was his inheritance; he displayed this hereditary quality at the early age of eleven, when he visited his enemy in his capital, displaying a courtesy which can only be comprehended by a Rajpoot. Amongst the numerous desultory actions, of which many occurred every year, there were several in which the whole strength of the Rahtthores was led by their prince. The battle of Sambhur, in S. 1765, fought against the Syeds, which ended in an union of interests, was one of these; and, for the rest of Ajit's life, kept him in close contact with the court, where he might have taken the lead had his talent for intrigue been commensurate with his boldness. From this period until his death, Ajit's agency was recognised in all the intrigues and changes amongst the occupants of Timoor's throne, from Ferochsar to Mahomed. He inherited an invincible hatred to the very name of Moslem, and was not scrupulous regarding the means by which he was likely to secure the extirpation of a race so inimical to his own. Viewing the manifold reasons for this hatred, we must not scrutinize with severity his actions when leagued with the Syeds, even in the dreadful catastrophe which overwhelmed Ferochsar, to whom he owed the two-fold duty of fealty and consanguinity.

There is one stain on the memory of Ajit, which, though unnoticed in the chronicle, is too well ascertained to be omitted in a summary of his character; more especially as it illustrates that of the nation and of the times, and shews the loose system which holds such governments together. The heroic Doorgadas, the preserver of his infancy, the instructor of his youth, guide of his manhood, lived to confirm the proverb, "put not thy faith in princes." He, who by repeated instances of exalted self-denial, had refused wealth and honours that might have raised himself from his vassal condition to an equality with his sovereign, was banished from the land which his integrity, wisdom, and valour had preserved. Why, or when, Ajit loaded himself with this indelible

infamy was not known; the fact was incidentally discovered in searching a collection of original newspapers written from the camp of Bahadur Shah,* in one of which it was stated, that "Doorgadas was encamped with his household retainers on the banks of the Peshola Lake at Oodipoor, and receiving daily five hundred rupees for his support from the Rana; who when called on by the king (Bahadur Shah) to surrender him, magnanimously refused." Imagining that Ajit had been compelled to this painful sacrifice, which is not noticed in the annals, the compiler mentioned it to a *Yati* deeply versed in all the events and transactions of this state. Aware of the circumstance, which is not overlooked by the bards, he immediately repeated the couplet composed on the occasion:

"*Doorga, des-sa kar-jea*
Gola, Gangani!"

"Doorga was exiled, and Gangani given to a slave."

Gangani, on the north bank of the Looni, was the chief town of the Kurnote fief, of which clan Doorga was the head. It is now attached to the *Khalisa*, or fisc, but whether recently, or ever since Doorga, we know not. The Kurnotes still pay the last rites to their dead at Gangani, where they have their cenotaphs (*chiehtris*). Whether that of the noble Doorga stands there to serve as a memorial of princely ingratitude, the writer cannot say; but the portrait of the hero, in the autumn of his days, as given me by the last lineal descendant of Ajit, is already before the reader.† Well may we repeat, that the system of feudality is the parent of the most brilliant virtues and the darkest crimes! Here, a long life of uninterrupted fidelity could not preserve Doorga from the envenomed breath of slander, or the serpent-tooth of ingratitude: and whilst the mind revolts at the crime which left a blank leaf in the chronicle, it is involuntarily carried back to an act less atrocious, indeed, than one which violates the laws of nature, but which in diminishing none of horror for Abhye Sing, yet lessons our sympathy for the persecutor of Doorgadas.

CHAPTER X.

THE parricidal murder of Ajit is accounted the germ of destruction, which, taking root in the social edifice of Marwar, ultimately rent it asunder. Bitter has been the fruit of this crime, "even into the third and fourth generation" of his natural sons, whose issue, but for this crime, would in all human probability have been the most potent princes in India, able single-handed to have stopped Mahratta aggrandisement.

"It was in 1781 (says the bard), Ajit went to heaven. With his own hand did the emperor Mahomed Shah put the *teeka* on the forehead of Abhya Sing, girded him with the sword, bound the *toorak* on his head, placed a dagger set with gems in his girdle, and with Chaoris, Nobuts, and Nakarras, and many valuable gifts, invested the young prince in all the dignities of his father. Even Nagore was resumed from the son of Umra and included in his sunnud. With these marks of royal favour, he took leave of the court, and returned to his paternal dominions. From

* Discovered by the Author amongst the Rana's archives.

† Vol. I.

village to village, as he journeyed homeward, the *kullas* was raised on the head.* When he reached Jodhpur, he distributed gifts to all his chiefs, and to the *Bardais* (bards) and Charuns, and lands to the family priests (*Purohits*)."

A day at the court of the desert king, related in the phrasenology of the chronicle, would be deemed interesting as a picture of manners. It would also make the reader more familiar with Kurna, the most celebrated bard in the latter days of Rajpoot independence: but this must be reserved for an equally appropriate vehicle,† and we shall at present rest satisfied with a slight sketch of the historian of Maroo.

Karna-Kavya, or simply Kurna, who traced his descent from the last house-hold bard of the last emperor of Kanouj, was at once a politician, a warrior, and a scholar, and in each capacity has left ample proofs of his abilities. In the first, he took a distinguished part in all the events of the civil wars; in the second, he was one of the few who survived a combat almost without parallel in the annals even of Rajpoot chivalry; and as a scholar, he has left us, in the introduction to his work,‡ the most instructive proof, not only of his inheriting the poetic mantle of his fathers, but of the course he pursued for the maintenance of its lustre. The bare enumeration of the works he had studied evinces that there was no royal road to Parnassus for the Rajpoot 'Kaviswar,'§ but that, on the contrary, it was beset with difficulties not a little appalling. The mere nomenclature of works on grammar and historical epics, which were to mastered ere he could hope for fame, must have often made Kurna exclaim, "How hard it is to climb the steeps" on which from afar he viewed her temple. Those who desire to see, under a new aspect, an imperfectly known but interesting family of the human race, will be made acquainted with the qualifications of our bardic historians, and the particular course of studies which fitted Kurna "to sit in the gate|| of Jodagir," and add a new book to the chronicles of its kings.

These festivities of a new reign were not of long duration, and were succeeded by warlike preparations against Nagore, which, during the

* The *kullas* is a brazen vessel, of household use. A female of each family, filling one of these with water, repairs to the house of the head of the village, when, being all convened, they proceed in a body to meet the person to whom they render honour, singing the *suhailea* or 'song of joy.' The representing water is a token of homage and regard, and one which the author has often paid to him, especially in Mewar, where every village met him in this way.

† I hope some day to present a few of the works of the great bard, Chund, with dissertation on the *Bardais*, and all the 'sons of song.'

‡ Entitled the '*Surya Prakas*,' of 7500 stanzas.

§ *Caviswar*, or *Cavya-iswara*, 'lord of verse,' from *Carya* 'poesy,' and *iswara*, 'lord.'

|| The portal of the place appears to have been the bard's post. Pope gave the same position to his historic bards in the 'the Temple of Fame.'

Full in the passage of each spacious gate,

The sage historians in white garments wait;

Grav'd o'er the seats the form of Time was found,

His scythe remov'd, and both his pinions bound.

contentions between Ajit and the emperor, had been assigned to the descendant of the ancient princes of Mundore.

"When Ajmer was invested by the collective force of the empire,* Eradut Khan (Bungshi), collector of the *Yeseva*,† took the *Feudo* by the arm, and seated him in Nagore‡. But as soon as the *Holli*§ was past, the 'Avatars of Jowala-mookhi'¶ were consecrated: goats were sacrificed, and the blood, with oil and vermilion, was sprinkled upon them. The tents were moved out. Hearing this, Rao Indra produced the imperial patent, with the personal guarantee of Jey Sing of Amber. Abhya heeded not, and invested Nagore; but Indra left his honour and his castle to the *Fearless*,¶ who bestowed it on Bukhta his brother. He received the congratulations of Mewar, Jessulmer, Bikaner, and Amber, and returned to his capital amidst the rejoicings of his subjects. This was in S. 1781.

"In S. 1782, he was employed in restraining the turbulent Bhomias on the western frontiers of his dominions; when the Sindhis, the Deras, the Balas, the Boras, the Balechas, and the Sodas were compelled to servitude.

"In S. 1783, a firman of summons arrived, calling the prince to attend the Presence at Delhi. He put it to his head, assembled all his chiefs, and on his passage to court made a tour of his dominions, examining his garrisons, redressing wrongs, and adjusting whatever was in disorder. At Purbhilsir he was attacked by the small-pox; the nation called on *Jug Rani*** to shield him from evil.

"In 1784, the prince reached Delhi. Khandowran, the chief noble of the empire, was deputed by the emperor to conduct him to the capital; and when he reached the Presence, his majesty called him close to his person, exclaiming, 'welcome, *Khoshbukht* †† *Maharaja Rajeswar*, †† it is long since we met; this day makes me happy; the splendour of the Aum-khas, is redoubled.' When he took leave, the king sent to his quarters, at Abhyepoor, choice fruits of the north, fragrant oils, and rose-water."

The prince of Maroo was placed at the head of all the nobility. About the end of S. 1784, Sirbullund Khan's rebellion broke out, which

* In the original, "by the *bveesa*," the 'twenty-two,' meaning the collective force of the twenty-two *soobahdars*, or 'satraps of the provinces.'

† Capitation-tax.

‡ The poet calls it by its classic appellation, *Nagadurga*, the 'castle of the serpent.'

§ For this festival, see Vol. I.

¶ *Jowala-mookhi*, the 'mouth of flame,' the cannon, which are thus consecrated before action. They are called *avatars*, or 'incarnations of Jowala-mookhi, the Etna of India, at the edge of whose crater the Hindu poet very properly places the temple of *Jowala Rani*, 'the terrific' *Kali-mo*, the Hindu Hecate.

¶ *Abhya*, the name of the prince, means 'fearless,' from *Bhyu* 'fear,' and privative prefix.

** *Jug-Rani* (I write all these phrases exactly as pronounced in the western dialect 'Queen' of the world.' *Sirra Math* is the common name for the goddess who presides over this scourge of infancy.

†† 'Of happy fortune.'

‡‡ *Maharaja Rajeswar*, the pompous title of the kings of Maroo; 'great Raja, lord of Rajas.'

gave ample scope for the valour of the Rathores and materials for the bard, who thus circumstantially relates it :

"The troubles in the Dekhan increased. The *Shahsada Jungali** rebelled, and forming an army of sixty thousand men, attacked the provincial governors of Malwa, Surat, and Ahmedpoor, slaying the king's lieutenants, Geerdhar Buhadoor, Ibrahim Kooli, Roostum Ali, and the Moghul Shujait.

"Hearing this, the king appointed Sirbullund Khan to quash the rebellion. He marched at the head of fifty thousand men, having a crore of rupees for their subsistence ; but his advanced army of ten thousand men being defeated in the first encounter, he entered into terms with the rebels, and agreed to a partition of the country."

It was at this time the prince of Marwar begged permission to retire to his hereditary dominions. The bard's description of the court, and of the emperor's distress on this occasion, though prolix deserves insertion :

"The king was seated on his throne, attended by the seventy-two grand Omras of the empire, when tidings reached him of the revolt of Sirbullund. There was the vizier Kunur-oo-din Khan, Itinad-oo-Doulah Khandowran, commander-in-chief, (Meer Bukshee), Shumsam-oo-Doulah the Ameer-ool-Omrah, Munsoor Ali, Roshan-oo-Doulah, Toora Baz Khan, the Lord Marcher (*Seem Ka Bukshee*) ; Roostum Jung, Afghan, Khan, Khwaja Syed-oo-Din, commandant of artillery (*Meer Atush*) ; Saadut Khan,† grand chamberlain (*Daroga Khawas*), Boorhan-ool-Moolk,‡ Abdool Sumud Khan, Dellil Khan, Zuffiah Khan, governor of Lahore, Dulail Khan, Meer Jumla, Khankhanan ; Zuffar Jung, Bradut Khan, Moorshid Kooli Khan, Jaffier Khan, Aliverdi Khan,§ Mizuffur Khan, governor of Ajmer. Such and many more were assembled in the Presence.

"It was read aloud that Sirbullund had reduced Guzerat, and proclaimed his own 'an,' that he had ground the Kolis to dust ; that he had vanquished the Mandillas, the Jhalas, the Chaurasimas, the Bhagails and the Gohils, and had nearly exterminated the Balas ; that Hallar had agreed to pay tribute, and that such was the fire of this Yavan, that the Bhomias of themselves abandoned their strong-holds to seek sanctuary with him whom the 'seventeen thousand'§ now called sovereign ; that he had set himself up a king in Ahmedabad, and made a league with the 'Southron.'

"The emperor saw, that if this defection was not quelled, all the viceroys would declare themselves independent. Already had Jugureah Khan in the north, Saadut Khan in the east, and the *Mletch* Nizam-ool-Moolk in the south, shewn the blackness of their designs. The *sup'h* (verve) of the empire had fled.

"The *heera* was placed on a golden salver, which the Meer Tajuk bore in his extended arm, slowly passing in front of the nobles ranged on

* In none of the Mohammedan histories of this period is it mentioned that there was an imperial prince at the head of the first Mahratta irruption ; probably he was a mere tool for the purposes of others.

† Afterwards Vizier of Oude, a state founded and maintained by consummate treason.

‡ Nawab of Bengal, another traitor.

§ This number of cities, towns, and villages, constituted the kingdom of Guzerat under its ancient sovereigns.

either side of the throne, mighty men, at the sight of whose faces the rustic would tremble : but in vain he passed both lines ; no hand was stretched forth ; some looked away ; some trembled ; but none cast an eye upon the *beera*.

"The 'almighty monarch' (*Purmeswar Padshah*), who could make the beggar an Omra of twelve thousand and the noble of twelve thousand a beggar, was without resource. 'Who,' said one, 'would grasp the forked lightning, let him engage Sirbullund !' Another exclaimed, 'who would seize the vessel, and plunge with her in the whirlpool, he may contend with Sirbullund.' And a third, 'whoever dare seize the forked tongue of the serpent, let him engage Sirbullund.' The king was troubled ; he gave a sign to the Meer Tojuk to return the *beera* to him.

"The Rakhthore prince saw the Monarch's distress, and as he was about to leave the aum-khas, he stretched forth his hand, and placed the *beera* in his turban, as he said, 'be not cast down, O king, of the world ; I will pluck down this Sirbullund : * leafless shall be the boughs of his ambition, and his head (*sir*) the forfeit of his arrogant exaltation (*boolund*).'

"When Abhya Sing grasped the *beera*, the breasts of the mighty were ready to burst with the fulness of envy even like the ripe pomegranate, as the king placed the grant of Guzerat into the hands of the Rakhthore. The Shah's heart was rejoiced, as he said, 'thus acted your ancestors in support of the throne ; thus was quelled the revolt of Khoorm and Bheem in the time of Jehangir that of the Dekhan settled ; and in like manner do I trust that, by you the honour and the throne of Mahomed Shah will be upheld.'

"Rich gifts, including seven gems of great price, were bestowed upon the Rakhthore ; the treasury was unlocked and thirty-one lacks of coin were assigned for the troops. The guns were taken from the arsenals, and with the patent of the vice-royalties of Ahmedabad and Ajmer, in the month of Asar (1786), Abhya took leave of the king.†

The political arrondissement of Marwar dates from this period ; for the rebellion for Sirbullund was the forerunner of the disintegration of the empire. It was in June A.D. 1730, that the prince of Marwar left the court of Delhi. He had a double motive in proceeding direct to Ajmer, of which province he was viceroy ; first, to take possession of his strong-hold (the key not only of Marwar but of every state in Rajpootana) ; and second, to consult with the prince of Amber on the affairs of that critical conjuncture. What was the cause of Jey Sing's presence at Ajmer the chronicle says not ; but from circumstances elsewhere related, it may be conjectured that it was for the purpose of celebrating 'the rites of the *Pitriswara*' (manes of his ancestors) at Porskur. The bard gives a most prolix account of the meeting, even to the *pugtur*, 'or foot-clothes' spread for 'the kings of the Hindus' to walk on, "who feasted together, and together plotted the destruction of the empire : " from which we perceive that Kurna, the bard, had a peep behind the curtain.

* *Sir*, 'the head,' *boolund*, 'exalted,' high, arrogant,' I write the name *Sirbullund*, being 'the orthography long known.

† In the original, the emperor is called the *Aspati*, 'lord of swords,' or perhaps *Aswapati*, 'lord of steeds.'

Having installed his officers in Ajmer, Abhya Sing, proceeded to Mairta, when he was met by his brother, Bukht Sing, on which occasion the grant of Nagore was bestowed upon the latter. The brothers continued their route to the capital, when all the chiefs were dismissed to their homes with injunctions to assemble their vassals for the ensuing campaign against Sirbullund. At the appointed time, the *kher* (feudal array) of Marwar assembled under the walls of Jodhpur. The occasion is a delightful one to the bard, who revels in all 'the pomp and circumstance of war:' from the initiatory ceremony, the moving out the tents, to the consecration of the 'mighty tubes' (*balwa-nal*), the 'volcanos of the field,' or, as he terms them, the 'crocodile mouths' (*mugur-mookhan*), 'emblems of Yama,' which were sprinkled abundantly with the blood of goats slain under their muzzles. He describes each clan as it arrives, their steeds, and caparisons.

Instead, however, of proceeding direct to the main object of the war, Abhya Sing took advantage of the immense army thus placed under his command, as viceroy of Guzerat, to wreak his own vengeance upon his neighbour, the gallant prince of Sirohi, who, trusting to his native strength, had spurned every compromise which involved his independence. This resolution he maintained by his natural position, strengthened by alliances with the aboriginal races who hemmed his little state on all sides, excepting that towards Marwar.

These *Meenas*, the mountaineers of the Aravalli, had given offence to Abhya Sing; for while the prince, between his arrival at Jodhpur and the assemblage of the *kher*, gave himself up to indolence and opium, they carried off the whole cattle of the train to the mountains. When this was reported to Abhya Sing, he coolly said, "Let them go, they knew we are short of forage, and have only taken them to their own pastures in the mountains." Strange to say, they did return them, and in excellent condition, as soon as he prepared to march. When he heard of this, he observed, "Did I not tell you these Meenas were faithful subjects?"

The order to march was now given, when the bard enumerates the names and strength of the different Rajpoot princes, whose contingents formed this array, in which there were only two Mohammedan leaders of distinction:—"The Haras of Kotah and Boondi; Kheechies of Gaggrown; the Gores of Seopur; the Cuchwahas of Amber, and (even) the Sodas of the desert, under their respective princes or chiefs, were under the command of the Marwar prince. His native retainers, the united clans of Marwar, formed the right wing of the whole army, headed by his brother Bukhta.

"On the 10th Cheit (Sood) S. 1786, Abhya marched from Jodhpur, by Bhadranoon and Malgurb, Sewanoh and Jhalore. Rewarro was assaulted; the swords of the enemy showered, and the Champawut fell amidst heaps of slain. The Deoras abandoned the hill and fled. The trees were levelled to the summit; a garrison was posted, and the array moved on to Possalio. Then, Aboo shook with affright. Affliction seized Sirohi; its prince was in despair when he heard Rewarro and Possalio were destroyed.* The Chohan preferred decking his daughter in the bridal vestments, to arraying his army to oppose Abhemal."

* Both these places famous in the Mewassn, or fastnesses of Sirohi, and gave the Author, who was intrusted with its political affairs, much trouble. Fortunately for the Deora prince, descendant of Rao Narain

Rao Narrain Das, through the intervention of a Rajpoot chieftain, named Myaram, of the Chhora tribe, made overtures to the Ranthore, proposing his niece (daughter of Maun Sing his predecessor) in marriage. "In the midst of strife, 'the coco-nut,' with eight choice steeds and the pride of four elephants, were sent and accepted. The drum of battle ceased; the nuptials were solemnized, and in the tenth month Ram Sing was born at Jodhpur." The bard, however, lets us into the secret, and shows that the Rajpoots had secret articles, as well as the more polished diplomacy of Europe; for besides the fair Chohani, the Rao consented to pay *Pesh-ach'hani*, a 'concealed tribute.'

The Deora chiefs united their contingents to the royal army, for the subjugation of Sirbullund, and the march recommended by Palhanpoor and Sidpoor, on the Sarasvati. Here they halted, and "an envoy was despatched to Sirbullund, summoning him to surrender the imperial equipments, cannons, and stores; to account for the revenues, and to withdraw his garrisons from Ahmedabad and all the strong-holds of the province." The reply was laconic and dignified; "that he himself was king, and his head was with Ahmedabad."

A grand council of war was convened in the Rajpoot camp, which is described *con amore* by the bard. The overture and its reception were communicated, and the debates and speeches which ensued thereon, as to the future course of proceeding, are detailed. The bard is, however, satisfied with recording the speeches of 'the chiefs of the eight grades of Maroo.'

"First spoke the chief of the children of Champa, Koosul, son of Hurnat of Ahwa, whose seat is on the right of the throne. Then Kunneran of Asope, leader of the Koompawuts, whose place is on the left: 'let us, like the Kilkila,* dive into the waters of battle.' He was followed by Kesuri, the Mairtea Sirmor;—then by the veteran who led the Oodawuts: old and brave, many a battle had he seen. Then the chief of Khanwa, who led the clan of Joda, protested he would be the first to claim the immortal garland from the hand of the Apsaras;† 'let us stain our garments with saffron, and our lances with crimson, and play at ball with this Sirbullund.‡ Futeh the Jaitawut, and Kurnavat Abhi-mal, re-echoed his words. All shouted 'battle!' 'battle!' while some put on the coloured garments, determined to conquer *Bhanloca*. Kurna, the Champawut,

Das, the author knew their history, and was enabled to discriminate the claims which Jodhpur asserted over her in virtue of such attacks as this; in short, between the claims of 'the princes of Marwar,' and the king's lieutenants of Guzerat. In this negotiations wherein Jodhpur advanced its pretensions to *suzerainty* over Sirohi, which as stoutly denied the right, he clearly distinguished the claims of the princes of Jodhpur, in their capacities of viceroys of the empire, and argued that claims conceded by Sirohi in that character guaranteed none to them, in their individual capacity, as chiefs of Marwar a distinction which they affected not to comprehend, but which was at length fully recognized and acted on by the paramount power. Sirohi is maintained in its ancient independence, which but for this previous knowledge must have been inevitably lost.

* The *kilkila* is the bird we call the kingfisher.

† The maids of war, the *Valkyris* of Rajpoot mythology.

‡ Another *jeu de mots* on the name Sirbullund, with whose head (sir) the Joda chief proposes to play at ball.

said aloud, 'with sparkling cup the Apsaras will serve us in the mansion of the sun.* Every clan, every chief, and every bard, re-echoed 'battle!'

"Then Bukhta stood up to claim the onset, to lead the van in battle against Sirbullund, while his brother and prince should await the result in his tents. A jar of saffron-water was placed before the prince, with which he sprinkled each chief, who shouted, 'they would people Umra-poor,'†

The bard then describes the steeds of the Rajpoot chivalry, in which the Beemrat halli of the Dekhan takes precedence; he is followed by the horses of Dhat, and Rarduro in Marwar, and the Kattiawar of Saurashtra.

Sirbullund's plans of defence are minutely detailed. At each gate he posted two thousand men and five guns, "manned by Europeans," of whom he had a body of musketeers round his person. The cannonade had been kept up three days on both sides, in which the son of Sirbullund was killed. At length, Bukhta led the storm when all the *otes* and *awuts* performed prodigies of valour. The Champawut Koosul was the first to be carried to the "immortal abode;" but though "the sun stood still to see the deeds of the son of Hurmat," we cannot particularise the bard's catalogue of heroes transferred to Suraloca‡ on this day, when the best blood of Rajpootana was shed on the walls of Ahmedabad. Both the princely brothers had their share in "the play of swords," and each slew more than one leader of note. Umra, who had so often defended Ajmer, slew five chiefs of the grades of two and three thousand horse.

"Eight ghurries of the day remained, when Sirbullund fled; but Ulyar, the leader of his vanguard, made a desperate resistance, until he fell by the hand of Bukht Sing. The drum of victory sounded. The Nawab left his *pant* in the *Rincoond*.§ The 'would-be-king' was wounded; his elephant shewed the speed of the deer. Four thousand four hundred and ninety-three were slain, of whom one hundred were *Palki*

* The young chieftain of Salnombra, the first of the nobles of Mewar, was sitting with me, attentively listening as I was translating the war against Sirbullund, read by my old tutor. His family possess an hereditary aversion to "the cup," which is under solemn prohibition for some cause which I forget, and so far did his grandfather carry his antipathy, that a drop falling upon him at an entertainment, he cut out the contaminated part with his dagger. Aware of this, I turned round to the young chief and said; "Well, Rawut-ji, would you accept the cup from the hand of the Apsara, or would you refuse the *mudwar* (pledge)?" "Certainly I would take it; these are very different cups from ours;" was his reply. "Then you believe that the heavenly fair carry the souls of those who fall in battle to the *mandal of Surya*?" "Who dare doubt it? When my time comes, I will take that cup!" a glorious creed for a soldier! He sat for hours listening to my old tutor and friend; for none of their bards expounded like him the *bhojunga* (serpentine verse) of the poet. I have rated the Rawut for being unable to repeat the genealogy of his house from Chouda to himself; but the family bard was dead and left no progeny to inherit his mantle. This young chief is yet (A. D. 1830) but twenty-two, and promises to be better prepared.

† The city of immortality.

‡ The abode of heroes, the Valhalla of the Rajpoot mythology.

§ *Rincoond* is the 'fountain of battle,' and *pant* is applied, as we use the word water, to the temper or spirit of a sword: a play on words.

Nusheens, eight *Hati Nusheens** and three hundred entitled to the *Taseem* on entering the Diwan Aum †

"One hundred and twenty chieftains of note, with five hundred horse, were slain with Abhya Sing, and seven hundred wounded.

"The next morning, Sirbullund surrendered with all his effects. He was escorted towards Agra, his wounded Moguls dying at every stage; but the soul of the 'Fearless' was sad at the loss of his kin.‡ Abhi-Mal ruled over the seventeen thousand towns of Guzerat, and the nine thousand of Marwar, besides one thousand elsewhere. The princes of Edur, of Bhooj, of Parkur of Sinde, and of Sirohi, the Chalook Ran of Futtehpoor, Jhoonoonoo, Jessulmeer, Nagore, Dongerpoor, Bhanswarra, Lunawarra, Hulwad, every morning bowed the head to Abhi-Mal.

"Thus, in the enlightened half of the moon, one victorious tenth§ (S. 1787. A. D. 1731), the day on which Ramachundra captured Lanka, the war against Sirbullund, an *Omra* (lord) of twelve thousand, was concluded."||

Having left a garrison of seventeen thousand men for the duties of the capital and province, Abhya Sing returned to Jodhpur with the spoils of Guzerat, and there he deposited four crores of rupees, and one thousand four hundred guns of all calibres, besides military stores of every description. With these, in the declining state of the empire, the desert king strengthened his forts and garrisons, and determined, in the general scramble for dominion, not to neglect his own interests.

CHAPTER XI.

THE tranquillity which for a while followed the Campaign in Guzerat was of no long duration. The love of ease and opium, which increased with the years of Abhya Sing, was disturbed by a perpetual apprehension of the active courage and military genius of his brother, whose appanage of Nagore was too restricted a field for his talents and ambition. Bukhta was also aware that his daring nature, which obtained

* Chiefs entitled to ride in palkis and on elephants.

† A long list of names is given, which would only fatigue the reader; but amongst them we select a singular one, *Nolakh Khan Angles*, 'Nolah the Englishman.'

‡ The bard enumerates with the meed of praise each vassal who fell, whether Rakhthore or of the contingents of the other principalities serving under the prince of Marwar. The Champawuts bore the burnt, and loss Kurrun of Pally, Kishen Sing of Sindri, Gordhan of Jhalore, and Kulian. The Koompawuts lost also several leaders of clans, as Nursing, Soortan Sing, Pudma, son of Doorjun. The Joda tribe lost three leaders, viz., Heemul, Goman and Jogidas. The brave Mairteas also lost three: Bhom Sing, Koozul Sing, and Golab, son of Hatti. The allodial chieftains, the Jadoons, the Sonigurras, the Dhonduls, and Kherchies, had many brave men "carried to Baanuloca," and even bards and purohits were amongst the slain.

§ *Vijya darwa*.

|| With this battle the *Raja Roopaca* and *Surya Prakash* terminate.

him the suffrages, as it would the swords, of his turbulent and easily excited countrymen, rendered him an object of distrust, and that without great circumspection, he would be unable to maintain himself in his *imperium in imperio*, the castle and three hundred and sixty townships of Nagore. He was too discreet to support himself by foreign aid, or by fomenting domestic strife; but with the aid of the bard, he adopted a line of policy, the relation of which will develop new traits in the Rajpoot character, and exemplify its peculiarities. Kurna, after finishing his historical chronicle, concluding with the war against Sribullund, abandoned "the gate of Jodhpur, for that of Nagore." Like all his tribe, the bard was an adept in intrigue, and his sacred character forwarded the secret means of executing it. His advice was to embroil their common sovereign with the prince of Amber, and an opportunity was not long wanting.

The prince of Bikaner, a junior but independent branch of Marwar, had offended his yet nominal suzerain Abhya Sing, who, taking advantage of the weakness of their common liege lord the emperor, determined to resent the affront, and accordingly invested Bikaner, which had sustained a siege of some weeks, when Bukhta determined to make its release subserve his designs; nor could he have chosen a better expedient. Although the prince of Marwar had led his united vassalage against Bikaner, they were not only lukewarm as to the success of their own arms, but, anomalous as it must appear in the annals even of feudal warfare, they furnished the besieged with the means of defence, who, but for the supplies of opium, salt, and ammunition, would soon have been compelled to surrender. We can account for this: Bikaner was of their own kin, a branch of the great tree of which Seoji was the root, and to which they could cling in emergency; in short, Bikaner balanced the power between themselves and their head.

The scheme being approved, its execution and mode of development to Jey Sing were next canvassed. "Touch his pride," said Kurna; "tell him the insult to Amber, which your ancestor invested, has never been balanced, and that he will never find a time like the present to fling a few shot at Jodhpur."

Bukhta addressed a letter to Jey Sing, and at the same time sent instructions to the envoy of Bikaner at his court how to act.

The prince of Amber, towards the close of his career, became partial to 'the cup;' but, aware of the follies it involved him in, an edict prohibited all official intercourse with him while he was under its influence. The direct overture of Bukhta was canvassed, and all interference between the kindred belligerents was rejected in a full council of the chiefs of Amber. But the envoy had a friend in the famous Vidyadhur,* the chief civil minister of the state, through whose means he obtained permission to make 'a verbal report, standing.' "Bikaner," he said, "was, in peril, and without his aid must fall, and that his master did not consider the sovereign of Marwar, but of Amber, as his suzerain." Vanity and wine did the rest. The prince took up the pen and wrote to Abhya Sing, "That they all formed one great family; to forgive

* Vidyadhur was a Brahmin of Bengal, a scholar and man of science. The plan of the modern city of Amber, named Jeypore, was his: a city as regular as Darmstadt. He was also the joint compiler of the celebrated genealogical tables which appear in the first Volume of this work,

Bikaner and raise his batteries:" and as he took another cup, and curled his moustache, he gave the letter to be folded. "Maharajah," said the envoy, "put in two more words: 'or, my name is Jey Singh.'" They were added. The overjoyed envoy retired, and in a few minutes the letter was on transit to its destination by the swiftest camel of the desert. Scarcely had the envoy retired, when the chief of Bhansko, the Mentor of Jey Sing, entered. He was told of the letter, which "would vex his *Sagga*." The old chief remonstrated; he said, "unless you intend to extinguish the Cuchwahs, recall this letter," Messenger after messenger was sent, but the envoy knew his duty. At the dinner hour, all the chiefs had assembled at the (*Rusora*) banquet-hall, when the spokesman, on the vassalage, old Deep Sing, in reply to the communication of his sovereign, told him he had done a cruel and wanton act, and that they must all suffer for his imprudence.

The reply, a laconic defiance, was brought back with like celerity; it was opened and read by Jey Sing to his chiefs: "By what right do you dictate to me, or interfere between me and my servants? If your name is 'the Lion of Victory' (Jey Sing), mine is 'the Lion without Fear' (Abhya Sing)."[†]

The ancient chief, Deep Sing, said: "I told you how it would be; but there is no retreat, and our business is to collect out friends." The *Kher*, or 'levy en masse,' was proclaimed! Every Cuchwaha was commanded to repair to the great standard planted outside the capital. The home-clans came pouring in, and aid was obtained from the Haras of Boondi, the Jadoons of Kerowli, the Seesodias of Shahpoora, the Kheechies, and the Jats, until one hundred thousand men were formed beneath the castle of Amber. This formidable array proceeded, march after march, until they reached Gangwani, a village on the frontier of Marwar. Here they encamped, and with all due courtesy, awaited the arrival of the 'Fearless Lion.'

They were not long in suspense. Mortally offended at such wanton interference, which compelled him to relinquish his object on the very eve of attainment, Abhya Sing raised his batteries from besieging Bikaner and rapidly advanced to the encounter.

Bukhta now took alarm. He had not calculated the length to which his intrigues would involve his country; he had sought but to embroil the border princes, but had kindled a national warfare. Still his fears were less for the discovery of his plot, than for the honour of Marwar, about to be assailed by such odds. He repaired to his brother and liege lord, and implored him not to raise the siege; declaring that he alone, with the vassals of Nagore, would receive the *Bugtea*'s[‡] battle, and, by God's blessing, would give a good account of him. Abhya Sing, not averse to see his brother punished for his conduct, though determined to leave him to the brunt of the battle, rejected with scorn the intriguing proposition.

"The *Nakarra* sounded the assembly for the chivalry of Nagore. Bukhta took post on the balcony over the Delhi gate, with two brazen vessels; in the one was an infusion of opium, in the other saffron-water.

* *Sagga* is a term denoting a connection by marriage.

† I write the names as pronounced, and as familiar to the readers of Indian history. *Jya*, in Sanskrit, is 'victory,' *Abhya*, 'fearless.'

‡ *Bugtea* is 'a devotee;' the term is here applied reproachfully to Jey Sing, on account of his very religious habits,

To each Rajpoot as he entered he presented opium, and made the impress of his right hand on his heart with the saffron-water. Having in this manner enrolled eight thousand Rajpoots, sworn to die with him, he determined to select the most resolute; and marching to the edge of an extensive field of luxuriant Indian corn (*bayra*), he halted his band, and thus addressed them: 'Let none follow me who is not prepared for victory or death: if there be any amongst you who desire to return, let them do so in God's name.' As he spoke, he resumed the march through the luxuriant fields, that it might not be seen who retired. More than five thousand remained, and with these he moved on to the combat.

The Amber prince awaited them at Gungwani: soon as the hostile lines approached, Bukhta gave the word, and, in one dense mass, his gallant legion charged with lance and sword the deepened lines of Amber, carrying destruction at every pass. He passed through and through this host; but when he pulled up in the rear, only sixty of his band remained round his person. At this moment, the chief of Gujsingpoora, head of all his vassals, hinted there was a jungle in the rear: "and what is there in front" said the intrepid Rahthore, "that we should not try the road we came?" and as he espied the *panchranga*, or five-coloured flag, which denoted the head quarters of Amber, the word again was given. The cautious Khoombani* advised his prince to avoid the charge: with some difficulty he was made to leave the field, and as a salvo to his honour, by a flank movement towards Kundaila north, that it might not be said he turned his back on his foe. As he retreated, he exclaimed, "seventeen battles have I witnessed, but till this day never one decided by the sword." Thus, after a life of success, the wisest, or at least the most learned and most powerful prince of Rajwarra, incurred the disgrace of leaving the field in the face of a handful of men, strengthening the adage "that one Rahthore equalled ten Cuchwahas."

Jey Sing's own bards could not refrain from awarding the meed of valour to their foes, and composed the following stanzas on this occasion: "Is it the battle cry of Cali, or the war-shout of Hanowanta, or the hissing of Shesnag, or the denunciation of Kapiliswar? Is it the incarnation of Nursing, or the darting beam of Surya? or the death-glance of the Dakini?† or that from the central orb of Trinetra?‡ Who could support the flames from this volcano of steel, when Bukhta's sword became the sickle of Time?"

But for Kurna the bard, one of the few remaining about his person, Bukhta would a third time have plunged into the ranks of the foe; nor was it till the host of Amber had left the field, that he was aware of the extent of his loss.§ Then, strange inconsistency! the man, who but a few minutes before had affronted death in every shape, when he beheld the paucity of survivors, sat down and wept like an infant. Still it was more the weakness of ambition than humanity; for, never imagining that his brother would fail to support him, he thought destruction had overtaken Marwar; nor was it until his brother joined and assured him he had left him all the honour of the day, that he recovered his port. Then "he

* The clan of the Bhansko chief.

† The witch of India is termed *Dakini*.

‡ A title of Siva, god of destruction, the 'three-eyed.'

§ Though the bard does not state, it is to be supposed, that the main body came up and caused this movement.

curled his whiskers, and swore an oath, that he would yet drag the 'Bhuggut' from his castle of Amber."

Jey Sing, though he paid dear for his message, gained his point, the relief of Bikaner; and the Rana of Oodipur mediated to prevent the quarrel going further, which was the less difficult since both parties had gained their ends, though Jey Sing obtained his by the loss of a battle.

It is related that the tutelary deity of Bukhta Sing fell into the hands of the Amber prince, who carried home the sole trophy he could boast, married the Rahtore deity to a female divinity of Amber, and returned him with his compliments to Bukhta. Such were the courteous usages of Rajpoot chivalry. The triple alliance of the chief Rajpoot princes followed this battle, cemented by the union of the rival houses to daughters of Mewar. There they met, attended by their vassalage, and, in the nuptial festivities and the 'cup,' forgot this bitter strife, while enmity and even national jealousy were banished by general courtesy. Such is the Rajpoot, who can be judged after no known standard: he stands alone in the moral history of man.*

This is the last conspicuous act of Abhya Sing's life on record. He died in S. 1806 (A.D. 1750), at Jodhpur. His courage, which may be termed ferocious, was tempered only by his excessive indolence, regarding which they have preserved many amusing anecdotes; one of these will display the exact character of the man. The chronicle says: 'When Ajit went to marry the Chohani, he found two lions in his path—the one asleep, the other awake. The interpretation of the *sooguni* (augur) was, that the Chohani would bear him two sons; that one would be a *sooti khan* (sluggard), the other an active soldier.' Could the augur have revealed that they would imbrue their hands in a father's blood, he might have averted the ruin of his country, which dates from this black deed.

The Rahtore profess a great contempt for the Cuchwahs as soldiers; and Abhya Sing's was not lessened for their prince, because he happened to be father-in-law to the prince of Amber, whom he used to mortify, even in the "Presence," with such sarcasm as, "You are called a Cuchwa, or properly *Cuswa* from the *Cusa*; and your sword will cut as deep as one of its blades;" alluding to the grass thus called. Irritated, yet fearing to reply, he formed a plan to humble his arrogance in his only vulnerable point, the depreciation of his personal strength. While it was the boast of Jey Sing to mingle the exact sciences of Europe with the more ancient of India, Abhya's ambition was to be deemed the first swordsman of Rajwarra. The scientific prince of Amber gave his cue to Kriparam, the paymaster-general, a favourite with the king, from his skill at chess, and who had often the honour of playing with him while all the nobles were standing. Kriparam praised the Rahtore prince's dexterity in smiting off a buffalo's head; on which the king called out, "Rajeswar, I have heard much of your skill with the sword."—"Yes, Huzrit, I can use it on an occasion." A huge animal was brought into the area, fed in the luxuriant pastures of Heriana. The court crowded out to see the Rahtore exhibit; but when he beheld the enormous bulk, he turned to the king and begged permission to retire to his post, the imperial guard-room, to refresh himself. Taking a double dose of opium he returned, his eyes glaring with rage at the trick played upon him, and

* This singular piece of Rajpoot history, in the annals of Marwar, is confirmed by every particular in the "one hundred and nine acts" of the Great Jey Sing of Amber. The foe does ample justice to Rahtore valour.

as approached the buffalo they fell upon Jey Sing, who had procured this monster with a view to foil him. The amber chief saw that mischief was brewing, and whispered his majesty, not to approach too near his son-in-law. Grasping his sword in both hands, Abhya gave the blow with such force that the buffalo's head "dropped upon his knees," and the raja was thrown upon his back. All was well; but as the chronicle says, "the king never asked the raja to decollate another buffalo."

It was during the reign of Abhya Sing, that Nadir Shah invaded India; but the summons to the Rajpoot princes, to put forth their strength in support of the tottering throne of I'moor, was received with indifference. Not a chief of note led his myrmidons on the plains of Kurnal; and Delhi was invested, plundered, and its monarch dethroned, without exciting a sigh. Such was their apathy in the cause, when the imbecility of Mahommed Shah succeeded to the inheritance of Arungeb, that with their own hands these puppets of deposition sapped the foundation of the empire.

Unfortunately for Rajpootana, the demoralization of her princes prevented their turning to advantage this depression of the empire, in whose follies and crimes they participated.

With the foul and monstrous murder of the Rajah Ajit (A.D. 1750) commenced those bloody scenes which disgrace the annals of Marwar; yet even in the history of her crimes there are acts of redeeming virtue, which raise a sentiment of regret that the lustre of the one should be tarnished by the presence of the other. They serve, however, to illustrate that great moral truth, that in every stage of civilization, crime will work out its own punishment; and grievously has the parricidal murder of Ajit been visited on his race and country. We shall see it acting as a blight on that magnificent tree which transplanted from the native soil of the Ganges, took root and flourished amidst the arid sands of the desert, affording a goodly shade for a daring race, who acquired fresh victories with poverty—we shall see its luxuriance checked, and its numerous and widely-spread branches, as if scorched by the lightnings of heaven, wither and decay; and they must utterly perish, unless a scion, from the uncontaminated stem of Edur,* be grafted upon it: then it may revive, and be yet made to yield more vigorous fruit.

CHAPTER XII.

RAM SING succeeded at that dangerous age, when parental control is most required to restrain the turbulence of passion. Exactly twenty years had elapsed since the nuptials at Sirohi, when Hymen extinguished the torch of discord, and his mother was the bearer of the olive branch to Abhya Sing, to save her house from destruction. The Rajpoot, who attaches every thing to pedigree, has a right to lay an interdict on the union of the race of Agni,† with the already too fiery blood of the Rahthore. Ram Sing inherited the arrogance of his father, with all the impetuosity of the Chohans; and the exhibition of these qualities was simultaneous with his coronation. We are not told why his

* The Heir of Edur is heir presumptive the *gadi* of Marwar.

† The deora of Sirohi is a branch of the Chohans, one of the four *Agniculas*, a race sprung from fire.

uncle, Bukhta Sing, absented himself from the ceremony of his prince's and nephew's installation when the whole kin and clans of Maroo assembled to ratify their allegiance by their presence. As the first in blood and rank, it was his duty to make the first mark of inauguration on the forehead of his prince. The proxy he chose on the occasion was his *dhae*, or 'nurse,' a personage of no small importance in those countries. Whether by such a representative the haughty warrior meant to insinuate that his nephew should yet be in leading strings, the chronicle affords us no hint; but it reprehends Ram Sing's conduct to this venerable personage, whom, instead of treating, according to usage, with the same respect as his mother, he asked, "if his uncle took him for an ape, that he sent an old hag to present him with the *teecha*?" and instantly despatched an express desiring the surrender of Jhalore. Ere his passion had time to cool, he commanded his tents to be moved out, that he might chastise the insult to his dignity. Despising the sober wisdom of the councillors of the state, he had given his confidence to one of the lowest grade of these hereditary officers, by name Umiah, the *nakarachi*,* a man headstrong like himself. The old chief of the Champawuts, on hearing of this act of madness, repaired to the castle to remonstrate; but scarcely had he taken his seat before the prince assailed him with ridicule, desiring "to see his frightful face as seldom as possible." "Young man," exclaimed the indignant chief, as with violence he dashed his shield reversed upon the carpet, "you have given mortal offence to a Rahtore, who can turn Marwar upside down as easily as that shield." With eyes darting defiance, he arose and left the Presence, and collecting his retainers, marched to *Moondhiavar*. This was the residence of the *Pat-Bardai*, or 'chief bard,' the lineal descendant of the *Barud* Roera, who left Canouj with Seoji. The esteem in which his sacred office was held may be appreciated by his estate, which equalled that of the first noble, being one lack of (£,10,000) of revenue.

The politic Bukhta, hearing of the advance of the chief noble of Maroo on the border of his territory, left Nagore, and though it was midnight, advanced to welcome him. The old chief was asleep; Bukhta forbade his being disturbed, and placed himself quietly beside his pallet. As he opened his eyes, he called as usual for his pipe (*hooka*), when the attendant pointing to the prince, the old chief scrambled up. Sleep had cooled his rage, and the full force of his position rushed upon him; but seeing there were now no retreat, that the Rubicon was crossed, "Well, there is my head," said he; "now it is yours." The bard, who was present at the interview, was sounded by being requested to bring the chief's wife and family from Ahwa to Nagore; and he gave his assent in a manner characteristic of his profession: "farewell to the gate of Jodhpur," alluding to the station of the bard. The prince immediately replied, "there was no difference between the gate of Jodhpur and Nagore; and that while he had a cake of *bajra* he would divide it with the bard."

Ram Sing did not allow his uncle much time to collect a force; and the first encounter was at Kheyrlic. Six actions rapidly followed; the last was at Loonawas, on the plains of Mairta, with immense loss of life on both sides. This sanguinary battle has been already related,† in which Ram Sing was defeated, and forced to seek safety in flight; when Jodhpur

* The person who summons the nobles by beat of the state *nakarra*, or 'great kettle-drum.'

† See Vol. I.

was surrendered, and Bukhta invested with the *Rajtilac* and sword by the hands of the Jaitawut chief of Bagri, whose descendants continue to enjoy this distinction, with the title of *Marwar ca bar Kewar*, 'the bar to the portal of Marwar.'

With the possession of the seat of government, and the support of a great majority of the clans, Bukhta Sing felt secure against all attempts of his nephew to regain his lost power. But although his popularity with his warlike kindred secured their suffrages for his maintenance of the throne which the sword had gained him, there were other opinions which Bukhta Sing was too politic to overlook. The adhesion of the hereditary officers of the state, especially those personal to the sovereign, is requisite to cloak the crime of usurpation, in which light only, whatever the extent of provocation, Bukhta's conduct could be regarded. The military premier, as well as the higher civil authorities, were won to his cause, and of those whose sacred office might seem to sanctify the crime, the chief bard had already changed his post "for the gate of Nagore." But there was one faithful servant, who, in the general defection, overlooked the follies of his prince, in his adherence to the abstract rules of fidelity; and who, while his master found refuge at Jeypur, repaired to the Dekhan to obtain the aid of the Mahrattas, the mercenaries of Rajpootana. Jaggo was the name of this person; his office that of *Purohit*, the ghostly adviser of his prince and tutor to his children. Bukhta, at once desirous to obtain his suffrage, and to arrest the calamity of foreign invasion, sent a couplet in his own hand to the Purohit:

"The flower, Oh bee, whose aroma regaled you, has been assailed by the blast; not a leaf of the rose-tree is left; why longer cling to the thorns?"

The reply was in character "In this hope does the bee cling to the denuded rose-tree; that spring may return, and fresh flowers bud forth."*

Bukhta, to his honour, approved the fidelity which rejected his overtures.

There was a joyousness of soul about Bukhta which, united to an intrepidity and a liberality alike unbounded made him the very model of a Rajpoot. To these qualifications were superadded a majestic mien and Herculean frame, with a mind versed in all the literature of his country, besides poetic talent of no mean order; and but for that one damning crime, he would have been handed down to posterity as one of the noblest princes Rajwarra ever knew. These qualities not only rivetted the attachment of the household clans, but secured the respect of all his exterior relations, so that when the envoy of the expatriated prince obtained Sindia's aid for the restoration of Ram Sing, the popularity of Bukhta formed an army which appalled the "Southron" who found arrayed against him all the choice swords of Rajwarra. The whole allodial power of the desert, "the sons of Seoji" of every rank, rose to oppose this first attempt of the Mahrattas to interfere in their national quarrels, and led by Bukhta in person, advanced to meet Madaji, the *Patel*. But the Mahratta, whose object was plunder

* That beautiful simile of Ossian, or of Macpherson, borrowed from the canticles of the Royal Bard of Jerusalem, will be brought to mind in the reply of the Purohit—"I was a lovely tree in thy presence, Oscar, with all my branches around me;" etc.

rather than glory, satisfied that he had little chance of either, refused to measure his lance (*birchi*) with the *sang* and *sirohi** of the Rajpoot.

Poison effected what the sword could not accomplish. Bukhta determined to remain encamped in that vulnerable point of access to his dominions, the passes near Ajmer. Hither, the Ralthore queen of Madhu Sing, prince of Amber, repaired to compliment her relative, and to her was entrusted the task of removing the enemy of her nephew, Ram Sing. The mode in which the deed was effected, as well as the last moments of the heroic but criminal Bukhta have been already related.† He died in S. 1809 (A. D. 1753), leaving a disputed succession, and all the horrors of impending civil strife, to his son, Beejy Sing.

During his three years of sovereignty, Bukhta had found both time and resources to strengthen and embellish the strong-holds of Marwar. He completed the fortifications of the capital, and greatly added to the palace of Joda, from the spoils of Ahmedabad. He retaliated the injuries on the intolerant Islamite, and threw down his shrines and his mosques in his own fief of Nagore, and with the wrecks restored the edifices of ancient days. It was Bukhta also who prohibited, under pain of death, the Islamite's call to prayer throughout his dominion, and the order remains to this day unrevoked in Marwar. Had he been spared a few years to direct the storm then accumulating, which transferred power from the haughty Tatar of Delhi to the peasant soldier of the Kistna, the probability was eminently in favour of the Rajpoots resuming their ancient rights throughout India. Every principality had the same motive for union in one common cause, the destruction of a power inimical to their welfare; but crimes, moral and political, rendered an opportunity, such as never occurred in their history, unavailing for their emancipation from temporal and spiritual oppression.

We will here pause, and anticipating the just horror of the reader, at finding crime follow crime—one murder punished by another—prevent his consigning all the Rajpoot dynasties to infamy, because such foul stains appear in one part of their annals. Let him cast his eyes over the page of western history; and commencing with the period of Seoji's emigration in the eleventh century, when the curtain of darkness was withdrawn from Europe, as it was simultaneously closing upon that Rajpoot, contrast their respective moral characteristics. The Rajpoot chieftains was imbued with all the kindred virtues of the western cavalier, and far his superior in mental attainments. There is no period on record when these Hindu princes could not have signed their names to a charter; many of them could have drawn it up, and even invested it, if required, in a poetic garb; and although this consideration perhaps enhances, rather than palliates, crime, what are the instances in these states, we may ask, compared to the wholesale atrocities of the 'Middle Ages' of Europe?

The reader would also be wrong if he leaped to the conclusion, that the bardic chronicler passed no judgment on the princely criminal. His "empoisoned stanzas" (*viswa sloca*), transmitted to posterity by the mouth of the peasant and the prince, attest the reverse. One couplet has been recorded, stigmatizing Bukhta for the murder of his father; there

* *Sang* is a lance about ten feet long, covered with plates of iron about four feet above the spike. The *Sirohi* is the sword made at the city, whence its name, and famous for its temper.

† See Vol. I.

is another of the chief bard, *improvised*, while his prince Abhya Sing, and Jey Sing of Amber, were passing the period devoted to religious rites at the sacred lake of Pooshkur. The ceremonies never stood in the way of festivity; and one evening, while these princes and their vassals were in the height of merriment, the bard was desired to contribute to it by some extemporaneous effusion. He rose, and vociferated in the ears of the horror-struck assembly the following quatrain :

"Jodhpur, aur Amber,
 "Doono thap oot'hap;
 "Koorma mara deckro,
 "Kamd'huj mara bap."

"[The prince of] Jodhpur and Amber can dethrone the enthroned. But the Koorma* slew his son; the Kamd'huj† murdered his father."

The words of the poetic seer sank into the minds of his hearers, and passed from mouth to mouth. They were probably the severest vengeance either prince experienced in this world, and will continue to circulate down to the latest posterity. It was the effusion of the same undaunted Kurno, who led the charge with his prince against the troops of Amber.

We have also the anathema of the prophetic *Sati*, wife of Ajit, who, as she mounted the pyre with her murdered lord, pronounced that terrific sentence to the ears of the patriotic Rajpoot: "May the bones of the murderer be consumed out of Maroo!"‡ In the value they attach to the fulfilment of the prophecy, we have a commentary on the supernatural power attached to these self-devoted victims. The record of the last moments of Bukhta, in the dialogue with his doctor,§ is a scene of the highest dramatic and moral interest; and, if further comment were required, demonstrates the operations of the hell within, as well as the abhorrence the Rajpoot entertains for such crimes.

CHAPTER XIII.

BEEJY SING, then in his twentieth year, succeeded his father, Bukhta. His accession was acknowledged not only by the Emperor, but by all the princes around him, and he was inaugurated at the frontier town of Marote, when proceeding to Mairta, where he passed the period of *matum* or mourning. Hither the independent branches of his family, of Bikaner, Kishengurh, and Roopnagurh, came simultaneously with their condolence and congratulations. Thence he advanced to the capital, and concluded the rites on death and accession with gifts and charities which gratified all expectations.

The death of his uncle afforded the ex-prince, Ram Sing, the chance of redeeming his birthright and in conjunction with the prince of Amber,

* *Koorma* or *Cuchwa* (the tribe of the princes of Amber), slew his son, Seo Sing.

† *Kamd'huj*, it must be remembered, is a titular appellation of the *Rahthore* kings which they brought from Canouj.

‡ See Vol. I.

§ See Vol. I.

he concluded a treaty* with the Mahrattas, the stipulations of which were sworn to by their leaders. The 'Southrons' advanced by Kotah and Jey-pur, where Ram Sing, with his personal adherents and a strong auxiliary band of Amber, united their forces, and they proceeded to the object in view, the dethronement of Beejy Sing.

Beejy Sing was prepared for the storm, and led his native chivalry to the plains of Mairta, where, animated with one impulse, a determination to repel foreign interference, they awaited the Mahrattas, to decide the rival claims to the throne of the desert. The bard delights to enumerate the clans who mustered all their strength; and make particular allusion to the allodial *Pattawuts*, who were foremost on this occasion. From Poskur, where the combined army halted, a summons was sent to Beejy Sing "to surrender the gadi of Maroo." It was read in full convention and answered with shouts of "Battle! Battle!" "Who is this Happa,† thus to scare us, when, were the firmament to fall, our heads would be pillars of support to preserve you?" Such is the hyperbole of the Rajpoot when excited, nor does his action fall far short of it. The numerical odds were immense against the Ralhthores; but they little esteemed the Cuchwahs, and their courage had very different aliment to sustain it from the mercenary Southron. The encounter was of the most desperate description, and the bard deals out a full measure of justice to all.

Two accidents occurred during the battle, each sufficient to turn victory from the standard of Beejy Sing, on the very point of fruition. One has elsewhere been related,‡ namely, the destruction of the "Sillehposhi-ans," or cuirassiers, the chosen cohort of the Ralhthores, when returning from a successful charge, who were mistaken for the foe, and mowed down with discharges of grape-shot. This error, at a moment when the courage of the Mahrattas was wavering, might have been retrieved, notwithstanding the superstitious converted the disaster into an omen of evil. Sindia had actually prepared to quit the field, when another turn of the wheel decided the event in his favour: the circumstance exhibits forcibly the versatile character of the Rajpoot.

The Raja of Kishengurh had deprived his relative of Roopnagurh of his estates; both were junior branches of Marwar, but held direct from the emperor. Sawunt Sing, chieftain of Roopnagurh, either from constitutional indifference of old age, retired to the sanctuary of Vindrabun on the Jumna, and, before the shrine of the Hindu Apollo, poured forth his gratitude for "his scape from Hell," in the loss of his little kingdom. But it was in vain he attempted to inspire young Sirdar with the like contempt of mundane glory; to his exhortations the youth replied, "It is well for you, Sire,§ who have enjoyed life, to reign its sweets so tranquilly; but I am yet a stranger to them." Taking advantage of the times, he determined to seek a stronger auxiliary for the recovery of his rights than the poetic homilies of Jydeva. Accordingly, he joined the envoy of Ram Sing, and returned with the Mahratta army, on whose successful operations his hope of reconquering his patrimony rested. It was at that moment of doubt,

* This treaty is termed *huldi* or *bul-patra*, 'a strong deed.' The names of the chiefs who signed it were Jankoji Sindia, Sindia Malji, Tantia Cheetoo, Raghu Pagia, Ghosulia Jadoon, Moolla Year Ali, Feeroz Khan; all great leaders amongst the 'Southrons' of that day.

† The A, to the Rajpoot on the north west, is as great a shibboleth as to the Cockney:—thus *Appa* becomes *Happa*.

‡ See Vol. I.

§ Baup-ji.

that Appa, the Mahratta commander, thus addressed young Sirdar : "Your star, young man, is united to Ram Sing's which fortune does not favour; what more is to be done before we move off?" Inexperienced as he was, Sirdar knew his countrymen, and their vacillation when touched by superstition; and he obtained permission to try a *ruse*, as a last resort. He despatched a horseman of his own clan to the division which pressed them most, who, coming up to the Mainote minister, as if of his own party, asked "what they were fighting for, as Beejy Sing lay dead, killed by a cannonshot in another part of the field?" Like the ephemeral tribe of diplomacy, the Mainote saw his sun was set. He left the field, followed by the panic-struck clans, amongst whom the report circulated like wild-fire. Though accustomed to these stratagems, with which their annals teem, the Rajpoots are never on their guard against them; not a man inquired into the truth of the report, and Beejy Sing,—who, deeming himself in the very career of victory, was coolly performing his devotions amidst the clash of swords,—was left almost alone, even without attendants or horses. The lord of Marwar, who, on that morning, commanded the lives of one hundred thousand Rajpoots, was indebted for his safety to the mean conveyance of a cart and pair of oxen.*

Every clan had to erect tablets for the loss of their best warriors; and as in their civil wars each strove to be foremost in devotion, most of the chieftains of note were amongst the slain.† The bard metes out a fair measure of justice to their auxiliaries, especially the Suktawuts of Mewar, whose swords were unsheathed in the cause of the son-in-law of their prince. Nor is the lance of the Southron passed over without eulogy, to praise which, indeed, is to extol themselves.

With the loss of this battle and the dispersion of the Rahthores, the strong-holds rapidly fell. The cause of Ram Sing was triumphing, and the Mahrattas were spreading over the land of Maroo, when foul assassination checked their progress.‡ But the death of Jey Appa, which converted his hordes from auxiliaries to principals in the contest, called aloud for vengeance, that was only to be appeased by the cession of Ajmer, and a fixed triennial tribute on all the lands of Maroo, both feudal and fiscal. This arrangement being made, the Mahrattas displayed the virtue common to such mercenary allies: they abandoned

* The anecdote is related in Vol. I. The *Beejy Vilas* states that the prince rewarded the peasant with five hundred beegas of land in perpetuity, which his descendants enjoy, saddled with the *petite serjanderie* of "curds and bajra cakes," in remembrance of the fare the Jat provided for his prince on that emergency.

† Rae Sing, chief of the Koompawuts, the second noble in rank of Marwar; Lall Sing, head of the Seesawuts with the leader of the Keetawuts, are especially singled out as sealing their fidelity with their blood; but all the *otes* and *awuts* of the country come in for a share of glory.

‡ This occurrence has been amply narrated in the chronicle, the *Beejy Vilas*, from which I am now compiling. In this it is said that Jey Appa, during the siege, having fallen sick, the Rahthore prince sent his own physician, Soorajmul, to attend him; that the doctor at first refused the mission, saying "You may tell me to poison him, and I will not obey;" "On the contrary," said his prince, let your skill cure in two days what would take you four, and I shall favour you;" but what was far more strange, Appa objected not, took the medicines of the *bed*, and recovered.

Ram Sing to his 'evil star,' and took possession of this stronghold, which placed, in the very heart of Rajasthan, perpetuated thir influence over its princes.

With this gem, thus rudely torn from her diadem, the independence Marwar from that hour has been insecure. She has struggled on, indeed, through a century of invasions, rebellions, and crimes, all originating, like the blank leaf in her annals, from the murder of Ajit. In the words of the Doric stanza of the hostile bards on this memorable chastisement.

"Ead għunna din aosi

"Happu wala hel

"Bhaga tin-o bu-pati

"Mal kasana mel."

For many a day will they remember the time (*hel*) of Appa, when the three sovereigns fled, abandoning their goods and treasures :^{*} alluding to the princes of Marwar, Bikaner, and Kishengurh, who partook in the disasters and disgrace of that day.

The youthful heir of Roopnagurh claimed, as he justly might, the victory to himself; and going up to Appa to congratulate him, said, in the metaphorical language of his country, "You see I sowed mustard-seed in my hand as I stood:" comparing the prompt success of his stratagem to the rapid vegetation of the seed. But Sirdar was a young man of no ordinary promise; for when Sindia, in gratitude, offered immediately to put him in possession of Roopnagurh, he answered, "No; that would be a retrograde movement," and told him to act for his master Ram Sing, "whose success would best insure his own." But when treachery had done its worst on Jey Appa, suspicion, which fell on every Rajpoot in the Mahratta camp, spared not Sirdar: swords were drawn in every quarter, and even the messengers of peace, the envoys, were everywhere assailed, and amongst those who fell ere the tumult could be appeased, was Rawut Kober Sing, the premier noble of Mewar, then ambassador from the Rana with the Mahrattas.* With his last breath, Jey Appa protected and exonerated Sirdar, and enjoined that his pledge of restoration to his patrimony should be redeemed. The body of this distinguished commander was burned at the *Taos-sir*, or 'Peacock pool,' where a cenotaph was erected, and in the care which the descendants even of his enemies pay to it, we have a test of the merits of both victor and vanquished.

This was the last of twenty-two battles, in which Ram Sing was prodigal of his life for the recovery of his honours. The adversity of his later days had softened the asperity of his temper, and made his early faults be forgotten, though too late for his benefit. He died in exile at Jeypur, in A. D. 1773. His person was gigantic; his demeanour affable and courteous; and he was generous to a fault. His understanding was excellent and well cultivated, but his capricious temperament, to which he gave vent with an unbridled vehemence, disgusted the high-minded nobles of Maroo, and involved him in exile and misery till his death. It is universally admitted that, both in exterior and accomplishments, not even the

* I have many original autograph letters of this distinguished Rajpoot on the transactions of this period; for it was he who negotiated the treaty between Raja Madhu Sing, of Jeypur, the 'nephew of Mewar,' and the Mahrattas. At this time, his objects was to induce Jey Appa to raise the siege of Nagore.

great Ajit could compare with Ram Sing, and witchcraft, at the instigation of the chieftain of Asope, is assigned to account for his fits of insanity, which might be better attributed to the early and immoderate use of opium. But in spite of his errors, the fearless courage he displayed, against all odds, kept some of the most valiant of the clans constant to his fortunes, especially the brave Mairteas under the heroic Shere Sing of Reah, whose deeds can never be obliterated from the recollections of the Rahthore. Not the least ardent of his adherents was the allodial chief Roop Sing, of the almost forgotten clan, Pattawut; who held out in Filodi against all attempts, and who, when provisions failed, with his noble associates, slew and ate their camels. The theme is a favourite one for the *Kamrea* minstrel of Maroo, who sings the fidelity of Roopa and his band to the notes of his *rhehab*, to their ever attentive descendants.

We may sum up the character of Ram Sing in the words of the bard, as he contrasts him with his rival. "Fortune never attended the stirrup of Beejy Sing, who never gained a battle, though at the head of a hundred thousand men; but Ram Sing, by his valour and conduct, gained victories with a handful."

The death of Ram Sing was no panacea to the griefs of Marwar or of its prince. The Mahrattas, who had now obtained a *point-d'appui* in Rajwarra, continued to foster disputes which tended to their advantage, or when opportunity offered, to scour the country in search of pay or plunder. Beejy Sing young and inexperienced, was left without resources; ruinous wars and yet more ruinous negotiations had dissipated the hoards of wealth accumulated by his predecessors. The crown-lands were uncultivated, the tenantry dispersed; and commerce had diminished, owing to insecurity and the licentious habits of the nobles, who everywhere established their own imposts, and occasionally despoiled entire caravans. While the competitor for the throne was yet living, the raja was compelled to shut his eyes on these inroads upon his proper power, which reduced him to insignificance even in his own palace.

The aristocracy in Marwar has always possessed more power than in any of the sister principalities around. The cause may be traced to their first settlement in the desert; and it has been kept in action by the peculiarities of their condition, especially in that protracted struggle for the rights of the minor Ajit, against the despotism of the empire. There was another cause, which, at the present juncture, had a very unfortunate influence on the increase of this preponderance, and which arose out of the laws of adoption.

The fief of Pokurn, the most powerful (although a junior) branch of the Champawut clan, adopted a son of Raja Ajit as their chief; his name was Devi Sing. The right of adoption, as has been already explained, rests with the widow of the deceased and the elders of the clan. Why they exercised it as they did on this occasion, does not appear; but not improbably at the suggestion of the dying chief, who wished to see his sovereign's large family provided for, having no sons of his own: or the immediate claimants may not have possessed the qualities necessary to lead a clan of Maroo. Although the moment such adoption takes place, when "the turban of the late incumbent encircled the new lord of Pokurn," he ought to forget he had any other father than him he succeeded, yet we can easily imagine that, in the present case, his propinquity to the throne, which under other circumstances he might soon have forgotten, was continually forced upon his recollection by the contentions of his parrietal brothers and their offspring for the 'cushion' of Marwar. It exemplifies

another feature in Rajpoot institutions, which cut off this son (guiltless of all participation in the treason) from succession, because he was identified with the feudality ; while the issue of another, and junior brother, at the same period adopted into the independent house of Edur,* were heirs presumptive to Marwar : nay, must supply it with a ruler on failure of heirs, though they should have but one son and be compelled to adopt in his room.†

The Champawuts determined to maintain their influence over the sovereign and the country ; and Devi Sing leagued with Ahwa and the other branches of this clan to the exclusion of all competitors. They formed of their own body a guard of honour for the person of the prince, one half remaining on duty in the castle, the other half being in the town below. While the Raja would lament the distracted state of his country, the inroads of the Hill tribes, and the depredation of his own chiefs, Devi Sing of Pokurn would reply, " why trouble yourself about Marwar ? it is in the sheath of my dagger." The young prince used to unburthen his griefs to his foster-brother Jaggo, a man of caution and experience, which qualities he instilled into his sovereign. By dissimulation, and an apparent acquiescence in their plans, he not only eluded suspicion, but, availing himself of their natural indolence of character, at length obtained leave not only to entertain some men of Sindé as guards for the town, but to provide supplies for their subsistence, the first approximation towards a standing mercenary force, till then unknown in their annals. We do not mean that the Rajpoot princes never employed any other than their own feudal clans ; they had foreign Rajpoots in their pay, but still on the same tenure, holding lands for service ; but never till this period had they soldiers entertained on monthly stipend. These hired bands were entirely composed of infantry, having a slight knowledge of European tactics, the superiority of which, even over their high-minded cavaliers, they had so severely experienced in their encounters with the Mahrattas. The same causes had operated on the courts of Oodipur and Jeypore to induce them to adopt the like expedient ; to which, more than to the universal demoralization which followed the breaking up of the empire, may be attributed the rapid decay of feudal principles throughout Rajpootana. These guards were composed either of Poorbea‡ Rajpoots, Sindies, Arabs, or Rohillas. They received their orders direct from the prince, through the civil officers of the state, by whom they were entrusted with the execution of all duties of importance or despatch. Thus they soon formed a complete barrier between the prince and his vassals, and consequently became objects of jealousy and of strife. In like manner did all the other states make approaches towards a standing army ; and though the motive in all cases was the same, to curb, or even to extinguish, the strength of the feudal chiefs, it has failed throughout, except in the solitary instance of Kotah, where twenty well-disciplined battalions, and a hundred pieces of artillery, are maintained chiefly from the feudal sequestrations.

To return : the Dhabhae, having thus secured a band of seven hundred men, and obtained an aid (which we may term *scutage*) from the

* It will be remembered that Edur was conquered by a brother of Seoji's.

† We shall explain this by a cutting of the genealogical tree : it may be found useful should we be called on to arbitrate in these matters.

‡ *Poorbeas*, 'men of the east,' as the *Mugrabies* are 'of the west.'

chiefs for their maintenance, gradually transferred them from their duties above to the gates of the castles. Somewhat released from the thralldom of faction, the Raja concerted with his foster-brother and the Dewan, Futteh Chund, the means of restoring prosperity and order. So destitute was the prince of resources, that the Dhabhae had recourse to threats of suicide to obtain 50,000 rupees from his mother, acquired as the nurse (*dhai*) of his sovereign; and so drained was the country of horses, that he was compelled to transport his cavaliers (who were too proud to walk), on cars to Nagore. There, under the pretence of curbing the hill tribes, he formed an army, and dismounting the guns from the walls of the town, marched an ill-equipped force against the border-mountaineers, and being successful, he attacked on his return the castle of Seel-Bukri. This was deemed a sufficient indication of his views; the whole feudality of Maroo took alarm, and united for mutual safety at Birsilpoor, twenty miles east of the capital.

There was a foreign Rajpoot, whose valour, fidelity, and conduct had excited the notice and regard of Bukhta Sing, who, in his dying hour, recommended him to the service of his son. To Gordhun, the Keechie, a name of no small note in the subsequent history of this reign, did the young Raja apply in order to restrain his chiefs from revolt. In the true spirit of Rajpoot sentiment, he advised his prince to confide in their honour, and unattended, to seek and remonstrate with them, while he went before to secure him a good reception. At day break, Gordhun, was in the camp of the confederates; he told them that their prince, confiding in their loyalty, was advancing to join them, and besought them to march out to receive him. Deal, however, to entreaty and to remonstrance, not a man would stir, and the prince reached the camp uninvited and unwelcomed. Decision and confidence are essential in all transactions with a Rajpoot. Gordhun remained not a moment in deliberation, but instantly carried his master direct to the tent of the Ahwa chief, the premier noble of Marwar. Here the whole body congregated, and silence was broken by the prince, who demanded why his chief had abandoned him?

"Maharaja," replied the Champawut, "our bodies have but one pinnacle; were there a second, it should be at your disposal." A tedious discussion ensued; doubts of the future, recriminations respecting the past; till wearied and exhausted, the prince demanded to know the conditions on which they would return to their allegiance, when the following articles were submitted:

- 1st. To break up the force of the Dhabhae;
- 2nd. To surrender to their keeping the records of fiefs (*putta-buhye*);
- 3rd. That the court should be transferred from the citadel to the town.

There was no alternative but the renewal of civil strife or compliance; and the first article, which was a *sine qua non*, the disbanding of the obnoxious guards, that anomalous appendage to a Rajpoot prince's person, was carried into immediate execution. Neither in the first nor last stipulation could the prince feel surprise or displeasure; but the second sapped the very foundation of his rule, by depriving the crown of its dearest prerogative, the power of dispensing favour. This shallow reconciliation being effected, the malcontent nobles dispersed, some to their estates, and the Chondawut oligarchy to the capital with their prince, in the hope of resuming their former influence over him and the country.

Thus things remained, when Atmaram, the *guru* or 'ghostly comforter,' of Beejy Sing, fell sick, and as he sedulously attended him, the dying priest would tell him to be of good cheer, for when he departed, he "would take all his troubles with him." He soon died, and his words which were deemed prophetic, were interpreted by the Dhabhae. The Raja feigned immoderate grief for the loss of his spiritual friend, and in order to testify his veneration, an ordinance was issued commending that the *krea-carma*, or 'rites for the dead,' should be performed in the castle, while the queens on pretence of paying their last duty to his remains, descended, carrying with them the guards and retainers as their escort. It was an occasion on which suspicion, even if awake, could not act, and the chiefs ascended to join in the funeral rites to the saint. As they mounted the steps cut out of the rock which wound round the hill of Joda, the mind of Devi Sing suddenly misgave him, and he exclaimed, that "the day was unlucky;" but it passed off with the flattering remark, "you are the pillar of Maroo; who dare even look at you?" They paced slowly through the various barriers, until they reached the *alarum gate*.* It was shut! "Treachery!" exclaimed the chief of Ahwa, as he drew his sword, and the work of death commenced. Several were slain: the rest were over-powered. Their captivity was a sufficient presage of their fate; but, like true Rajpoots, when the Dhabhae told them they were to die, their last request was, "that their souls might be set at liberty by the sword, not by the unsanctified ball of the mercenary." The chronicle does not say whether this wish was gratified, when the three great leaders of the Champawuts, with Jaet Sing of Ahwa; Devi Sing of Pokurn; the lord of Hursola; Chuttur Sing, chief of the Koompawuts; Kesuri Sing of Chandrain; the heir of Neemaj; and the chief of Raus, then the principal fief of the Oodawuts, met their fate. The last hour of Devi Sing was marked with a distinguished peculiarity. Being of the royal line of Maroo, they would not spill his blood, but sent him his death-warrant in a jar of opium. On receiving it, and his prince's command to make his own departure from life, "What!" said the noble spirit, as they presented the jar, "shall Devi Sing take his *umul* (opiate) out of an earthen vessel? Let his gold cup be brought, and it shall be welcome." This last vain distinction being denied, he dashed out his brains against the walls of his prison. Before he thus enfranchised his proud spirit, some ungenerous mind, repeating his own vaunt, demanded, "where was then the sheath of the dagger which held the fortunes of Marwar?" "In Subbula's gridle at Pokurn," was the laconic reply of the undaunted Chondawut.

This was a tremendous sacrifice for the maintenance of authority, of men who had often emptied their veins in defence of their country. But even ultra patriotism, when opposed to foreign aggression, can prove no palliative to treason or mitigate its award, when, availing themselves of the diminished power of the prince, an arrogant and imperious oligarchy presumes to enthrall their sovereign. It is the mode in which vengeance was executed, at which the mind recoils, and which with other instances appears to justify the imputation of perfidy, amongst the traits of Rajpoot character. But if we look deeply into it, we shall find reason to distrust such conclusion. The Rajpoot abhors, in the abstract, both perfidy and treason; but the elements of the society in which he lives and acts,

* The *nakarra durwasa*, where the grand kettle-drum is stationed, to give the alarm or summons to the chieftains to repair to the Presence. To this gate Raja Maun advanced to meet the Author, then the representative of the Governor-General of India.

unfortunately too often prompt the necessity of sacrificing principles to preservation : but this proceeds from their faulty political constitution ; it is neither inculcated in their moral code, nor congenial to their moral habits.

The perpetual struggle between the aristocracy and the sovereign, which is an evil inherent in all feudal associations, was greatly aggravated in Marwar, as well as in Mewar, by the sacrifice of that corner-stone even of constitutional monarchy, the rights of primogeniture. But in each case the deviation from custom was a voluntary sacrifice of the respective heirs-apparent to the caprices of parental dotage. In no other country in the world could that article of the Christian decalogue, "Honour thy father and thy mother," be better illustrated than in Rajpootana, where, if we have had to record two horrid examples of deviation from, we have also exhibited splendid proofs of final devotion, in Chonda of Mewar, and Champā of Marwar, who resigned the "rods" they were born to wield ; and served, when they should have swayed, to gratify their fathers' love for the fruit of their old age. These are instances of self-denial hardly to be credited ; from such disinterested acts, their successors claimed an importance which, though natural, was totally unforeseen, and which the extent of compensation contributed to foster. They asserted the right, as hereditary premiers of the state, to be the advisers, or rather the tutors, of their sovereigns, more especially in non-age, and in allusion to this surrender of their birth-right, arrogantly applied the well-known adage, *Pat ca malik myn ho, Raj ca malik ooa*, 'He is sovereign of the state, but I am the master of the Throne ;' and insisted on the privilege of being consulted on every gift of land, and putting their autograph symbol to the deed or grant.* These pretensions demanded the constant exertions of the sovereign to resist them ; for this purpose, he excited the rivalry of the less powerful members of the federated vassalage, and thus formed a kind of balance of power, which the monarch, if skilful, could always turn to account. But not even the jealousies thus introduced would have so depreciated the regal influence in Marwar, nor even the more recent adoption of a son of the crown into the powerful fief of Pokurn, had not the parricidal sons of Ajit degraded the throne in the eyes of their haughty and always over-reaching vassals, who, in the civil strife which followed, were alternately in favour or disgrace, as they adhered to or opposed the successful for power. To this foul blot, every evil which has since overtaken this high-minded race may be traced, as well as the extirpation of that principal of devoted obedience which, in the anterior portion of these annals, has been so signally recorded. To this hour it has perpetuated dissensions between the crown and the oligarchy, leading to deposal and violence to the princes, or sequestration, banishment and death to the nobles. To break the bonds of this tutelage, Ram Sing's intemperance lost him the crown, which sat uneasy on the head of his successor, who had no other mode of escape but by the severity which has been related. But though it freed him for a time, the words of the dying chief of Pokurn continued to ring in his ears ; and, "the dagger left in the girdle of his son" disturbed the dreams of his rest throughout a long life of vicissitudes, poisoning the source of enjoyment until death itself was a relief.

The nuncupatory testament of the Champawut was transmitted across the desert to his son at Pokurn, and the rapidity of its transmission

* See Vol. I.

was only equalled by the alacrity of Subbula, who at the head of his vassals issued forth to execute the vengeance thus bequeathed. First, he attempted to burn and pillage the mercantile town of Pally ;—foiled in which, he proceeded to another wealthy city of the fisc, Bilwarra on the Looni ; but here terminated both his life and his revenge. As he led the escalade, he received two balls, which hurled him back amongst his kinsmen, and his ashes next morning blanched the sandy bed of the Looni.

For a time, the feudal interest was restrained, anarchy was allayed, commerce again flourished, and general prosperity revived: to use the words of the chronicle, "the subject enjoyed tranquillity, and the tiger and the lamb drank from the same fountain." Beejy Sing took the best means to secure the fidelity of his chiefs, by finding them occupation. He carried his arms against the desultory hordes of the desert, the Khosas and Sahraes, which involved him in contests with the nominal sovereign of Sindé, and ended in the conquest of Amerkote, the key to the valley of the Indus, and which is now the most remote possession of Marwar. He also curtailed the territories of Jessulmer, on his north-west frontier. But more important than all was the addition of the rich province of Godwar, from the Rana of Mewar. This tract, which nearly equals in value the whole fiscal-domain of Maroo, was wrested from the ancient princes of Mundore, prior to the Rahthores, and had been in the possession of the Seesodias for nearly five centuries, when civil dissension made the Rana place it for security under the protection of Raja Beejoy Sing ; since which it has been lost to Mewar.

Marwar had enjoyed several years of peace, when the rapid strides made by the Mahrattas towards universal rapine, if not conquest, compelled the Rajpoots once more to form an union for the defence of their political existence. Pertap Sing, a prince of energy and enterprize, was now on the *gadi* of Amber. In S. 1843 (A. D. 1787), he sent an ambassador to Beejoy Sing, proposing a league against the common foe, and volunteering to lead in person their conjoined forces against them. The battle of Tonga ensued, in which Rahthore valour shone forth in all its glory. Despising discipline, they charged through the dense battalions of De Boigne, sabring his artillery-men at their guns, and compelling Sindia to abandon not only the field, but all his conquests for a time.* Beejoy Sing, by this victory, redeemed the castle of Ajmer, and declared his tributary alliance null and void. But the genius of Sindia, and the talents of De Boigne, soon, recovered this loss ; and in four years the Mahratta marched with a force such as Indian warfare was stranger to, to redeem that day's disgrace. In S. 1847 (A. D. 1791), the murderous battles of Patun and Mairta took place, in which Rajpoot courage was heroically but fruitlessly displayed against European tactics and unlimited resources, and where neither intrigue nor treason was wanting. The result was the imposition of a contribution of sixty lacks of rupees, or £600,000 ; and as so much could not be drained from the country, goods and chattels were everywhere distrained, and hostages given for the balance.

Ajmer, which had revolted on the short-lived triumph of Tonga, was once more surrendered, and lost for ever to Marwar. When invested by De Boigne, the faithful governor, Dumraj, placed in the dilemma of a disgraceful surrender, or disobedience to his prince's summons, swallowed diamond powder. "Tell the raja," said this faithful servant, "thus only

* See Vol. I. for the details of this battle.

could I testify my obedience; and over my dead body alone could a Southron enter Ajmer."*

The paramount influence which the morals and manners of a court exert upon a nation, is every where admitted. In constitutional governments, there is a barrier even to court influence and corruption, in the vast portion of wealth and worth which cannot be engulfed in their vortex. But in these petty sovereignties, no such check is found, and the tone of virtue and action is given from the throne. The laws of semi-barbarous nations, which admit of licentious concubinage, has ever been peculiar to orientals, from the days of the wise king of the Jews to those of Beejoy Sing of Marwar; and their political consequence has been the same, the sacrifice of the rights of lawful inheritance to the heirs of illicit affection. The last years of the king of Maroo were engrossed by sentimental folly with a young beauty of the *Oswal* tribe, on whom he lavished all the honours due only to his legitimate queens. Scandal affirms that she frequently returned his passion in a manner little becoming royal dignity, driving him from her presence with the basest of missiles—her shoes. As the effects of this unworthy attachment completed the anarchy of Marwar, and as its consequences on deviating from the established rules of succession have entailed a perpetuity of crime and civil war, under which this unfortunate state yet writhes, we shall be minute, even to dullness, in the elucidation of this portion of their annals, to enable those who have now to arbitrate these differences to bring back a current of uncontaminated blood to sway the destinies of this still noble race.

* Dumraj was not a Rajpoot, but of the *Singwi* tribe, one of the civil officers; though it is a curious and little-known fact, that almost all the mercantile tribes of Western India are of Rajpoot origin, and sank the name and profession of arms when they became proselytes to *Jainism*, in the reign of Raja Bheem Pramar. The Cheetore inscription (See Vol. I. records the name of this prince. He was ancestor of Raja Maun, whose date S. 770 (A. D. 714), allows us to place this grand conversion prior to A. D. 650

by this method succeeded in her wishes, the *Pasbani* sent off young Maun to the castle of Jhalore; but fearing lest the experience of Shere Sing, his adopted father, might prove a hindrance to her control, he was recalled, and her own creatures left to guide the future sovereign of Marwar. The dotage of Beejoy Sing, and the insolence of his concubine, produced fresh discord, and the clans assembled at Malkasuni to concert his deposal.

Recollecting the success of his former measures to recall them to their duty, Beejoy Sing proceeded to their camp; but while he was negotiating, and as he supposed successfully, the confederates wrote to the chieftain of Raus, whose tour of duty was in the castle, to descend with Bheem Sing. The chief acquainted the *Pasbani* that her presence was required at the camp by the Raja, and that a guard of honour was ready to attend her. She was thrown off her guard, and at the moment she entered her litter, a blow from an unseen hand ended her existence. Her effects were instantly confiscated, and the chief of Raus descended with Bheem, whose tents were pitched at the Nagore barrier of the city. If, instead of encamping there, they had proceeded to the camp of the confederates, his arrival and the dethronement of Beejoy Sing would have been simultaneous: but the Raja received the intelligence as soon as the chiefs. Hastening back, he obtained the person of the young aspirant, to whom, to reconcile him to his disappointment, he gave in appanage the districts of Sojot and Sewanoh, and sent him off to the latter strong-hold; while to restrain the resentment of his eldest son, Zalim Sing, whose birth-right he had so unworthily sacrificed, he enfeoffed him with the rich district of Godwar, giving him private orders to attack his brother Bheem, who, though apprised of the design in time to make head against his uncle, was yet defeated and compelled to fly. He found refuge at Pokurna, whence he went to Jessulmeer.

In the midst of this conflict, his dominions curtailed, his chiefs in rebellion, his sons and grandsons mutually opposed to each other, and the only object which attached him to life thus violently torn from him, Beejoy Sing died, in the month Asar S. 1850, after a reign of thirty-one years.

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CHAPTER XIV.

THE intelligence of Beejoy Sing's death was conveyed by express to his grandson Bheem, at Jessulmer. In "twenty-two hours" he was at Jodhpur, and ascending directly to the citadel, seated himself upon the *gadi*, while his rival, Zalim Sing, the rightful heir, little expecting this celerity, was encamped at the Mairta gate, awaiting the "lucky hour" to take possession. That hour never arrived; and the first intelligence of Bheem being on "the cushion of Joda," was conveyed to the inhabitants by the *Nakarras* of his rival on his retreat from the city, who was pursued to Bhilara, attacked, defeated, and forced to seek shelter at Oodipoor, where, with an ample domain from the Rana, he passed the rest of his days in literary pursuits. He died in the prime of life: attempting to open a vein with his own hand, he cut an artery and bled

to death. He was a man of great personal and mental qualifications ; a gallant soldier, and no mean poet.*

Thus far successful, Raja Bheem determined to dismiss "compunctious visitings," and be a king *de facto* if not *de jure*. Death had carried off three of his uncles, as well as his father, previous to this event ; but there were still two others, Shere Sing, his adopted father, and Sirdar Sing, who stood in his way : the last was put to death ; the former had his eyes put out ; and, soon after, the unfortunate prince released himself from life by dashing out his brains. Soor Sing, the favourite of all Beejoy Sing's descendants, remained. His superior claims were fatal to him and his life fell a sacrifice with the others.

A single claimant alone remained of all the blood royal of Maroo to disturb the repose of Bheem. This was young Maun, the adopted son of the concubine, placed beyond his reach within the walls of Jhalore. Could Bheem's dagger have reached him, he would have stood alone, the last surviving scion of the parricide,

"With none to bless him,

"None whom he could bless ;"

an instrument, in the hand of divine power, to rid the land of an accursed stock. Then the issue of Abhya Sing would have utterly perished, and their ashes might have been given to the winds, and no memorial of them left. Edur must then have supplied an heir,† and the doubtful pretensions of Dhonkul,‡ the posthumous and reputed son of the wholesale assassin

* My own venerable tutor, Yati Gyanchandra, who was with me for ten years, said he owed all his knowledge, especially his skill in reciting poetry (in which he surpassed all the bards at Oodipur), to Zalim Sing.

† Amongst the numerous autograph correspondence of the princes of Rajpootana with the princes of Mewar, of which I had the free use, I selected one letter of S. 1784 A.D. 1728, written conjointly by Jey Sing of Amber and Abhya Sing of Jodhpur, regarding Edur, and which is so curious, that I give a *verbatim* translation in the Appendix (No. I) I little thought at the time how completely it would prove Abhya Sing's determination to cut off all but his own parricidal issue from the succession. An inspection of the genealogy (p. 456), will shew that Anund Sing of Edur, who was not to be allowed "to escape alive," was his younger brother, adopted into that house.

‡ Dhonkul Sing, the posthumous issue of Bheem, the last of the parricidal line, whether real or supposititious, must be set aside, and the pure current of Raithore blood, derived from Seogi, Joda, Jeswant, and Ajit, be brought from Edur, and installed on "the gadi of Joda." This course of proceeding would meet universal approbation, with the exception of some selfish miscreants about the person of this pretended son of Bheem, or the chieftain of Pokurn, in furtherance of his and his grandfather's yet unavenged feud. A sketch of the events, drawn from their own chronicles, and accompanied by reflections, exposing the miseries springing from an act of turpitude, would come home to all, and they would shower blessings on the power which, while it fulfilled the duties of protector, destroyed the germ of internal dissension, and gave them a prince of their own pure blood, whom all parties could honour and obey. If a doubt remained of the probable unanimity of such policy, let it be previously submitted to a *punchaet*, composed of the princes of the land, *vis.*, of Mewar, Amber, Kotah, Boondi, Jessulmeer, etc., leaving out whichever may be influenced by marriage connections with Dhonkul Sing.

Bheem, to sit upon the *gadi* of Ajit, would never have been brought forward to excite another murderous contest amongst the sons of Joda.

Having sacrificed all those within his reach who stood between him and the throne, Bheem tried to secure the last sole claimant in Jhalore. But the siege of such a strong-hold with his feudal levies, or loose mercenary bands, was a tedious operation, and soon became an imperfect blockade, through which young Maun not unfrequently broke, and by signal formed a junction with his adherents, and plundered the fiscal lands for support. One of these excursions, however, an attempt to plunder Palli, had nearly proved fatal to him; they were attacked on their return, and young Maun, whose secluded education had confined him more to mental than to personal accomplishments, was unhorsed, and would have been captured, but for the prowess of the chief of Ahore, who took him up behind him and bore him off in safety. Nothing but the turbulence of the chiefs who supported Raja Bheem saved young Maun's life. A disputed succession has always produced an odious faction; and Bheem, who was not disposed to bend to this oligarchy, appears to have had all the imprudence of the dethroned Ram Sing: he threatened those entrusted with the siege to give them "oxen to ride instead of horses." The chiefs fired at the insult, and retired to Ganorah, the principal fief in Godwar; but, disgusted with both parties, instead of obeying the invitation of young Maun, they abandoned their country altogether, and sought an asylum in the neighbouring states. Many fiefs were sequestered, and Neemaj, the chief seat of the Oodawuts, was attacked, and after a twelve months' defence, taken; its battlements were ignominiously destroyed, and the victors, chiefly foreign mercenaries, reinforced the blockade of Jhalore.

With the exile of his partisans and daily diminishing resources, when the lower town was taken, there appeared no hope for young Maun. A small supply of millet-flour was all the provision left to his half-famished garrison, whose surrender was now calculated upon, when an invitation came from the hostile commander for Maun to repair to his camp, and adding "*he was now the master; it was his duty to serve.*" On that day the 2nd Kartik S. 1860, (Dec. 1804), after eleven years of defence, his means exhausted, his friends banished, and death from starvation or the sword inevitable, intelligence came of Raja Bheem's demise! This event, as unlooked for as it was welcome, could scarcely at first be credited; and the tender of the homage of the commander to Maun as his sovereign, though accompanied by a letter from the prime minister Induraj, was disregarded till the *guru* was Deonath returned from the camp with confirmation of the happy news, that "not a moustache was to be seen in the camp."* Thither the prince repaired, and was hailed as the head of the Rakhthores.

It is said that the successor of the *guru* Atmaram, "who carried all the troubles of Beejoy Sing with him to heaven," had predicted of young Maun Sing, when at the very zero of adversity, that "his fortunes would ascend." What were the means whereby the ghostly comforter of Raja Bheem influenced his political barometer, we know not; but prophetic *gurus*, bards, astrologers, physicians, and all the *Vedyas* or 'cunning-men,'† who beset the persons of princes, prove dangerous companions when,

* This mark of mourning is common to all India. Where this evidence of manhood is not yet visible, the hair is cut off; often both.

† *Vedya*, or 'science'; the term is also used to denote, cunning, magic, or knowledge of whatever kind.

in addition to the office of compounders of drugs and expounders of dreams, they are invested with the power of realizing their own prognostications.

On the 5th of Megsir, 1860 (A. D. 1804), Raja Maun, released from his perils, succeeded to the honours and the feuds of Beejoy Sing. He had occupied the 'cushion of Maroo' but a very short period, when the Pokurn chief "took offence," and put himself in hostility to his sovereign. The name of this proud vassal, the first in power though only of secondary rank amongst the Champawuts, was Sowae Sing, with whom now remained "the sheath of the dragger which held the fortunes of Maroo." If the fulfilment of vengeance be a virtue, Sowae was the most virtuous son on earth. The dagger of Devi Sing bequeathed to Subbula, was no imaginary weapon in the hands of his grandson Sowae, who held it suspended over the head of Raja Maun from his enthronement of his death-hour. Soon after Raja Maun's accession, Sowae retired with his partizans to Champasuni, a spot about five miles from the capital, where the conspiracy was prepared. He told the chiefs that the wife of Raja Bheem was pregnant, and prevailed on them to sign a declaration, that if a son was born, he should be installed on the *gadi* of Joda. They returned in a body to the capital, took the pregnant queen from the castle, and placed her in a palace in the city, under their own protection. Moreover, they held a council, at which the Raja was present, who agreed to recognize the infant, if a male, as the heir-apparent of Maroo, and to enfeoff him in the appanage of Nagore and Sewanoh; and that if a female, she should be betrothed to a prince of Dhoondar.

Posthumous births are never-failing germs of discord in these states; and the issue is inevitably branded by one party with the title of 'supposititious.' It is likewise a common saying, almost amounting to a proverb, that a male child is the uniform result of such a position. In due course, a male infant was born; but, alarmed for its safety, the mother concealed both its birth and sex, and placing it in a basket, conveyed it by a faithful servant from the city, whence it soon reached Sowae Sing at Pokurn. He bestowed upon it the inauspicious name of 'Dhonkul,' that is, one born to tumult and strife. It is said that, during two years he kept the birth a profound secret, and it is even added, that it might have remained so, had Rajah Maun forgot the history of the past, and dispensed even-handed justice. Wanting, however, the magnanimity of the Fourth Henry of France, who scorned "to revenge the wrongs of the Prince of Navarre," he reserved his favours and confidence for those who supported him in Jhalore, whilst he evinced his dislike to others who, in obedience to their sovereign, served against him. Of these adherents, only two chiefs of note were of his kin and clan; the others were Bhatti Rajpoots, and a body of those religious militants called *Bishenswamis*, under their Mehunt, or leader, Kaimdas.*

* They follow the doctrines of Vishnu (Bishen). They are termed *gosens*, as well as the more numerous class of church militants, devoted to Siva. Both are *celibataires* as *gosens* imports from mastery (*sen*) over the sense (*go*). They occasionally come in contact, when their sectarian principles end in furious combats. At the celebrated place of pilgrimage, Heridwar (Hurdwar) on the Ganges, we are obliged to have soldiers to keep the peace, since a battle occurred in which they fought almost to extirpation, about twenty years ago. They are the *Templars* of Rnjas-than.

At the expiration of two years, Sowae communicated the event to the chiefs of his party, who called upon Raja Maun to redeem his promise and issue the grant for Nagore and Sewanoh. He promised compliance f, upon investigation, the infant proved to be the legitimate offspring of his predecessor. Personal fear overcame maternal affection, and the queen, who remained at Jodhpur, disclaimed the child. Her reply being communicated to the chiefs it was for a time conclusive, and the subject ceased to interest them, the more especially as her concealed *accouchement* had never been properly accounted for.

Though Sowae, with his party, apparently acquiesced, his determination was taken; but instead of an immediate appeal to arms, he adopted a deeper scheme of policy, the effects of which he could not have contemplated, and which involved his own destruction, and with it the independence of his country, which was transferred to strangers, their very antipodes in manners, religion, and every moral quality. His first act was to procure a more powerful protection than Pokurn afforded; and under the guarantee of Chutter Sing Bhatti, he was sent to the *sirna* (sanctuary) of Abhoy Sing of Khetri.* Having so far succeeded, contrived an underplot, in which his genius for intrigue appears not below his reputation as a soldier.

The late prince Bheem had made overtures to the Rana of Mewar for the hand of his daughter, but he died before the preliminaries were adjusted. This simple circumstance was deemed sufficient by the Champawut for the ground-work of his plot. He contrived to induce the voluptuous Juggut Sing, the prince of Jeypur, to put himself in the place of Raja Bheem, and to propose for the fair hand of Kishna. This being accomplished and nuptial presents, under a guard of four thousand men, being despatched to Oodipoor, Sowae intimated to Raja Maun that he would be eternally disgraced if he allowed the prince of Amber to carry off "the betrothed;" that it was to the throne of Maroo, not its occupant, "she was promised." The bait was greedily swallowed, and the summons for the *kher* (or *leavy en masse*) of the Ralhthores was immediately proclaimed. Maun instantly assembled three thousand horses, and joining to them the mercenary bands of Heera Sing, then on the frontier of Mewar, he intercepted the nuptial gifts of Amber. Indignant at this outrage, Juggut Sing took to arms, and the muster-book was declared open to all who would serve in the war which was formally declared against Maroo.

Having thus opened the drama, Sowae threw off the mask, and repaired to Khetri, whence he conveyed the pretender, Dhonkul, to the court of Juggut Sing at Jeypur. Here his legitimacy was established by being admitted to eat from the same platter, with its prince; and his claims, as the heir of Marwar, were publicly acknowledged and advocated, by his 'placing him in the lap of his aunt,' one of the wives of the deceased Raja Bheem. His cause thus espoused, and being declared the nephew of Amber, the nobles of Marwar, who deemed the claims of the Pretender superior to those of Raja Maun, speedily collected around his standard. Amongst these was the prince of Bikaner, whose example (he being the most powerful of the independents of this house) at once sanctioned the justice of Dhonkul's cause, and left that of Raja Maun almost without support. Nevertheless, with the hereditary valour of his race, he advanced to the frontiers to meet his

* One of the principal chiefs of the Shekhawut confederation.

foes, whose numbers, led by the Jeypur prince and the Pretender, exceeded one hundred thousand men! This contest, the ostensible object of which was the princess of Mewar, like the crusades of ancient chivalry, brought allies from the most remote parts of India. Even the cautious Mahratta felt an unusual impulse in this rivalry, beyond the stimulants of pay and plunder which ordinarily rouse him, and corps after corps left their hordes to support either cause. The weightier purse of Jeypur was the best argument for the justice of his cause and that of the Pretender; while Raja Maun had only the gratitude of Holcar to reckon upon for aid, to whose wife and family he had given sanctuary when pursued by Lord Lake to the Attoc. But here Sowae again foiled him; and the Mahratta, then only eighteen miles from Maun, and who had promised to join him next day, made a sudden movement to the south. A bribe of £100,000 in bills upon Kotah, to be paid on Holcar's reaching that city, effected this desertion; which being secured, Juggut Sing and the Pretender advanced to overwhelm their antagonist, who was posted at Geengoli. As the armies approached each other, Raja Maun's chiefs rode up to salute him, preparatory, as he thought, to head their clans for the combat; but it was their farewell obeisance. The cannonade opened, they rallied under the standard of the Pretender, and on Sowae advancing on the right of the allied line, so entire was the defection, that even the Mairtea clan, whose virtue and boast it is "to adhere to the throne, whoever is the occupant," deserted, with the Champawuts, Jaitawuts, and minor chiefs. Four chieftains alone abided the evil hour of Raja Maun, namely, Koochamun, Ahore, Jhalore, and Neemaj; and with their quotas alone, and the auxiliary bands of Boondi, he would have rushed into the battle. Hindered from this, he attempted his own life: but the design was frustrated by Seonath of Koochamun, who dismounted him from his elephant, and advised his trusting to the fleetness of his steed, while they covered his flight. The Raja remarked, he was the first of his race, who ever disgraced the name of Rahthore by showing his back to a Cuchwaha. The position he had taken that morning was favourable to retreat, being a mile in advance of the pass of Parbutsir: this was speedily gained, and nobly defended by the battalions of Boondi, and those of Hundall Khan, in the pay of Raja Maun, which retarded the pursuit, headed by the Rao of Ooniara. Raja Maun reached Mairta in safety; but deeming it incapable of long resistance, he continued his flight by Peeper to the capital which he reached with a slender retinue, including the four chiefs, who still shared his fortunes. The camp of Raja Maun was pillaged. Eighteen guns were taken by Balla Rao Ingla, one of Sindia's commanders, and the lighter effects, the tents, elephants, and baggage, were captured by Meer Khan; while Parbutsir, and the villages in the neighbourhood, were plundered.

Thus far, the scheme of Sowae and the Pretender advanced with rapid success. When the allied army reached Mairta, the prince of Jeypur, whose object was the princes of Mewar, proposed to Sowae to follow up their good fortune, while he repaired to Oodipur, and solemnized the nuptials. But even, in the midst of his revenge, Sowae could distinguish "between the cause of Maun Sing and the *gadi* of Marwar;" and to promote the success of Jeypur, though he had originated the scheme to serve his own views, was no part of his plan. He was only helped out of this dilemma by another, which he could not anticipate. Not dreaming that Raja Maun would hold out in the capital, which had no means of defence, but supposing he would fly to Jhalore, and leave Jodhpur to its fate and to the Pretender, Sowae, desirous to avoid the further advance of the allies

into the country, halted the army for three days at Mairta. His foresight was correct: the Raja had reached Birsilpoor in full flight to Jhalore, when, at the suggestion of Gaenmul Singwi, a civil officer in his train, he changed his intention. "There," said the Singwi, "lays Jodhpur only nine coss to the right, while Jhalore is sixteen further; it is as easy to gain the one as the other, and if you cannot hold out in the capital, what chance have you elsewhere? while you defend your throne your cause is not lost." Raja Maun followed the advice, reached Jodhpur in a few hours, and prepared for his defence. This unexpected change, and the halt of the allied army, which permitted the dispersed bands to gain the capital, defeated the schemes of Sowae.

With a body of three thousand men, selected from Hundall Khan's brigade, the crops of Bishenwamis, under Kaimdas and one thousand foreign Rajpoots, consisting of Chohans, Bhattis, and Eendos (the ancient lords of Mundore), Raja Maun formed a garrison of five thousand men, on whom he could depend. So ample did he deem this number, that he despatched strong garrisons from Hundall's brigade, with some Deora Rajpoots, to garrison Jhalore, and preserve the distant castle of Amerkote from surprise by the Sindies. Having thus provided against the storm, he fearlessly awaited the result. But so alienated was his mind from his kindred, that he would not even admit to the honour of defending his throne the four faithful chieftains who, in the general desertion, had abided by his fortunes. To all their entreaties to be received into the castle, that "they might defend the *kangras* (battlements) of Joda," he replied, "they might defend the city if they pleased;" and disgusted with such a return for their fidelity, they increased the train of his opponents, who soon encompassed Jodhpur.

The town, little capable of defence, was taken and given up to unlicensed plunder; and with the exception of Filodi, which was gallantly defended for three months, and given to Bikaner as the reward of its alliance, the *an* of the Pretender was proclaimed throughout Marwar, and his allies only awaited the fall of the capital, which appeared inevitable, to proclaim him king. But a circumstance occurred, which, awakening the patriotism of the Rahthores, thwarted these prospects, relieved Raja Maun from his peril, and involved his adversaries in the net of destruction which they had woven for him.

The siege had lasted five months without any diminution of the ardour of the defenders; and although the defences of the north-east angle were destroyed, the besiegers, having a perpendicular rock of eighty feet to ascend before they could get to the breach, were not nearer their object, and, in fact, without shells, the castle of Joda would laugh a siege to scorn. The numerous and motley force under the banners of Jeypur and the Pretender, became clamorous for pay; the forage was exhausted, and the partizan horse were obliged to bivouac in the distant districts to the south. Availing himself of their separation from the main body, Ameer Khan, an apt pupil of the Mahratta school, began to raise contributions on the fiscal lands and Palli, Peepar, Bhilara, with many others, were compelled to accede to his demands. The estates of the nobles who espoused the cause of the Pretender, fared no better, and they complained to the Xerxes of this host of the conduct of this unprincipled commander.

The protracted defence having emptied the treasury of Amber, the archintriguer of Pokurn was called upon to contribute towards satisfying the clamour of the troops. Having exhausted the means of his own party,

he applied to the four chieftains who had been induced to join the cause of the Pretender by the suspicion of Raja Maun, to advance a sum of money. This appeal proved a test of their zeal. They abandoned the Pretender, and proceeded direct to the camp of Ameer Khan. It required no powerful rhetoric to detach him from the cause and prevail upon him to advocate that of Raja Maun; nor could they have given him better counsel towards this end, than the proposal to carry the war into the enemy's country: to attack and plunder Jeypur, now left unguarded. At this critical moment, the Jeypur prince, in consequence of the representation of the Marwar chiefs, had directed his commander-in-chief, Seolall, to chastise Meer Khan for his lawless conduct. Seolall put a stop to their deliberations, attacked and drove them across the Looni, surprised them at Govingurh, again in a night attack at Hursnori, and pursued the Khan to Phaggi, at the very frontier of Jeypur. Astonished at his own success, and little aware that the chase was in the direction projected by his enemy, Seolall deemed he had accomplished his orders in driving him out of Marwar; halted, and leaving his camp, repaired to Jeypur to partake of its festivities. The Khan, who with his allies had reached the Peeploo near Tonk, no sooner heard of this, than he called to his aid the heavy brigades of Mahomed Shah Khan and Raja Bulader (then besieging Iserdoh), and availed himself of the imprudent absence of his foe to gain over the Hyderabad *Rasala*, a legion well known in the predatory wars of that period. Having effected this object, he assailed the Jeypur force, which, notwithstanding this affection and the absence of his commander, fought with great valour, the battallions of Heera Sing being nearly cut to pieces. The action ended in the entire defeat of the Jeypureans, and the capture of their camp, guns, and equipage. Prompted by the Rahtore chieftains, whose valour led to this result, Meer Khan rapidly followed up his success, and Jeypur was dismayed by the presence of the victor at her gates. The generalship of the Khan was the salvation of Raja Maun; it dissolved the confederacy, and fixed the doom of Sowae, its projector.

The tempest had been some time gathering; the Rajas of Bikaner and Shapoorah had already withdrawn from the confederacy and marched home, when, like a clap of thunder, the effeminate Cuchwaha, who had in the outset of this crusade looked to a full harvest both of glory and of love, learned that his army was annihilated, and his capital invested by the Khan and a handful of Rahtores. Duped by the representations of Sowae Rae Chand, *Dewan* or prime minister of Jeypur, concealed for some days these disasters from his sovereign, who received the intelligence by a special messenger sent by the queen-mother. Enraged, perplexed, and alarmed for his personal safety, he broke up the siege, and sending on in advance the spoils of Jodhpur (including forty pieces of cannon), with his own chieftains, he sent for the Mahratta leaders,* and offered them £120,000 to escort him in safety to his capital; nay, he secretly bribed, with a bond of £90,000 more, the author of his disgrace, Ameer Khan, not to intercept his retreat, which was signally ignominious, burning his

* Bapoo Sindia, Balla Rao Ingliah, with the brigade of Jean Baptiste, all Sindia's dependents. This was early in 1806. The author was then in Sindia's camp and saw these troops marched off; and in 1807, in a geographical tour, he penetrated to Jeypur, and witnessed the wrecks of the Jeypur army. The sands round the capital were white with the bones of horses, and the ashes of their riders who had died in the vain expectation of getting their arrears of pay.

tents and equipage at every stage, and at length with his own hand destroying his favourite elephant, which "wanted speed for the rapidity of his flight."

But the indignities he had to suffer were not over. The chieftains whose sagacity and valour had thus diverted the storm from Raja Maun, determined that no trophies of Rahthore disgrace should enter Jeypur, united their clans about twenty miles east of Mairta, on the line of retreat, appointing Induraj Singwi their leader. This person, who had held the office of *Dewan* under two predecessors of Raja Maun, was driven to a temporary defection from the same suspicions which made the chiefs join the Pretender. But they resolved to wash away the stain of this brief alienation from Raja Maun with the blood of his enemies, and to present as the token of returning fidelity the recaptured trophies. The encounter took place on the joint frontier. It was short, but furious; and the Cuch-wahas, who could not withstand the Rahthores, were defeated and dispersed and the spoils of the spoiler, including the forty cannon, were safely lodged in Kochamun. Flushed with a success, the victors addressed the Raja of Kishengurh, who, though a Rahthore, had kept aloof, to advance funds to secure the continuance of Meer Khan's aid. Two lakhs of rupees (£20,000) effected this object; and the Khan, pledging himself to continue his support to Raja Maun, repaired to Jodhpur. The four chiefs who had thus signalized themselves, preceded him, and were received with open arms; their offences were forgiven, and their estates restored, while Induraj was appointed Bukshee or commander of the forces.

CHAPTER XV.

AMEER KHAN was received by Raja Maun with distinguished honours; a palace in the castle was assigned as his residence; valuable gifts were presented to him and great rewards held in perspective, if, through his agency, the rebellion should be completely subdued. He swore to extirpate Sowae's faction, and in token of identity of views with Raja Maun, he was admitted to the honour of that last proof of devotion to his cause, "an interchange of turbans," with an advance of three lakhs, or £30,000, for the immediate payment of his bonds.

On the raising of the siege of Jodhpur, Sowae conducted with the Pretender to the appanage of the heirs of Marwar, the city of Nagore. There they were deliberating as to their future plans, when a message was brought from Ameer Khan from Moondhiawur, ten miles distant, begging permission to perform his devotions at the shrine of the Mooslem saint, Peer Tarkeen, the sole relic of the Islamite which Bukht Sing had spared. His request being complied with, he with a slight cavalcade left his camp, and having gone through the mummeries of devotion, paid his respects to Sowae. When about to take leave, he threw out hints of Raja Maun's ungrateful return for his services, and that his legions might have been better employed. Sowae greedily caught at the bait; he desired the Khan to name his terms, and offered £200,000 on the day that Dhonkul should possess the *gadi* of Jodhpur. The Khan accepted the conditions and ratified the engagement on the Koran, and to add to the solemnity of the pledge, he exchanged turbans with Sowae. This being done, he was introduced to the Pretender, received the usual gifts, pledged his life

in his cause, took leave, and returned to his camp, whither he invited the prince and his chiefs on the following day to accept of an entertainment.

On the morning of the 19th of Chait, S. 1864 (A. D. 1808) Sowae attended by the chief adherents of the Pretender and about five hundred followers, repaired to the camp of the Khan, who had made every preparation for the more effectual perpetration of the bloody and perfidious deed he meditated. A spacious tent was pitched in the centre of his camp for the reception of his guests, and cannons were loaded with grape ready to be turned against them. The visitors were received with the most distinguished courtesy; turbans were again exchanged; the dancing-girls were introduced, and nothing but festivity was apparent. The Khan arose, and making an excuse to his guests for a momentary absence, retired. The dancing continued, when at the word "*dugga*," pronounced by the musicians, down sunk the tent upon the unsuspecting Rajpoots, who fell an easy prey to the ferocious Pathans. Forty-two chieftains were thus butchered in the very sanctuary of hospitality, and the heads of the most distinguished were sent to Raja Maun. Their adherents, taken by surprise, were slaughtered by the soldiery, or by cannon charged with grape, as they fled. The Pretender escaped from Nagore, which was plundered by the Khan, when not only all the property of the party, but the immense stores left by Bukht Sing, including three hundred pieces of cannon, were taken, and sent to Sambhur and other strong-holds held by the Khan. Having thus fulfilled his instructions, he repaired to Jodhpur, and received ten lakhs or £100,000, and two large towns, Moondhiawur and Koochilawas, of thirty thousand rupees annual rent, besides one hundred rupees daily for table-allowance, as the reward of his signal infamy.

Thus, by the murder of Sowae and his powerful partizans, the confederacy against Raja Maun was extinguished; but though the Raja had thus, miraculously as it were, defeated the gigantic schemes formed against him, the mode by which it was effected entailed upon him and upon his country unexampled miseries. The destruction of the party of the Pretender was followed by retaliation on the various members of the league. The Jeypur territory was laid waste by the troops of Meer Khan, and an expedition was planned against Bikanir. An army consisting of twelve thousand of Raja Maun's feudal levies, under the command of Induraj, with a brigade of Meer Khan, and that of Hundall Khan with thirty-five guns, marched against the chief of the independent Rahthores. The Bikaner Raja formed an army little inferior in numbers, and gave his suzerain the meeting at Bapri; but after a partial encounter, in which the former lost two hundred men, he fell back upon his capital, pursued by the victors, who halted at Gujnair. Here terms were offered; two lakhs as the expenses of the war, and the surrender of the bone of contention, the town of Filodi, which had been assigned to Bikaner as the price of joining the confederacy.

The Khan was now the arbiter of Marwar. He stationed Ghufoor Khan with a garrison in Nagore, and partitioned the lands of Mairta amongst his followers. He likewise placed his garrison in the castle of Nowah, which gave him the command of the salt-lakes of Nowah and Sambhur. Induraj and the high-priest Deonath were the only counsellors of Raja Maun, and all the oppressions which the chieftains suffered through this predominant foreign interference, were attributed to their advice. To cut them off, the chiefs in their turn applied to Ameer Khan,

who for seven lakhs (£70,000), readily consented to rid them of their enemies. A plot was laid, in which some of his Pathans, under pretence of quarrelling with Induraj for their arrears, put this minister and the high-priest to death.

The loss of Deonath appeared to affect the reason of Raja Maun. He shut himself up in his apartments, refused to communicate with any one, and soon omitted every duty, whether political or religious, until at length he was recommended to name his only son Chuttur Sing as his successor. To this he acceded, and with his own hand made the mark of inauguration on his forehead. But youth and base panders to his pleasures seduced him from his duties, and he died, some say, the victim of illicit pursuits, others from a wound given by the hand of one of the chieftains, whose daughter he attempted to seduce.

The premature death of his only son, before he had attained the years of majority, still more alienated the mind of Raja Maun from all state affairs, and his suspicions of treacherous attempts on his person extended even to his wife. He refused all food, except that which was brought by one faithful menial. He neglected his ablutions, allowed his face to be covered with hair, and at length either was, or affected to be insane. He spoke to no one, and listened with the apathy of an idiot to the communications of the ministers, who were compelled to carry on the government. By many it is firmly believed that the part he thus acted was feigned, to escape the snares laid for his life; while others think that it was a melancholy mania, arising from remorse at having consented to the murder of Induraj, which incidentally involved that of the *Guru*.* In short, his alliance with the atrocious Khan exposed him to the suspicion of a participation in his crimes, which the bent of his policy too much favoured. In this condition—the government being managed by an oligarchy headed by Salim Sing (son of Sowae)—did Raja Maun remain, until the tide of events carried the arms of Britain even to the desert of Maroo.

When, in 1817, we invited the Rajpoots to disunite from the predatory powers, and to join us in establishing order throughout India, the young son of Raja Maun, or rather his ministers, sent envoys to Delhi. But ere the treaty was ratified, this dissipated youth was no more. On this event, the Pokurn faction, dreading Raja Maun's resumption of the government, made an application to Edur for a son to adopt as their sovereign. But splendid as was the offer, the Raja, who had but one son, rejected it, unless the demand were sustained by the unanimous suffrages of the nobles. Unanimity being unattainable, the faction had no alternative save the restoration of Raja Maun; but it was in vain they explained the new position of Marwar, the alliance with the English, which awaited his sanction, and the necessity that he, as the last prop of the royal family, should resume the reins of power. He listened to all with the most apathetic indifference. But although he saw in this new crisis of the political condition of his country, motives for effecting his escape from bondage, his mind was so tutored by bitter experience that he never for an instant betrayed its workings. When at length he allowed himself to comprehend the full nature of the changes which made even the faction desire his egress from solitude, so far from expressing any joy, he even disapproved of part of the treaty, and especially the article relating to the armed contingent of his vassals to be at the disposal of the protect-

* For the character of this priest see Vol. I.

ing power, in which he wisely saw the germ of discord, from the certainty of interference it would lead to.

It was in December 1817 that the treaty* was negotiated at Delhi by a Brahmin named Beas Bishen Ram, on the part of the regent prince, and in December 1818, an officer of the British government† was deputed to report on its actual condition. Notwithstanding the total disorganization of the government, from the combination of causes already described, the court had lost nothing of its splendour or regularity; the honour of all was concerned in preserving the dignity of the '*gadi*,' though its incumbent was an object of distrust and even detestation. The ministry at this period was conducted by Akhi Chund (*Dewan*), and Salim Sing of Pokurn, as the representative of the aristocracy, with the title of *bhanjgur*. All the garrisons and offices of trust throughout the country were held by the creatures of a junto, of which these were the heads. There was, however, already the nucleus of an opposition in the brother of the murdered minister, named Futteh Raj, who was entrusted with the care of the city. The instructions of the agent were to offer the aid of the British government towards the settlement of Raja Maun's affairs; and at a private interview, three days after the agent's arrival, troops were offered to be placed at his disposal. But the wariness of his character will be seen in the use he made of this offer. He felt that the lever was at hand to crush faction to the dust; and with a Machiavelian caution, he determined that the existence of this engine should suffice; that its power should be felt, but never seen; that he should enjoy all the advantages this influence would give, without risking any of its dangers if called into action. Thus, while he rejected, though with thanks, the essential benefit tendered, qualifying his refusal with a sufficient reason—"reliance on himself to restore his state to order,"—he failed not to disseminate the impression amongst his chiefs, which was enough for his purpose, and which besides checked the dictation and interference that uniformly result from such unequal alliances.

Energetic councils and rapid decision are unknown to Asiatic governments, whose subjects are ever prone to suspicion whenever unusual activity is visible; and Raja Maun had been schooled into circumspection from his infancy. He appeared anxious to bury the past in oblivion, by choosing men of both parties for the inferior duties of the ministry; and the blandness of his manners and his conciliatory address, lulled the most suspicious into security. After a short residence, the agent returned to Ajmer, having in vain tried to convince Raja Maun that his affairs were irretrievable without the direct aid of the paramount power, which he persisted in repudiating, assigning as his reason that he felt convinced, from "the measures then in train," he should accomplish the task himself: of these measures conciliation appeared to be the basis.

At this period‡ an envoy was appointed, with powers direct from the Governor-General to Raja Maun, but he was for some months prevented from proceeding to his court, from various causes.§

* See treaty, Appendix No. II.

† Mr. Wilder, Superintendent of the district of Ajmer.

‡ In February 1819, the author had the political duties of Marwar added to those of the States of Uodipoor, Kotah, Boondi, and Sirohi.

§ One of these was an unpleasant altercation, which took place between the towns-people of the Commercial Mart of Palli and an English gentleman, sent unofficially to feel his way as to the extension of

The agent, who reached Jodhpur early in the month of November, found matters in nearly the same state as on his predecessor's departure in February. The same faction kept the prince and all the officers of Government at their disposal. The Raja interfered but little with their measures, except to acquiesce in or confirm them. The mercenary bands of Sindies or Pathans were in miserable plight and clamorous for their pay, not having been accounted with for three years; and they were to be seen begging in the streets of the capital, or hawking bundles of forage on their heads to preserve them from starvation. On the approach of the agent of the British Government, the forms of accounts were gone through, and they gave in acquittances in full of all demands, on condition of receiving thirty per cent. of their arrears; but this was only a form, and with his departure (in about three weeks), they despaired even of that.

The name of justice was unknown:—though in allusion to the religion of the men in power, it was common to hear it said, "you may commit murder and no one will notice it; but woe to him who beats or maims a brute, for dogs are publicly fed while the soldier starves." In short, the sole object of the faction was to keep at a distance all interposition that might lead the prince to emancipate himself from their control.

commercial enterprize, carrying specimens of the staple commodities of our trade. This interference with the very fountain-head of their trade alarmed the monopolists of Palli, who, dreading such competition, created or took advantage of an incident to rid themselves of the intruder. The commercial men of these regions almost all profess the Jain religion, whose first rule of faith is the preservation of life, in beast as in man. By them, therefore, the piece-goods, the broad-cloths and metals of the Christian trader, were only less abhorred than his flesh-pots, and the blood of the goats sworn to have been said by his servants within the bounds of Palli, rose in judgment against their master, of whom a formal complaint was laid before Raja Maun. It lost none of its acrimony in coming through the channel of his internuncio at Oodipur, the Brahmin, Bishen Ram. Mr. Rutherford rebutted the charge and an investigation took place at the capital on oath, upon which, as the merchants and the governor of Palli (a nephew of the minister), could not substantiate their charge, the latter was severely reprimanded for his incivility. But whether the story was true or false, it was quite enough for their purpose. The interdict between Mr. Rutherford and the inhabitants of Palli was more effectual than the sanitary cordon of any prince in Christendom. The feeling of resentment against him reached the agent of government, who was obliged to support what appeared the cause of truth, even according to the deposition made before their own judgment-seat, and he was consequently deemed inimical to the prince and the faction which then guided his councils. Mr. Rutherford proceeded afterwards to Kotah, to exhibit the same wares; but he was there equally an object of jealousy, though from letters of recommendation from the agent, it was less strongly manifested. It furnished evidence that such interference would never succeed. It is well his mission did not appear to be sanctioned by the government. What evil might not be effected by permitting unrestricted and incautious intercourse with such people, who can, and do obtain all they require of our produce without the presence of the *producers*, who, whether *within* or *without* the pale of the Company's service, will not, I trust, be prematurely forced on Rajpootana, or it will assuredly hasten the day of inevitable separation!

During the agent's stay of nearly three weeks, he had several private interviews with Raja Maun. The knowledge he had of the history of his ancestry and his own situation, and of the causes which had produced it, failed not to beget a corresponding confidence; and these interviews were passed in discussions on the ancient history of the country as well as on his own immediate affairs. The agent took leave with these words: "I know all the perils through which you have passed; I am aware how you surmounted them. By your resolution, your external enemies are now gone: you have the British Government as a friend; rely upon it with the same fortitude, and, in a very short time, all will be as you could desire."

Raja Maun listened eagerly to these observations. His fine features, though trained to bear no testimony to the workings within, relaxed with delight as he rapidly replied, "In one twelve months, my affairs will be as friendship could wish." To which the agent rejoined, "In half the time, Maharaja, if you are determined;" though the points to which he had to direct his mind were neither few nor slight, for they involved every branch of Government; as

1. Forming an efficient administration.
2. Consideration of the finances; the condition of the crown-lands; the feudal confiscations, which, often unjust, had caused great discontent.
3. The re-organization and settlement of the foreign troops, on whose service the Raja chiefly depended.
4. An effective police on all the frontiers, to put down the wholesale pillage of the Mairs in the south, the Larkhanis in the north, and the desert Sahraes and Khosas in the west; reformation of the tariff, or scale of duties on commerce, which were so heavy as almost to amount to prohibition; and at the same time to provide for its security.

Scarcely had the agent left Jodhpur, before the faction, rejoiced at the removal of the only restraint on their narrow-minded views, proceeded in the career of disorder. Whether the object were to raise funds, or to gratify ancient animosities, the course pursued by the Dewan and his junto was the same. Ganorah, the chief fief Godwar, was put under sequestration, and only released by a fine of more than a year's revenue. All the minor chiefs of this rich tract suffered in the same manner, besides the indignity of having their lands placed under the control of a brother of the minister. Chandawul was put under sequestration, and only released on a very heavy fine. At length the Dewan had the audacity to put his hand on Aliwa, the chief fief of Marwar; but the descendant of Champa replied, "my state is not of to-day, nor thus to be relinquished." Gloom, mistrust, and resentment, prevailed the whole feudal body. They saw a contemptible faction sporting with their honour and possessions, from an idea they industriously propagated, that an unseen but mighty power was at hand to support their acts, given out as those of the prince. If the Raja did dictate them, he took especial care it should not be seen; for in the absence of the British agent, he once more resumed his sequestered habits, and appeared to take no interest in the government further than to promote a coalition between Akhi Chund and Futteh Raj, who was supported by a strong party of the chiefs, and the influence of the favourite queen. But Akhi Chund, who commanded, through his creatures, all the resources of the country, and its strong-holds, even the castle of Jodhpur, rejected these overtures, and feigning that there were plots against his personal safety, left the city; and the better to exclude his adversaries from the prince, resided entirely in the citadel.

Six months had thus fled. The fiat of Akhi Chund was supreme ; he alone was visible ; his orders alone were obeyed. Raja Maun was only heard of as an automaton, moving as the Dewan pleased. But while the latter was thus basking in the full sunshine of prosperity, enriching himself and his dependents, execrated by the nobles and envied by his fellow-citizens, they heard of his fall ! Then, the insanity of his master proved to be but a cloak to the intensity of his resentment. But a blind revenge would not have satisfied Raja Maun. The victims of his deep dissimulation, now in manacles, were indulged with hopes of life, which, with the application of torture, made them reveal the plunder of prince and subject. A schedule of forty lakhs, or £400,000, was given in by the Dewan and his dependents, and their accounts being settled in this world, they were summarily dismissed to the other, with every mark of ignominy which could add to the horrors of death. Nugji, the *Kelledar*, and misleader of the late regent prince, with Moolji Dandul, one of the old allodial stock, had each a cup of poison, and their bodies were thrown over the 'Gate of Victory' (*Futteh Pol*). Jevaraj, a brother of the Dandul, with Beharri-das Kheechie, and the tailor, had their heads shaved, and their bodies were flung into the cascade beneath. Even the sacred character of "expounder of the *Vedas*," and that of "revealer of the secrets of heaven," yielded no protection ; and Beas Seodas, with Sri-Kishen, *Fotishe*, the astrologer, were in the long list of proscriptions. Nugji, commandant of the citadel, and Moolji, had retired on the death of the regent-prince ; and with the wealth they had accumulated, while administering to his follies, had erected palaces of strength. On the restoration of Raja Maun, and the general amnesty which prevailed, they returned to their ancient offices in the castle, rose into favour, and forgot they had been traitors. Having obtained their persons, Maun secured the ancient jewels of the crown, bestowed on these favourites during the ephemeral sway of his son. Their condemnation was then passed, and they were hurled over the battlements of the rock which it was their duty to guard. With such consummate skill was the plot contrived, that the creatures of the minister, in the most remote districts, were imprisoned simultaneously with himself. Of the many subordinate agents thus confined, many were liberated on the disclosure of their wealth ; and by these sequestrations, Raja Maun obtained abundant supplies. The enormous sum of a crore, or near one million sterling, was stated ; but if they yielded one-half (and this was not unlikely), they gave the means, which he was not slow to use, for the prosecution of what he termed a just punishment, though it better deserves the name of a savage revenge. Had he been satisfied with inflicting the last penalty of the law on the nefarious Akhi Chund, and some of the household officers whose fidelity ought ever to be firm, and with the sequestration of the estates of some two or three of the vassals whose power had become dangerous, or their treason too manifest to be overlooked, he would have commanded the services of the rest and the admiration of all conversant with these events. But this first success added fuel to his revenge, and he sought out more noble victims to glut it. His circumspection and dissimulation were strengthened, not relaxed by his success. Several of the chiefs, who were marked out for death, had received, only a few days before, the highest proof of favour, in additional lands to their rent-roll, and accident alone prevented a group of the most conspicuous from falling into the snare which had inveigled Akhi Chund. Salim Sing of Pokurn, and his constant associate Soortan of Neemaj, with Anar Sing of Ahore, and the minors of their

clans, whose duty daily carried them to the court, as the chief advisers of the prince, formed a part of the administration of the Dewan, and they naturally took alarm upon his confinement. To obviate this, a deputation was sent by the prince to tranquillize them by the assurance that, in the confinement of the minister, whose rapacity and misconduct deserved punishment, the Raja had attained all his ends. Thus, in order to encompass the destruction of the Pokurn chief, he would not have scrupled to involve all the rest. The prince, with his own mouth, desired the confidential servant of Anar Sing, who was his personal friend, to attend with the others. Their distrust saved him. The same night, the mercenary bands, to the number of eight thousand men, with guns, attacked Soortan Sing in his dwelling. With one hundred and eighty of his clan, he defended himself against great guns and small arms, as long as the house was tenable, and then sallied out sword in hand, and, with his brother and eighty of his kin, fell nobly in the midst of his foes. The remainder retreated with their arms to defend Neemaj and their infant chief. This gallant defence, in which many of the townspeople were slain, prevented a repetition of the attempt against the Pokurn chief, who remained on the defensive; until, seeing an opportunity, he fled to his asylum in the desert, or he would that day have renounced "the sheath of the dagger which held the fortunes of Marwar," and which now contained the accumulated revenge of four generations: of Deo Sing, of Subbulla, of Sowae, and his own. His death would have terminated his branch of Ajit's issue, adopted into the house of Pokurn, in the history of which we have a tolerable picture of the precariousness of existence in Marwar.*

What better commentary can be made on Raja Maun's character than the few recorded words addressed to Futteh Raj, whom he sent for to the Presence, on the day succeeding these events? "Now you may perceive the reasons why I did not sooner give you office." The individual, the brother of the late Induraj, was forthwith installed in the post of Dewan; and with the sinews of war provided by the late sequestrations, the troops were satisfied, while by the impression so sedulously propagated and believed, that he had only to call on the British power for what aid he required, the whole feudal body was appalled: and the men, who would have hurled the tyrant from his throne, now only sought to avoid his insidious snares, more dangerous than open force.

Neemaj was besieged and nobly defended; but at length, the son of Soortan capitulated, on receiving the sign-manual of his prince promising pardon and restoration, guaranteed by the commander of the mercenary bands. To the eternal disgrace of the Raja, he broke this pledge, and the boy had scarcely appeared in the besieging camp, when

* In a letter addressed to the Government on these events, dated July 7, 1820, I observed, "The danger is, that success may tempt him to go beyond the line of necessity, either for the ends of justice or security. If he stops with the Pokurn chief, and one or two inferior concerned in the coalition of 1809 and the usurpation of his son, with the condign punishment of a few of the civil officers, it will afford a high opinion of his character; but if he involves Ahwa, and the other principal chiefs, in these proscriptions, he may provoke a strife which will yet overwhelm him. He has done enough for justice, and even for revenge, which has been carried too far as regards Soortan Sing, whose death (which I sincerely regret) was a prodigal sacrifice."

the civil officer produced the Raja's mandate for his captivity and transmission to the Presence. If it is painful to record this fact, it is pleasing to add, that even the mercenary commander spurned the infamous injunction. "No," said he, "on the faith of my pledge (*buchun*) he surrendered; and if the Raja breaks his word, I will maintain mine, and at least place him in security." He kept his promise, and conveyed him to the Aravalli mountains, whence he passed over to, and received protection in, Mewar.

This and similar acts of treachery and cold-blooded tyranny completely estranged all the chiefs. Isolated, as they were, they could make no resistance against the mercenary battalions, amounting to ten thousand men, exclusive of the quotas; and they dared not league for defence, from the dreaded threat held over them, of calling in the British troops; and in a few months the whole feudal association of Marwar abandoned their homes and their country, seeking shelter in the neighbouring states from the Raja's cruel and capricious tyranny. To his connection with the British Government alone he was indebted for his being able thus to put forth the resources of his policy, which otherwise he never could have developed either with safety or effect; nor at any former period of the history of Marwar could the most daring of its princes have undertaken, with any prospect of success, what Raja Maun accomplished under this alliance.

These brave men found asyla in the neighbouring states of Kotah, Mewar, Bikaner, and Jeypore. Even the faithful Anar Sing, whose fidelity no gratitude could ever repay, was obliged to seek refuge in exile. He had stood Maun's chief shield against the proscription of Raja Bheem, when cooped up in Jhalore, and sold his wife's ornaments, "even to her nose-ring," to procure him the means of subsistence and defence. It was Anar Sing who saved him when, in the attempt upon Palli, he was unhorsed and nearly made prisoner. He was among the four chiefs who remained by his fortunes when the rest deserted to the standard of the Pretender; and he was one of the same body, who rescued the trophies of their disgrace from the hands of their enemies when on the road to Jeypur. Last of all, he was mainly instrumental in the Raja's emancipation and in his resumption of the reins of Government. Well might the fury of his revenge deserve the term of madness! In A. D. 1821, the greater chieftains of Marwar, thus driven into exile, were endeavouring to obtain the mediation of the British authorities; but another year had elapsed without the slightest advance to accommodation. Their conduct has been exemplary, but that degrading position, depended on the scanty resources of others, must of itself work a cure. Their manly remonstrance addressed to the British functionary is already before the reader.* He did not hesitate to tell them, that if in due time no mediation was held out, they must depend on themselves for redress!

Such was the political condition of Marwar until the year 1823. Had a demoniacal spirit of revenge not blinded Raja Maun, he had a fine opportunity to lay the principles of order on a permanent basis, and to introduce those reforms necessary for his individual welfare as well as for that of the state. He had it in his power to modify the institutions, to curb without destroying the feudal chiefs, and to make the whole subservient to the altered condition of affairs. Instead of having the glory of fixing the constitution of his country, he has (reposing on external protec-

tion) broken up by the entire feudal association, and rendered the paramount power an object of hatred instead of reverence.

Having thus rapidly sketched the history of this interesting branch of the Rajpoot race, from the destruction of their ancient seat of empire, Canouj, and their settlement in the Indian desert more than six centuries ago, to the present day, it is impossible to quit the subject without a reflection on the anomalous condition of their alliance with the British Government, which can sanction the existence of such a state of things as we have just described. It illustrates the assertions made in an early part of this work,* of the ill-defined principles which guide all our treaties with the Rajpoots, and which, if not, early remedied, will rapidly progress to a state of things full of misery to them, and of inevitable danger to ourselves. These "men of the soil," as they emphatically designate themselves, cling to it, and their ancient and well-defined privileges, with an unconquerable pertinacity; in their endeavours to preserve them, whole generations have been swept away, yet had their strength increased in the very ratio of oppression. Where are now the oppressors? The dynasties of Ghizni, of Ghor, the Ghijis, the Lodis, the Pathans, the Timoors, and the demoralizing Mahratta? The native Rajpoot has flourished amidst these revolutions, and survived their fall; and but for the vices of their internal sway, chiefly contracted from such association, would have risen to power upon the ruin of their tyrants. But internal dissension invited the spoiler; and herds of avaricious Mahrattas and ferocious Pathans have reaped the harvest of their folly. Yet all these faults were to be redeemed in their alliances with a people whose peculiar boast was, that wisdom, justice and clemency were the corner-stones of their power: seeking nothing from them beyond the means for their defence, and an adherence to the virtues of order. How far the protecting power has redeemed its pledge, in allowing years to pass away without some attempt to remedy the anarchy we have described, the reader is in a condition to judge. If it be said that we have tied up our hands by leaving them free agents in their internal administration, then let no offer to support be given to the head, for the oppression of the vassal and his rights, co-equal with those of the sovereign; and if our mediation cannot be exerted, let us withdraw altogether the checks upon the operation of their own system of government, and leave them free agents in reality. A wiser, more humane, and liberal policy would be, to impose upon ourselves the task of understanding their political condition, and to use our just influence for the restoration of their internal prosperity, and with it the peace, present as well as prospective, of an important part of our empire. The policy which such views would suggest, is to support the opinion of the vast majority of the Rathores, and to seize the first opportunity to lend at least our sanction to an adoption, from the Edur branch, of Rathore blood, not only uncontaminated, but heirs presumptive to Joda, and exclude the parricidal line which will continue to bring misery on the country. If, however, we apply only our own monarchical, nay despotic principles, to this feudal society, and interfere but to uphold a blind tyranny, which must drive these brave chiefs to despair, it will be well to reflect and consider, from the acts we have related, of what they are capable. Very different, indeed, would be the deeds of proscribed Rajpoots from those of vagabond Pindaries, or desultory Mahrattas; and what a field for aggression and retreat! Rameur asserts that they have already done themselves justice; and that

driven to desperation, and with no power to mediate, the dagger has reached the heart of Raja Maun ! If this be true, it is a retribution which might have been expected ; it was the only alternative left to the oppressed chiefs to do themselves justice. It is also said, that the 'pretended' son of Raja Bheem is now on the *gadi* of Joda. This is deeply to be lamented. Raja Dhonkul will see only the party who espoused his pretensions, and the Pokurn chief and faction will hold that place in the councils of his sovereign, which of right belongs to the head of his clan, the Cham.pawut chief of Ahwa, an exile in Mewar.* Jealousy, feuds, and bloodshed will be the consequence, which would at once be averted by an adoption from Edur. Were a grand council of Rajpoots to be convened, in order to adjust the question, nine-tenths would decide as proposed ; the danger of interference would be neutralized, and peace and tranquility would be the boon bestowed upon thousands, and, what is of some consequence, future danger to ourselves would be avoided.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE extreme breadth of Mar war lies between two points in the parallel of the capital, *vis.*, Girap, west, and Sharnghurh, on the Aravalli range, east. This line measures two hundred and seventy British miles. The greatest length, from the Sirohi frontier to the northern boundary, is about two hundred and twenty miles. From the remote angle, N.N.E., in the Deedwanoh district, to the extremity of Sanchores, S. W., the diagonal measurement is three hundred and fifty miles. The limits of Marwar are, however, so very irregular, and present so many salient angles and abutments into other states, that without a trigonometrical process we cannot arrive at correct estimate of its superficial extent : a nicety not, indeed, required.

The most marked feature that diversifies the face of Maroo, is the river Looni, which, rising on her eastern frontier at Poshkur, and pursuing a westerly course, nearly bisects the country, and forms the boundary between the fertile and sterile lands of Maroo. But although the tracts south of this stream, between it and the Aravalli, are by far the richest part of Marwar, it would be erroneous to describe all the northern part as sterile. An ideal line, passing through Nagore and Jodhpur, to Bhalotra, will mark the just distinction. South of this line will lie the districts of Deedwanoh, Nagore, Mairta, Jodhpur, Palli, Sojot, Godwar, Sewanoh, Jhalore, Beenmahl, and Sanchores, most of which are fertile and populous ; and we may assign a population of eighty souls to the square mile. The space north of this line is of a very different character, but this requires a sub-division ; for while the north-east portion, which includes a portion of Nagore, the large towns of Filodi, Pokurn, etc., may be calculated at thirty, the remaining to the south-west, as *Gogadeosa-thul* or 'desert of Goga,' Sheo, Barmair, Kotra, and Chotun, can scarcely be allowed ten. In round numbers, the population of Marwar may be estimated at two millions of souls.

Classes of Inhabitants.—Of this amount, the following is the classification of the tribes. The Jits constitute five-eighths, the Rajpoots two-

* He was so when the author left India in 1823.

eighths, while the remaining classes, sacerdotal,* commercial, and servile, make up the integral number. If this calculation be near the truth, the Rajpoots, men, women, and children, will amount to five hundred thousand souls, which would admit of fifty thousand men capable of bearing arms, especially when we recollect that the Jits or Jats are the industrious class.

It is superfluous to expatiate on the peculiarities of the Rahtore character, which we have endeavoured to extract from their own actions. It stands deservedly high in the scale of the "thirty-six tribes," and although debased by one besetting sin (the use of opium) the Rahtore is yet a noble animal, and requires only some exciting cause to shew that the spirit, which set at defiance the resources of the empire in the zenith of its prosperity, is dormant only, not extinct. The reign of the present prince has done more, however, than even the arms of Arungzebe, to deteriorate the Rahtores. Peace would recruit their thinned ranks, but the mistrust sown in every house by unheard of duplicity, has greatly demoralized the national character, which until lately stood higher than that of any of the circumjacent tribes. A popular prince, until within these very few years, could easily have collected a magnificent army, *ék bāp cā bēta*, 'the sons of one father,' round the '*gādi* of Joda:' in fact, the *pānchas hasar turwar Rahtoran*, meaning 'the fifty thousand Rahtore swords,' is the proverbial phrase to denote the muster of Maroo, of which they estimated five thousand cavalry. This was exclusive of the household and foreign troops supported on the fiscal lands. The Rahtore cavalry was the best in India. There were several horse-fairs, especially those of Bhalotra and Poslikur, where the horses of Cutch and Cattiawar, the jungle, and Mooltan, were brought in great numbers. Valuable horses were also bred on the western frontier, on the Looni, those of *Rardarro* being in high estimation. But the events of the last twenty years appear to have dried up every source of supply. The breeding studs of *Rardarro*, Cutch, and the jungle are almost extinct, and supplies from the west of the Indus are intercepted by the Sikhs. The destruction of the predatory system, which created a constant demand, appears to have lessened the supply. So much for the general peace which the successes of Britain have produced.

In periods of civil commotion, or when the safety of the state was perilled, we hear of one clan (the Champawut) mustering four thousand horse. But if ever so many of "the sons of Champa" were congregated at one time, it is an extraordinary occurrence, and far beyond the demand which the state has upon their loyalty. To estimate what may be demanded of them, we have only to divide the rent-roll by five hundred rupees, the qualification for a cavalier in Maroo, and to add, for each horse, two foot-soldiers. A schedule of the greater feudal estates shall be appended.

Soil, Agriculture, Products.—The following is the classification of the different heads of soil in Marwar:—*Baikal*, *Chikni*, *Peela*, and *Suffed*. The first (whose etymology I know not) pervades [the greater part of the country, being a light sand, having little or no earthy admixture, and only fit to produce *bajra* (millet), *moong*, *moth* (pulse), *til* (sesamum), melons, and *gowar*. *Chikni* (fat), a black earth, pervades the district of Deedwanoh, Mairta, Palli, and several of the feudal lands in Godwar.

* The district of Sanchores is almost entirely Brahmin, forming a distinct tribe, called the Sanchores Brahmins.

Wheat and grain are its products. The *peela* (yellow) is a sandy clay chiefly about Kewnsir and the capital, also Jhalore and Bhalotra, and portions of other districts. It is best adapted for barley, and that kind of wheat culled *pattageon* (the other is *katta-geon*); also tobacco, onions, and other vegetables: the staple millets are seldom grown in this. The *stuffed* (white) is almost pure silex, and grows little or nothing, but after heavy falls of rain.

The districts south of the Looni, as Palli, Sojut, and Godwar, fertilized by the numerous petty streams flowing from the Aravalli, produce abundantly every species of grain with the exception of *bajra*, which thrives best in a sandy soil; and in Nagore and Mairta considerable quantities of the richer grains are raised by irrigation from wells. The extensive western divisions of Jhalore, Sanchores, and Beenmahl, containing five hundred and ten towns and villages, which are *Khalisa*, or 'fiscal land,' possess an excellent soil, with the advantage of the rills from Aboo, and the great southern barrier; but the demoralized government of Raja Maun never obtains from them one-third of their intrinsic capability, while the encroachment of the Sahraes, and other robbers from the Sindie desert, encroach upon them often with impunity. Wheat, barley, rice, *joar* (millet), *moong* (pulse), *til* (sesamum), are the chief products of the richer lands; while amidst the sandy tracts they are confined to *bajra*, *moong*, and *til*. With government, Marwar possesses abundance of means to collect stores against the visitations which afflict these northern regions: but prejudice steps in to aid the ravages of famine, and although water is near the surface in all the southern districts, the number of wells bears no proportion to those in Mewar. The great district of Nagore, of five hundred and sixty towns and villages, the appanage of the heirs apparent of Maroo, in spite of physical difficulties, is, or has been made, an exception; and the immense sheet of sandstone, on which a humid soil is embedded, has been pierced throughout by the energies of ancient days, and contains greater aids to agriculture than many more fertile tracts in the country.

Natural productions.—Marwar can boast of some valuable productions of her sterile plains, which make her an object of no little importance in the most distance and more favoured regions of India. The salt lakes of Pachbhadra, Deedwanoh, and Sambhur, are mines of wealth, and their produce is exported over the greater part of Hindustan; while to the marble quarries of Mokranoh (which gives its name to the mineral), on her eastern frontier, all the splendid edifices of the imperial cities owe their grandeur. The materials used in the palaces of Delhi, Agra, their mosques, and tombs, have been conveyed from Marwar. The quarries, until of late years, yielded a considerable revenue; but the age for palace-building in these regions is no more, and posterity will ask with surprise the sources of such luxury. There are also limestone quarries near Jodhpur and Nagore; and the concrete called *kunkur* is abundant in many of the districts, and chiefly used for mortar. Tin and lead are found at Sojut; alum about Palli, and iron is obtained from Beenmahl and the districts adjoining Guzerat.

Manufactures.—The manufactures of Marwar are of no great importance in a commercial point of view. Abundance of coarse cotton cloths, and blankets, are manufactured from the cotton and wool produced in the country, but they are chiefly used there. Matchlocks, sword, and other warlike implements, are fabricated at the capital and at Palli; and at the latter place they make boxes of iron, lined, so as to resemble

tin boxes of Europe. Iron platters for culinary purposes are in such great demand as to keep the forges constantly going.

Commercial Marts.—None of these states are without traffic; each has her mart, or *entrepot*; and while Mewar boasts of Bhilwara, Bikaner of Chooroo, and Amber of Malpoora (the city of wealth), the Rathores claim Palli, which is not only the rival of the places just mentioned, but may make pretensions to the title of *emporium* of Rajpootana. These pretensions we may the more readily admit, when we recollect that nine-tenths of the bankers and commercial men of India are natives of Maroodes, and these chiefly of the Jain faith. The laity of the *Khartra* sect send forth thousands to all parts of India, and the Oswals, so termed from the town of Osi, near the Looni, estimate one hundred thousand families whose occupation is commerce. All these claim a Rajpoot descent, a fact entirely unknown to the European enquirer into the peculiarities of Hindu manners. The wealth acquired in foreign lands, from the Sutlej to the ocean, returns chiefly to their native soil; but as neither primogeniture nor *majorats* are sanctioned by the Jain lawgivers, an equal distribution takes place amongst all the sons, though the youngest (as amongst the Getes of Asia, and the Juts of Kent), receives often a double portion. This arises when the division takes place while the parent is living, being the portion set apart for his own support, which ultimately falls to the youngest with whom he probably reside. It would be erroneous to say this practice is extensive; though sufficient instances exist to suppose it once was a principle.* The bare enumeration of the tribes following; commerce would fill a short chapter. A priest of the Jains (my own teacher) who had for a series of years devoted his attention to form a catalogue, which then amounted to nearly *eighteen hundred classes*, renounced the pursuit, on obtaining from a distant region, one hundred and fifty new names to add to his list.

Palli was the *entrepot* for the eastern and western regions, where the productions of India, Cashmere, and China, were interchanged for those of Europe, Africa, Persia, and Arabia. Caravans (*kutars*) from the ports

* There is nothing which so much employs the assessors of justice, in those tribunals of arbitration, the *punchaets*, as the adjudication of questions of property. The highest complement ever paid to the Author, was by the litigants of property amounting to half a million sterling, which had been going the rounds of various *punchaets* and appeals to native princes, alike unsatisfactory in their results. They agreed to admit as final the decision of a court of his nomination. It was not without hesitation I accepted the mediation propounded through the British superintendent of Ajmere (Mr. Wilder); but knowing *two* men, whose integrity as well as powers of investigation were above all encomium I could not refuse. One of these had given a striking instance of independence in support of the award his penetration had led him to pronounce, and which award being set aside on appeal, through favoritism, he abjured every future call as an arbitrator. He was not a wealthy man, but such was the homage paid to his integrity and talents, that the greatest despot in India found it politic to re-assemble the court, have the case re-considered, and permit justice to take its course. In like manner, his demand was, that, before he agreed to devote his time to unravelling all the intricacies of the case, both litigants should sign a *moochikka* or 'bond,' to be by the award. I have no recollection how it terminated.

of Cutch and Guzerat, imported elephant's teeth, copper, dates, gum-arabic, borax, coco-nuts, broad-cloths, silks, sandal-wood, camphor, dyes, drugs, oxide and sulphuret of arsenic, spices, coffee, etc. In exchange, they exported chintzes, dried fruits, *jeereoh*, assafoetida from Mooltan, sugar, opium, (Kotah and Malwa), silks and fine cloths, potash, shawls, dyed blankets, arms, and salt of home manufacture.

The route of the caravans was by Soorie, Bah, Sanchoore, Beenmahl, Jhalore to Palli, and the guardians of the merchandize were almost invariably Charuns a character held sacred by the Rajpoot. The most desperate outlaw seldom dared to commit any outrage on caravans under the safeguard of these men, the bards of the Rajpoots. If not strong enough to defend their convoy with sword and shield, they would threaten the robbers with the *chandi*, or 'self-immolation'; and proceed by degrees from a gash in the flesh to a death-wound, or if one victim was insufficient, a whole body of women and children was sacrificed (as in the case of the Bhamunia Bhats), for whose blood the marauder is declared responsible hereafter.

Commerce has been almost extinguished within these last twenty years; and paradoxical as it may appear, there was tenfold more activity and enterprize in the midst of that predatory warfare, which, rendered India one wide arena of conflict, than in these days of universal pacification. The torpedo touch of monopoly has had more effect on the *Kutars* than the spear of the desert Sahrae, or *barwuttia* (outlaw) Rajpoot—against its benumbing qualities the Charun's dagger would fall innocuous; it sheds no blood, but it dries up its channels. If the products of the salt-lakes of Rajpootana were preferred, even at Benares, to the sea-salt of Bengal, high import duties excluded it from the market. If the opium of Malwa and Harouti competed in the China Market with our Patna monopoly, again we intervened, not with high export duties, which we were competent to impose, but by laying our shackles upon it at the fountain-head. "*Aut Cæsar, aut nullus*," is our maxim in these regions; and in a country where our agents are established only to preserve political relations and the faith of treaties, the basis of which is non-interference in the internal arrangements of their affairs—albeit we have not a single foot of land in sovereignty, we set forth our *perwans*, as peremptory as any Russian *ukase*, and command that no opium shall leave these countries for the accustomed out-lets under pain of confiscation. Some, relying on their skill in eluding our vigilance, or tempted by the high price which these measures produce, or perhaps reckoning upon our justice, and upon impunity if discovered, tried new routes, until confiscation brought them to submission.

We then put an arbitrary value upon the drug, and forced the grower to come to us, and even take credit to ourselves for consulting his interests. Even admitting that such price was a remunerating one, founded upon the average of past years, still it is not the less arbitrary. No allowance is made for plentiful or bad seasons, when the drug, owing to a scarcity, will bear a double price. Our legislation is for "all seasons and their change." But this virtual infraction of the faith of treaties is not confined to the grower or retailer; it affects others in a variety of ways; it injures our reputation and the welfare of those upon whom, for benevolent purposes, we have forced our protection. The transit duties levied on opium formed an item in the revenues of the princes of Rajpootana; but confiscation guards the passes of the Aravalli and Guzerat, and unless the smuggler wrap up his cargo in ample folds of deceit, the Rajpoot may go without

his '*umpani*,' the infusion of this poison dearer to him than life. It is in vain to urge that sufficient is allowed for home consumption. Who is to be the judge of this? or who is so blind as not to see that any latitude of this kind would defeat the monopoly, which, impolitic in its origin, gave rise in its progress to fraud, gambling, and neglect of more important agricultural economy. But this policy must defeat itself: the excess of quantity produced will diminish the value of the original (Patna) monopoly, if its now deteriorated quality should fail to open the eyes of the quick-sighted Chinese, and exclude it from the market altogether.*

Fairs.—There were two annual fairs in this country, Moondhwa and Bhalotra; the first chiefly for cattle. Two merchandize of various countries was exposed and purchased by the merchants of the adjoining states. It commenced with the month of Magh, and lasted during six weeks. The other was also for cattle of all kinds, horses, oxen, camels, and the merchandize enumerated amongst the imports and exports of Palli. Persons from all parts of India frequented them; but all these signs of prosperity are vanishing.

Administration of Justice.—The administration of justice is now very lax in these communities; but at no time were the customary criminal laws of Rajpootana sanguinary, except in respect to political crimes, which were very summarily dealt with when practicable. In these feudal associations, however, such crimes are esteemed individual offences, and the whole power of the government is concentrated to punish them; but when they are committed against the community; justice is tempered with mercy, if not benumbed by apathy. In cases even of murder, it is satisfied with fine, corporal punishment, imprisonment, confiscation, or banishment. Inferior crimes, such as larcenies, were punished by fine and imprisonment, and, when practicable, restitution; or, in case of inability to pay, corporal punishment and confinement. But under the present lax system, when this impoverished government has to feed criminals, it may be supposed that their prison are not overstocked. Since Raja Beejoy Sing's death, the judgment-seat has been vacant. His memory is held in high esteem for the administration of justice, though he carried clemency to excess. He never confirmed a sentence of death; and there is a saying of the criminals, yet extant, more demonstrative of his humanity than of good policy: "When at large we cannot even get *rabri* (porridge), but in prison we eat *ladoo* (a sweet-meat)." Here, as at Jeypur, confined criminals are maintained by individual charity; and it is a well-known fact, that at the latter place, but for the humanity of the mercantile classes, especially those of the Jain persuasion, they might starve. Perhaps it is the knowledge of this circumstance, which holds back the hand of the government, or its agents, who may apply to their own uses the prison-fare. When once confined, the criminals are little thought of, and neglect answers all the ends of cruelty. They have, however, a source of consolation unknown to those who have passed "the bridge of sighs," or becomes inmates of the '*oubliettes*' or more civilized regions. That fortitude and resignation which religion alone can bestow on the one, is obtained through superstition by the other; and prayers of the prison are poured

* The Author learns that important modifications of this system have been made by the legislative authorities at home: of their extent he is ignorant, except that remuneration to chiefs for the loss of transit duties has not been omitted. This is as it should be!

forth for one of those visitations of Providence, which, in humbling the proud, prompts acts of mercy to others in order to ensure it to themselves. The celestial phenomena of eclipses, whether of the sun or moon, although predicted by the Pundits, who for ages have possessed the most approved theory for calculation, are yet looked upon with religious awe by the mass, and as foreboding change to princes." Accordingly, when darkness dims the beams of Surya or Chandra, the face of the prisoner of Maroo is lighted up with smiles; his deliverance is at hand, and he may join the crowd to hoot and yell, and frighten the monster Rahoo* from his hold of the "silver moon."† The birth of a son to the prince, and a new reign, are events likewise joyful to him.

The trial by *sogun*, literally 'oath of purgation,' or ordeal, still exists, and is occasionally had recourse to in Maroo, as in other parts of Rajpootana; and, if fallen into desuetude, it is not that these judgments of God (as they were styled in the days of European barbarism) are less relied on, but that society is so unhinged that even these appeals to chance find no subjects for practice, except by Zalim Sing; and he to the last carried on his antipathy to the *dhakuns* (witches) of Harouti, who were always submitted to the process by 'water.' Trial by ordeal is of very ancient date in India: it was by 'fire' that Rama proved the purity of Seeta, after her abduction by Ravana, and in the same manner as practised by one of our Saxon kings, by making her walk over a red-hot ploughshare. Besides the two most common tests, by fire and water, there is a third, that of washing the hands in boiling oil. It should be stated, that, in all cases, not only the selection but the appeal to any of these ordeals is the voluntary act of the litigants, and chiefly after the Punctaets, or courts of arbitration, have failed. Where justice is denied, or bribery shuts the door, the sufferer will dare his adversary to the *sogun*, or submission to the judgment of God; and the solemnity of the appeal carries such weight, that it brings redress of itself, though cases do occur where the challenge is accepted, and the Author has conversed with individuals who have witnessed the operation of each of the ordeals.

Punctaets.—The Punctaets arbitrate in civil cases. From these courts of equity, there is an appeal to the Raja; but as unanimity is required in the judges, and a fee or fine must be paid by the appellant, ere his case can come before the prince, litigation is checked. The constitution of this court is simple. The plaintiff lays his case before his Hakim of the district, or the Patel of the village where he resides. The plaintiff and defendant have the right of naming the villages (two, each), from whence the members of the Punctaet are to be drawn. Information is accordingly sent to the Patels of the villages specified, who, with their respective Patwarris (Registers), meet at the *At'hae* or 'village-court.' Witnesses are summoned and examined on oath, the most common of which is the *gadi-ca-an*, 'allegiance to the throne' resembling the ancient adjuration of the Scythians as recorded by Herodotus. This oath is, however, more restricted to Rajpoots; the other classes have various forms based upon their religious notions. When the proceedings are finished, and judgment is given, the Hakim puts his seal thereto and carries it into effect, or prepares it for appeal. It is affirmed that,

* The Rajpoots and Hindoos in general hold precisely the same idea, of the cause of eclipses, as the Gete of Scandinavia.

† *Chandra-ma*. The moon in represented by silver, which is called after her (or him) *chandi*.

in the good times of Rajpootana, these simple tribunals answered every purpose.

Fiscal Revenues.—The fiscal revenues of Marwar are derived from various sources; the principle are,

- 1st. "The *Khalisa* or 'crown-lands';
- 2nd. The salt lakes;
- 3rd. Transit and import duties;
- 4th. Miscellaneous taxes, termed *Hasil*."

The entire amount of personal revenue of the princes of Marwar does not at present exceed ten lakhs of rupees (£100,000 sterling), though in the reign of Beejoy Sing, half a century ago, they yielded full sixteen lakhs, one-half of which arose from the salt lakes alone. The aggregate revenue of the feudal lands is estimated as high as fifty lakhs, or £500,000. It may be doubted whether at present they yield half this sum. The feudal contingency are estimated at five thousand horse, besides foot, the qualification being one cavalier and two foot-soldiers for every thousand rupees of income. This low estimate is to keep up the nominal value of estates, notwithstanding their great deterioration; for a 'knight's fee' of Marwar was formerly estimated at five hundred rupees.

The sum of ten lakhs mentioned as the gross income of the prince, is what is actually realized by the treasury, for there are many public servants provided for out of the crown-land, whose estates are not included.

The revenues are collected from the ryots in kind. A corn-rent, the only one recognized in ancient India, and termed *Buttae*, or 'division, is apportioned equally between the prince and the husbandman: a devotion from the more lenient practice of former times, which gave one-fourth or one-sixth to the sovereign. Besides this, the cultivator has to pay the expense of guarding the crops, and also those who attend the process of division. An assessment of two rupees is made on every ten maunds,* which more than covers the salaries paid to the *Shenahs* (watchmen), and *Kunwaris*† and leaves a surplus divided by the Patel and village register (*Patwarri*). A cart-load of *kurbi* (the stalks of *jowar* and *bajra*) is exacted from every cultivator as fodder for the prince's cattle; but this is commuted for a rupee, except in seasons of scarcity, when it is stored up. The other officers, as the Patwaris and Patels, are paid out of the respective shares of the farmer and the crown, *vis.*, one-fourth of a seer each, from every maund of produce or an eighteen part of the gross amount. The cultivators of the *Pattawuts* or feudal chiefs, are much better off than those of the *Khalisa*: from them only two-fifths are exacted; and in lieu of all other taxes and charges, a land-tax of twelve rupees is levied on every hundred beegas of land cultivated. The cultivators repay this mild assessment by attachment to the chiefs.

Angah is a poll-tax (from *anga* 'body') of one rupee, levied on adults of either sex throughout Marwar.

Gasmali is a graduated tax on cattle, or, as the term imports, the right of pasture. A sheep or goat is estimated at one anna (one-sixteenth of a rupee); a buffalo eight annas, or a half rupee; and each camel, three rupees.

* The maund is about seventy-five lbs. weight.

† *Kun*, 'corn.'

Kewari, is a tax on doors (*kewar*), and is considered peculiarly oppressive. It was first imposed by Beejay Sing, when, towards the latter end of his reign, his chiefs rebelled, and retired in a body to Palli to concert schemes for deposing him. Thither he fruitlessly followed in order to pacify them, and on his return found the gates (*kewar*) of his capital shut in his face, and Bheem Sing placed upon the *gadi*. To supply the pecuniary exigencies consequent upon this embarrassing situation, he appealed to his subjects, and proposed a 'benevolence,' in aid of his necessities, of three rupees for each house, giving it a denomination from the cause whence it originated. Whether employed as a punishment of those who aided his antagonist, or as a convenient expedient of finance, he converted this temporary contribution into a permanent tax, which continued until the necessities of the confederacy against the present prince, Raja Maun, and the usurpation of the fiscal lands by the Pathans, made him raise it to ten rupees on each house. It is, however, not equally levied; the number of houses in each township being calculated, it is laid on according to the means of the occupants, and the poor man may pay two rupees, while the wealthy pays twenty. The feudal lands are not exempted, except in cases of special favour.

In estimating the amount of the *sayer*, or imposts of Marwar, it must be borne in mind that the schedule appended represents what they have been and perhaps might again be, rather than what they now are. These duties are subject to fluctuation in all countries, but how much more in those exposed to so many visitations from predatory foes, civil strife, and famine! There is no reason to doubt that, in the "good old times" of Maroo, the amount, as taken from old records, may have been realized :

Jodhpur	...
Nagore	...
Deedwanno	...
Purbutsir	...
Mairta	...
Koleah	...
Jhalore	...
Palli	...
Jessole and Bhalotra fairs	
Beenmahl	...
San chore	...
Pilodi	...
TOTAL	... 4,30,000

The *Dhannis*, or collectors of the customs, have monthly salaries at the large towns, while the numerous petty agents are paid by a *per centage* on the sums collected. The *sayer*, or imposts, include all those on grain, whether of foreign importation, or the home-grown, in transit from one district to another.

The revenue arising from the produce of the salt lakes has deteriorated with the land and commercial revenues; and, though affected by political causes, is yet the most certain branch of income. The following schedule exhibits what has been derived from this lucrative source of wealth.

					Rs.
Pachbhadra	...	...	...	...	2,00,000
Filodi	...	...	...	...	1,00,000
Deedwanoh	...	...	...	...	1,15,000
Sambhur	...	...	...	...	2,00,000
Nowah	...	...	...	...	1,00,000
TOTAL					7,15,000

This productive branch of industry still employs thousands of hands, and hundreds of thousands of oxen, and is almost entirely in the hands of that singular race of beings called *Bunjarras*, some of whose *tandas*, or caravans, amount to 40,000 head of oxen. The salt is exported to every region of Hindustan, from the Indus to the Ganges, and is universally known and sold under the title of *Sambhur Loon* or 'salt of Sambhur,' notwithstanding the quality of the different lakes varies, that of Pachbhadra, beyond the Looni, being most esteemed.* It is produced by natural evaporation, expedited by dividing the surface into pans by means of mats of the *Sirkunda* grass, which lessens the superficial agitation. It is then gathered and heaped up into immense masses, on whose summit they burn a variety of alkaline plants, such as the *saji*, by which it becomes impervious to the weather.

We may recapitulate what the old archives state of the aggregate fiscal revenues in past times, amounting to nearly thirty lakhs of rupees. It would be hazardous to say to what extent the amount was over-rated :

					Rs.
1st. <i>Khalisa</i> , or fiscal land, from 1, 484 towns and villages,	...	...	...	...	15,00,000
2nd <i>Sayer</i> or Imposts	...	...	...	...	4,30,000
3rd. Salt lakes	...	...	...	...	7,15,000
4th. <i>Hasil</i> , or miscellaneous taxes; fluctuating and uncertain; not less than	...	...	...	...	3,00,000
TOTAL	...	...	...	...	29,45,000
Feudal and ministerial estates	...	...	...	...	50,00,000
GRAND TOTAL	...	...	...	...	79,45,000

* The average selling price at Jodhpur is two rupees the maund; four at Sambhur and Deedwanoh, and five at Pachbhadra, Filodi, and Nowah. Why the price at the capital is fifty per cent. lower than elsewhere, I know not, even if this statement is correct.

Thus the united fiscal and feudal revenues of Marwar are said to have amounted almost to eighty lakhs of rupees (£800,000). If they ever did reach this sum, which may be doubted, we do not err in affirming that they would now be over-rated at half that amount. Large fortunes are said to centre in the families of the ex-ministers, especially the Singwi family, reported to be immensely rich. Their wealth is deposited in foreign capitals. But much bullion is lost to the currency of these countries by the habits of secreting money. A very large treasure was discovered in Nagore by Beejoy Sing, when demolishing some old buildings.

Military Forces.—It only remains to state the military resources of the Rahtores, which fluctuate with their revenues. The Rajas maintain a foreign mercenary force upon their fiscal revenues to overawe their own turbulent vassalage. These are chiefly Rohila and Afghan infantry, armed with muskets and match locks; and having cannon and sufficient discipline to act in a body, they are formidable to the Rajpoot cavaliers. Some years ago, Raja Maun had a corps of three thousand five hundred foot, and fifteen hundred horses, with twenty-five guns, commanded by Hundall Khan, a native of Panniput. He has been attached to the family ever since the reign of Beejoy Sing, and is (or was) familiarly addressed *kaka*, or 'uncle,' by the prince. There was also a brigade of those monastic militants, the *Bishenswamis*, under their leaders, Kaimdas consisting of seven hundred foot, three hundred horse, and an establishment of rockets (*bhan*), a very ancient instrument of Indian warfare, and mentioned long before gunpowder was used in Europe. At one period, the Raja maintained a foreign force amounting to, or at least mustered as, eleven thousand men, of which number two thousand five hundred were cavalry, with fifty-five guns, and a rocket establishment. Besides a monthly pay, lands to a considerable amount were granted to the commanders of the different legions. By these overgrown establishments, to maintain a superiority over the feudal lords which has been undermined by the causes related, the demoralization and ruin of this country have been accelerated. The existence of such a species of force, opposed in moral and religious sentiment to the retainers of the state, has only tended to widen the breach between them and their head, and to destroy every feeling of confidence.

In Mewar, there are sixteen great chiefs; in Amber twelve; in Marwar eight. The following table exhibits their names, clans, residences, and rated revenue. The contingent required by their princes may be estimated by the qualification of a cavalier, *vis.*, one for every five hundred rupees of rent.

Names of Chiefs.	Clans.	Places of Abode.	Revenue.	REMARKS.
FIRST CLASS.				
1. Kesari Sing	Champawat	...	Rs. 100,000	Premier noble of Marwar. Of the sum, half is the original grant; the rest is by usurpation of the inferior branches of his clan.
2. Baktawar Sing	Koompawat	...	50,000	
3. Salim Sing	Champawat	Pokura	100,000	The Pokurn chief is by far the most powerful in Marwar.
4. Sooran Sing	Oodawat	Neemaj	50,000	The hief of Neemaj is now under sequestration, since the last incumbent was put to death by the Raja.
5.	Mairtea	Reah	25,000	The Mairtea is deemed the bravest of all the Raithore clans.
6. Ajit Sing ..	Mairtea	Ganorah	50,000	This feoff formed one of the sixteen great feoffs of Mewar. The town which is large, has been dismantled, and several villages sequestered.
7.	Kurramstone	Kewnsir or Keemsir	40,000	
8.	Bhatti	Khejurla	25,000	The only foreign chief in the first grade of the nobles of Marwar.

These are the principal chieftains of Marwar, holding lands on the tenure of service. There are many who owe allegiance and service on emergencies, the allodial vassals of Marwar, not enumerated in this list; such as Barmair, Kottorah, Jessole, Phulsoond, Birgong, Bankuria, Kalindri, Baroonda, who could muster a strong numerical force, if their good-will were conciliated, and the prince, could enforce his requisition. The specified census of the estates may not be exactly correct. The foregoing is from an old record, which is in all probability the best they have; for so rapid are the changes in these countries, amidst the anarchy and rebellion we have been describing, that the civil officers would deem it time thrown away, to form, as in past times, an exact *patta'buhye*, or 'register' of feoffs. The ancient qualification was one horseman and two foot-soldiers, "when required," for each five hundred rupees in the rental; but as the estates have been curtailed in extent and diminished in value, in order to keep up their nominal amount, one thousand is now the qualification.

ANNALS OF BIKANER.



CHAPTER I.

BIKANER holds a secondary rank amongst the principalities of Rajpootana. It is an offset of Marwar, its princes being scions of the house of Joda, who established themselves by conquest on the northern frontier of the parent state; and its position, in the heart of the desert, has contributed to the maintenance of their independence.

It was in S. 1515 (A. D. 1459), the year in which Joda transferred the seat of government from Mundore to Jodhpur, that his son Beeka, under the guidance of his uncle Kandul, led three hundred of the sons of Seoji to enlarge the boundaries of Rahthore dominion amidst the sands of Maroo. Beeka was stimulated to the attempt by the success of his brother Beeda, who had recently subjugated the territory inhabited by the Mohils for ages.

Such expeditions as that of Beeka, undertaken expressly for conquest, were almost uniformly successful. The invaders set out with a determination to slay or be slain; and these forays had the additional stimulus of being on 'fated days,' when the warlike creed of the Rajpoots made the abstraction of territory from foe or friend a matter of religious duty.

Beeka, with his band of three hundred, fell upon the Sanklas of Jangloo, whom they massacred. This exploit brought them in contact with the Bhattis of Poogul, the chief of which gave his daughter in marriage to Beeka, who fixed his head-quarters at Korumdesir, where he erected a castle, and gradually augmented his conquests from the neighbourhood.

Beeka now approximated to the settlement of the Jits or Getes, who had for ages been established in these arid abodes; and as the lands they held form a considerable portion of the state of Bikaner, it may not be uninteresting to give a sketch of the condition of this singular people prior to the son of Joda establishing the feudal system of Rajwarra amongst their pastoral commonwealths.

Of this celebrated and widely-spread race, we have already given a succinct account. It appears to have been the most numerous as well as the most conspicuous of the tribes of ancient Asia, from the days of Tomyris and Cyrus to those of the present Jit prince of Lahore, whose successor, if he be endued with similar energy, may, on the reflux of population, find himself seated in their original haunts of central Asia, to

which they have already considerably advanced.* In the fourth century, we find a Yuti or Jit kingdom established in the Punjab;† but how much earlier this people colonized those regions we are ignorant. At every step made by Mahomedan power in India, it encountered the Jits. On their memorable defence of the passage of the Indus against Mahmood, and on the war of extirpation waged against them by Timoor, both in their primeval seats in Mever-pool-nehr, as well as east of the Sutlej, we have already enlarged; while Baber, in his commentaries, informs us that, in all his irruptions into India, he was assailed by multitudes of Jits‡ during his progress through the Punjab, the peasantry of which region, now proselytes to Islam, are chiefly of this tribe; as well as the military retainers, who, as sectarian followers of Nanuk, merge the name of Jit, or Jat, into that of *Sikh*, or 'disciple.'

In short, whether as Yuti, Getes, Jits, Jats, or Jats, this race far surpassed in numbers, three centuries ago, any other tribe or race in India; and it is a fact that they now constitute a vast majority of the peasantry of western Rajwarra, and perhaps of northern India.

At what period these Jits established themselves in the Indian desert, we are, as has been already observed, entirely ignorant; but even at the time of the Rahthore invasion of these communities, their habits confirmed the tradition of their Scythic origin. They led chiefly a pastoral life, were guided, but not governed by the elders, and with the exception of adoration to the 'universal mother' (Bhavani), incarnate in the person of a youthful Jitni, they were utter aliens to the Hindu theocracy. In fact, the doctrines of the great Islamite saint, Sekh Fureed, appear to have overturned the pagan rites brought from the Jaxartes; and without any settled ideas on religion, the Jits of the desert jumbled all their tents together. They considered themselves, in short, as a distinct class, and, as a Pooniah Jit informed me, "their *wuttun* was far beyond the Five Rivers." Even in the name of one of the six communities (the *Asiagh*), on whose submission Beeka founded his new state, we have nearly the *Asi*, the chief of the four tribes from the Oxus and Jaxartes, who overturned the Greek kingdom of Bactria.

The period of Rahthore domination over these patriarchal communities was intermediate between Timoor's and Babar's invasion of India. The former, who was the founder of the Chagitai dynasty, boasts of the myriads of Jit souls he "consigned to perdition" on the desert plains

* Runjeet has long been possession of Peshore, and entertained views on Cabul, the disorganized condition of which kingdom affords him a favourable opportunity of realizing them.

† See Inscription, Vol. I.

‡ "On Friday the 14th Dec. (20, A.D. 1525), of the first Rebi, we arrived at Sialkote. Every time that I have entered Hindustan, the Jits and Gujers have regularly poured down in prodigious numbers from their hills and wilds, in order to carry off oxen and buffaloes." The learned commentator draws a distinction between the Jit inhabitants of the Punjab and of India, which is not maintainable.

§ "It is worthy of remark," says Colonel Pitman, (who accompanied Mr. Elphinstone to Kabul), "That in the two first Doubats (return of the embassy), we saw very few Sikhs, the Jat cultivators of the soil being in general Mohammedans, and in complete subjugation to the Sikhs."

of India, as well as in Transoxiana; so we may conclude that successive migrations of this people from the great "storehouse of nations" went to the lands east of the Indus, and that the communities who elected Beeka as their sovereign, had been established therein for ages. The extent of their possessions justifies this conclusion; for nearly the whole of the territory forming the boundaries of Bikaner was possessed by the six Jit cantons, *vis.* :—

- | | |
|-------------|----------------------|
| 1. Pooniah. | 4. Asiag'h. |
| 2. Godarra. | 5. Beniwal. |
| 3. Sarun. | 6. Johya, or Joweya. |

though this last is by some termed a ramification of the Yadu-Bhatti; an affiliation by no means invalidating their claims to be considered of Jit or Yuti origin.*

Each canton bore the name of the community, and was sub-divided into districts. Besides the six Jit cantons, there were three more simultaneously wrested from Rajpoot proprietors; *vis.*, Bhagore, the Kharri-puttra, and Mohilla. The six Jit cantons constituted the central and northern, while those of the Rajpoots formed the western and southern frontiers.

Disposition of the Cantons at that period.

Cantons.	No. of Villages.	Districts.
1 Pooniah ...	300	Bahaderan, Ajitpur, Seedmookh, Rajgur'h, Dadrewoh, Sankoo, etc.
2 Beniwal ...	150	Bookurko, Sondurie, Munohurpur, Kooie, Bae, etc.
3 Johya ...	600	Jaetpur, Koombanoh, Mahajin, Peepasir, Oodipur, etc.
4 Asiag'h ...	150	Raotsir, Birmsir, Dandoosir, Gundaeli,
5 Sarun ...	300	Kaijur, Phoag, Boochawas, Sowae, Badinoo, Sirsilah, etc.
6 Godarra...	700	Poondrasir, Gosensir (great), Shekhsir, Gursisir, Garibdesir, Rungaysir, Kaloo, etc.
TOTAL in the six Jit cantons ... }		2,200
7 Bhagore...	300	Bikaner, Nal, Kailah, Rajasir, Sut-tasir, Chutturgurh, Rindisir, Beet-nok'h, Bhavanipur, Jeimulsir, etc.
8 Mohilla ...	140	Chaupur (capital of Mohilla), Saondah, Herasir, Gopalpur, Charwas, Beedasir, Ladnoo, Mulsisir. Khur-boozra-ra-kota.
9 Kharri-putta, of salt district ... }	30	
GRAND TOTAL ...		2,670

* The Jits of the Agra province consider themselves illegitimate descendants of the Yadus of Bussa, and have tradition that their surname is Candahar.

With such rapidity were states formed in those times, that in a few years after Beeka left his paternal roof at Mundore, he was lord over 2,670 villages, and by a title far stronger and more legitimate than that of conquest—the spontaneous election of the cantons. But although three centuries have scarcely past since their amalgamation into a sovereignty, one of the villages cease to exist; nor are there now 1,300 forming the *raj* of Soorut Sing, the present occupant and lineal descendant of Beeka.

The Jits and Johyas of these regions, who extended over all the northern desert even to the Garah, led a pastoral life their wealth consisting in their cattle, which they reared in great numbers, disposing of the superfluity, and of the *ghee* (butter clarified), and wool, through the medium of Sarsote (*Saraswati*), Brahmins (who, in these regions, devote themselves to traffic), receiving in return grain and other conveniences or necessities of life.

A variety of causes conspired to facilitate the formation of the state of Bikaner, and the reduction of the ancient Scythic simplicity of the Jit communities to Rajpoot feudal sway; and although the success of his brother Beeda over the Mohils on some degree paved the way, his bloodless conquest could never have happened but for the presence of a vice which has dissolved all the republics of the world. The jealousy of the Johyas and Godarras, the two most powerful of the six Jit cantons, was the immediate motive to the propitiation of the 'son of Juda' besides which, the communities found the band of Beeda, which had extirpated the ancient Mohils when living with them in amity, most troublesome neighbours. Further, they were desirous to place between them and the Bhattis of Jessulmer a more powerful barrier; and last, not least, they dreaded the hot valour and 'thirst for land' which characterized Beeka's retainers, now contiguous to them at Jangloo. For these weighty reasons, at a meeting of the 'elders of the Godarras,' it was resolved to conciliate the Rahtore.

Pandu was the patriarchal head of the Godarras; his residence was at Shekhsir.* The 'elder' of Roneah was next in rank and estimation to Pandu, in communities where equality was as absolute as the proprietary right to the lands which each individually held: that of pasture being common.

The elders of Shekhsir and Roneah were deputed to enter into terms with the Rajpoot prince, and to invest him with supremacy over their community, on the following conditions:—

First.—To make common cause with them, against the Johyas and other cantons, with whom they were then at variance.

Second.—To guard the western frontier against the irruption of the Bhattis.

Third.—To hold the rights and privileges of the community inviolable.

On the fulfilment of these conditions, they relinquished to Beeka and his descendants the supreme power over the Godarras; assigning to him, in perpetuity, the power to levy *dhooq*, or a 'hearth-tax,' of one

* This town is named after the Islamite saint, Shekh Fureed of Pakpattan, who has a *dargah* here. He was greatly esteemed by the Jits, before the *bona deo* assumed the shape of a *Yisni*, to whom under the title of *Cerani Mata*, 'a ray of the mother,' bend the head.

rupee on each house in the canton, and a land-tax of two rupees on each hundred beegas of cultivated land within their limits.

Apprehensive, however, that Beeka or his descendants might encroach upon their rights, they asked what security he could offer against such a contingency? The Rajpoot chief replied that, in order to dissipate their fears on this head, as well as to perpetuate the remembrance of the supremacy thus voluntarily conferred, he would solemnly bind himself and his successors to receive the *tika* of inauguration from the hands of the descendants of the elders of Shekshir and Roneah, and that the *gadi* should be deemed vacant until such rite was administered.

In this simple transfer of the allegiance of this pastoral people, we mark that instinctive love of liberty which accompanied the Geta in all places and all conditions of society, whether on the banks of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, or in the sandy desert of India; and although his political independence is now annihilated, he is still ready even to shed his blood if his Rajpoot master dare to infringe his inalienable right to his *bapota*, his paternal acres.

It is seldom that so incontestable a title to supremacy can be asserted as that which the weakness and jealousies of the Godarras conferred upon Beeka, and it is a pleasing incident to find almost throughout India, in the observance of certain rites, the remembrance of the original compact which transferred the sovereign power from the lords of the soil to their Rajpoot conquerors. Thus, in Mewar, the fact of the power conferred upon the Guelote founder by the *Bhil* aborigines, is commemorated by a custom brought down to the present times (See Vol. I). At Amber, the same is recorded in the important offices retained by the *Meenas*, the primitive inhabitants of that land. Both Kotah and Boondi retain in their names the remembrance of the ancient lords of Harouti; and Beeka's descendants preserve, in a two-fold manner, the recollection of their bloodless conquest of the Jits. To this day, the descendant of Pandu applies the unguent of royalty to the forehead of the successors of Beeka; on which occasion, the prince places 'the fine of relief,' consisting of twenty-five pieces of gold, in the hand of the Jit. Moreover, the spot which he selected for his capital, was the birthright of a Jit, he would only concede it for this purpose on the condition that his name should be linked in perpetuity with its surrender. Nairā, or Nera, was the name of the proprietor, which Beeka added to his own, thus composing that of the future capital, Bikaner.

Besides this periodical recognition of the transfer of power, on all lapses of the crown, there are annual memorials of the rights of the Godarras, acknowledged not only by the prince, but by all his Rajpoot vassal-kin, quartered on the lands of the Jit; and although 'the sons of Beeka,' now multiplied over the country, do not much respect the ancient compact, they at least recognize, in the maintenance of these formulæ, the origin of their power.

On the spring and autumnal* festivals of the Holi and Dewali, the heirs of the patriarchs of Shekshir and Roneah give the *tika* to the prince and all his feudality. The Jit of Roneah bears the silver cup and platter which holds the *ampoule* of the desert, while his compeer applies it to the prince's forehead. The Raja in return deposits a *nusserana* of a gold mohur, and five pieces of silver; the chieftains, according to their rank,

* Vide Vol. I for an account of these festivals.

following his example. The gold is taken by the Shekhsir Jit, the silver by the elder of Roneah.

To resume our narrative: when the preliminaries were adjusted, by Beeka's swearing to maintain the rights of the community which thus surrendered their liberties to his keeping, they united their arms, and invaded the *Johyas*. This populous community, which extended over the northern region of the desert, even to the Sutlej, reckoned eleven hundred villages in their canton; yet now, after the lapse of little more than three centuries, the very name of *Johya* is extinct. They appear to be the Jenjoolah of Baber, who, in his irruption into India, found them congregated with the '*Juds*,' about the cluster of hills in the first *doabeh* of the Punjab, called "the mountains of Joude;" a position claimed by the Yadoos or Jadoos in the very dawn of their history, and called *Jaddoo ca dung*, 'the Jadoo hills.' This supports the assertion that the *Johya* is of Yadu race, while it does not invalidate its claims to Yuti or Jit descent, as will be further shewn in the early portion of the annals of the Yadu-Bhattis.*

The patriarchal head of the *Johyas* resided at Bhuropal; his name was Shere Sing. He mustered the strength of the canton, and for a long time withstood the continued efforts of the Rajpoots and the Godarras, nor was it until 'treason had done its worst,' by the murder of their elder; and the consequent possession of Bhuropal, that the *Johyas* succumbed to Rahthore domination.

With these accession of power, Beeka carried his arms westward, and conquered Bhagore from the Bhattis. It was in this district, originally wrested by the Bhattis from the Jits, that Beeka founded his capital, Bikaner, on the 15th Bysak S. 1545, (A.D. 1489), thirty years after his departure from the parental roof at Mundore.

When Beeka was thus firmly established, his uncle Kandul, to whose spirit of enterprize he was mainly indebted for success, departed with his immediate kin to the northward, with a view of settling in fresh conquests. He successively subjugated the communities of Asiagh, Beniwal, and Sarun, which cantons are mostly occupied by his descendants, styled "Kandulote Rahthores," at this day, and although they form an integral portion of the Bikaner state, they evince, in their independent bearing to its chief, that their estates were "the gift of their own swords, not of his patents;" and they pay but a reluctant, and nominal obedience to his authority. When necessity or avarice imposes a demand for tribute, it is often met by a flat refusal, accompanied with such a comment as this: "Who made this Raja? Was it not our common ancestor, Kandul? Who is he, who presumes to levy tribute from us? Kandul's career of conquest was cut short by the emperor's lieutenant in Hissar; he was slain in attempting this important fortress.

Beeka died in S. 1551 (A. D. 1495), leaving two sons by the daughter of the Bhatti chief of Poogni, *vis.*, Noonkurn, who succeeded, and Gursi, who founded Gursisir and Ursisir. The stock of the latter is numerous,

† I presented a work on this race, entitled 'The Book of the *Johyas*,' (sent me by the prime minister of Jessulmer) to the Royal Asiatic Society. Having obtained it just before leaving Rajpootana, I never had leisure to examine it, or to pronounce on its value as an historical document; but any work having reference to so singular a community can scarcely fail to furnish matter of interest.

and is distinguished by the epithet *Gursote Beeka*, whose principal fiefs are those of Gursisir and Garibdesir, each having twenty-four villages depending on them.*

Noonkurn made several conquests from the Bhattis, on the western frontier. He had four sons; his eldest desiring a separate establishment in his lifetime, for the fief of Mahajin and one hundred and forty villages, renounced his right of primogeniture in favour of his brother Jaet, who succeeded in S. 1569. His brothers had each appanages assigned to them. He had three sons, 1st Calian Sing, 2nd. Seoji, and 3rd. Aishpal. Jaetsi reduced the district of Narnote from some independent Grasia chiefs, and settled it as the appanage of his second son, Seoji. It was Jaetsi also who compelled 'the sons of Beeda,' the first Rahthore colonists of this region, to acknowledge his supremacy by an annual tribute, besides certain taxes.

Calian Sing succeeded in S. 1603. He had three sons, 1st Rae Sing, 2nd. Ram Sing, and 3rd. Priithi Sing.

Rae Sing succeeded in S. 1630 (A. D. 1573). Until this reign, the Jits had, in a great degree, preserved their ancient privileges. Their maintenance was, however, found rather inconvenient, by the now superabundant Rajpoot population, and they were consequently dispossessed of all political authority. With the loss of independence their military spirit decayed, and they sunk into mere tillers of the earth. In this reign also Bikaner rose to importance amongst the principalities of the empire, and if the Jits parted with their liberties to the Rajpoot, the latter, in like manner, bartered his freedom to become a Satrap of Delhi. On his father's death, Rae Sing in person undertook the sacred duty of conveying his ashes to the Ganges. The illustrious Akber was then emperor of India. Rae Sing and the emperor had married sisters, princess of Jessulmer. This connection obtained for him, on his introduction to court by Raja Maun of Amber, the dignity of a leader of four thousand horse, the title of Raja, and the Government of Hissar. Moreover, when Maldeo of Jodhpur incurred the displeasure of the king, and was dispossessed of the rich district of Nagore, it was given to Rae Sing. With these honours, and increased power as one of the king's lieutenants, he returned to his dominions, and sent his brother Ram Sing against Bhatnair, of which he made a conquest. This town was the chief place of a district belonging to the Bhattis, originally Jits† of Yadu descent, but who assumed this name on becoming proselytes to the faith of Islam.

Rae Sing, at the same time, completely subjugated the Johyas, who, always troublesome, had recently attempted to regain their ancient independence. The Rajpoots carried fire and sword into this country, of

* To the few who will peruse these annals of the desert tribes, it will be interesting to observe the development of families, and the maintenance, by such distinctive patronymics, of their origin. In the annals of this remote state, I shall not enter at any length into the history of their wars, which are, with a change of names and scene, all pretty much alike; but confine myself, after a succinct and connected genealogical relation to the manners of the people, the aspect, productions, and government of the country.

† In the annals of Jessulmer, the number offsets from the Yadu-Bhatti tribe which assumed the name of *Jit*, will be seen; and additional ground for asserting that the Scythic *Yodu* is in fact the *Yuti*.

which they made a desert. Ever since it has remained desolate: the very name of *Johya* is lost, though the vestiges of considerable towns bear testimony to a remote antiquity.

Amidst these ruins of the *Johyas*, the name of *Sekunder Roomi* (Alexander the Great) has fixed itself, and the desert retains the tradition that the ruin called *Rung-mahl*, the 'painted palace,' near Dandoosir, was the capital of a prince of this region punished by a visitation of the Macedonian conqueror. History affords no evidence of Alexander's passage of the Garah, though the scene of his severest conflict was in that nook of the Punjab not remote from the lands of the *Johyas*. But though the chronicler of Alexander does not sanction our indulging in this speculation, the total darkness in which we appear doomed to remain with regard to Bactria and the petty Grecian kingdoms on the Indus, established by him, does not forbid our surmise, that by some of these, perhaps the descendants of Python, such a visitation might have happened.* The same traditions assert that these regions were not always either arid or desolate, and the living chronicle alluded to in the note, repeated the stanza elsewhere given, which dated its deterioration, from the drying up of the *Hakra* river, which came from the Punjab, and flowing through the heart of this country, emptied itself into the Indus between Rory Bekher and Ootch.

The affinity that this word (*Hakra*) has both to the *Caggar*, and *Sankra*,† would lead to the conclusion of either being the stream referred to. The former we know as being engulfed in the sands about the Heriana confines, while the *Sankra* is a stream which, though now dry, was used as a line of demarcation even in the time of Nadir Shah. It ran eastward, parallel with the Indus, and by making it his boundary, Nadir added all the fertile valley of the Indus to his Persian kingdom. The only date this legendary stanza assigns for the catastrophe is the reign of the Soda prince, Hamir.

Ram Sing, having thus destroyed the power of future resistance in the *Johyas*, turned his arms against the Pooniah Jits, the last who preserved their ancient liberty. They were vanquished, and the Rajpoots were inducted into their most valuable possessions. But the conqueror paid the penalty of his life for the glory of colonizing the lands of the Pooniahs. He was slain in their expiring effort to shake off the yoke of the stranger; and though the Ramsingotes add to the numerical strength, and enlarge the territory of the heirs of Beeka, they, like the Kandulotes, little increase the power of the state, to which their obedience is nominal. Seedmook'h and Sankoo are the two chief places of the Ramsingotes.

Thus, with the subjugation of the Pooniahs, the political annihilation of the six Jit cantons of the desert was accomplished: they are now occupied in agriculture and their old pastoral pursuits, and are an industrious tax-paying race under their indolent Rajpoot masters.

* My informant of this tradition was an old inhabitant of Dandoosir, and although seventy years of age, had never left the little district of his nativity until he was brought to me, as one of the most intelligent living records of the past.

† The natives of these regions cannot pronounce the sibilant: so that, as I have already stated, the *s* is converted into *h*. I give as an example the *Fahilmer*, which becomes 'the hill of fools,' instead of 'the hill of Jasi.' *Sankra*, in like manner, becomes *Hankara*.

Raja Rae Sing led a gallant band of his Rahthores in all the wars of Akber. He was distinguished in the assault of Ahmedabad, slaying in single combat the governor, Mirza Mohamed Hussein. The emperor, who knew the value of such valarous subjects, strengthened the connection which already subsisted between the crown and the Rahthores, by obtaining for prince Selim (afterwards Jehangir) Rae Sing's daughter to wife. The unfortunate Purvez was the fruit of this marriage.

Rae Sing was succeeded by his only son, Kurrun, in S. 1688 (A. D. 1632).

Kurrun held the 'munsub of two thousand,' and the government of Doulatabad, in his father's life-time. Being a supporter of the just claims of Dara Sheko, a plot was laid by the general of his antagonist with whom he served, to destroy him, but which he was enabled to defeat by the timely intelligence of the Hara prince of Boondi. He died at Bikaner, leaving four sons, 1 Pudma Sing, 2 Kesuri Sing, 3 Mohun Sing, and 4 Anop Sing.

This family furnishes another example of the prodigal sacrifice of Rajpoot blood in the imperial service. The two elder princes were slain in the storm of Beejipur, and the tragical death of the third, Mohun Sing, in the imperial camp, forms an episode in Ferishta's History of the Dekhan.*

Anop Sing succeeded in S. 1730 (A. D. 1674). For the services of his family he had the castle and lands of Adoni conferred upon him, with 'the munsub of five thousand,' and the governments of Beejipur and

* The young desert chieftain, like all his tribe would find matter for quarrel in the wind blowing his face. Having received what he deemed an insult from the brother-in-law of the *Shasada*, in a dispute regarding a fawn, he appealed to his sword, and a duel ensued even in the presence-chamber in which young Mohun fell. The fracas was reported to his brother Pudma at no distance from the scene. With the few retainers at hand, he rushed to the spot, and found his brother bathed in his blood. His antagonist, still hanging over his victim, when he saw the infuriated Rahthore enter, with sword and shield, prepared for dreadful vengeance, retreated behind one of the columns of the Aum Khas (*Divan*). But Pudma's sword reached him, and avenged his brother's death; as the record says, "he felled him to the earth, cleaving at the same place the pillar in twain." Taking up the dead body of his brother, and surrounded by his vassals, he repaired to his quarters, where he assembled all the Rajpoot princes serving with their contingents, as Jeypur, Jodhpur, Harouti, and harangued them on the insult to their race in the murder of his brother. They all agreed to abandon the king's army, and retire to their own homes. A noble was sent to expostulate by Prince Moozzim; but in vain. He urged that the prince not only forgave, but approved the summary vengeance taken by the Rahthore: they refused to listen, and in a body had retired more than twenty miles, when the prince in person joined them, and concessions and expostulations overcoming them, they returned to the camp. It was subsequent to this that the two elder brothers were slain. It is recorded of the surviving brother, that he slew an enormous lion in single combat. For this exploit, which thoroughly entitled him to the name he bore (*Kesuri*), the 'Lion,' he received an estate of twenty-five villages from the king. He also obtained great renown for slaying a Habshi or Abyssinian chief, who commanded for one of the southern princes.

Arungabad. Anop Sing led his clans with the head of his race, the prince of Jodhpore, to quell a rebellion amongst the Afghans of Cabul which having effected, he returned to the peninsula. Ferishta and the native annals are at variance on his death; the former asserting that he died in the Dekhan, while the latter say that he left that country, disgusted with the imperial commander's interference about his ground of encampment, and that he died at Bikaner. He left two sons, Suroop Sing and Sujaun Sing.

Suroop, who succeeded in S. 1765 (A. D. 1709), did not long enjoy his honours, being killed in attempting to recover Adoni, which the emperor had resumed on his father's leaving the army.

Sujaun Sing, his successor, did nothing.

Zoorawur Sing became Raja in S. 1793 (A.D. 1737). The domestic incidents of this, as of preceding reigns, are without interest.

Guz Sing succeeded in S. 1802 (A.D. 1746). Throughout a long reign of forty-one years, this prince carried on border strife with the Bhattis and the Khan of Bhawalpore. From the former he took Rajasir, Kailah, Ranair, Suttasir, Bunnipoora, Mootalai, and other villages of inferior note; and from the Khan he recovered the important frontier castle of Anopgurh.

He laid waste, filling up the wells, a considerable tract of country west of the frontier post, of Anopgurh, to prevent the incursions of the *Daodpotras*.*

Raja Guj had some celebrity from the number of his offspring, having had sixty-one children, though all but six were the 'sons of love.' The legitimates were, Chutter Sing, who died in infancy; Raj Sing, who was poisoned by the mother of Soorut Sing, the reigning prince; Soortan Sing and Ajib Sing, both of whom fled the paternal roof to escape the fate of their elder brother, and are now at Jeipur; Soorut Sing, Raja of Bikaner and Siam Sing, who enjoys a small appanage in Bikaner.

Raj Sing succeeded his father S. 1843 (A. D. 1787), but he enjoyed the dignity only thirteen days, being removed by a dose of poison by the mother† of Soorut Sing, the fifth son of Raja Guj. The crown thus nefariously obtained, this worthy son of such a parent determined to maintain his authority by like means, and to leave no competitor to contest his claims. He has accordingly removed by death or exile all who stood between him and the '*gadi* of Beeka.'

Raj Sing left two sons Pertap Sing and Jei Sing. On the death of Raj Sing, the office of regent, a word of ominous import in these regions, was assumed by Soorut Sing, who, during eighteen months, conducted himself with great circumspection, and by condescension and gifts impressed the chiefs in his favour. At length he broke his plans to the chiefs of Mahajin and Bahaderan, whose acquiescence in his usurpation he secured by additions to their estates. The faithful Bukhtawar Sing whose family during four generations had filled the office of *dewan*, discovered the scheme, though too late to counteract it, and the attempt

* 'The children of David,' the designation of the tract and inhabitants, subjects to the state of Bhawalpur, from its founder, Daod Khan, a native of Seistan.

† She was the sister of the Jhulye chief, heir-presumptive to the *gadi* of Jeipur, on failure of lineal issue.

was punished by imprisonment. Prepared for the last step, the regent collected foreign troops from Batinda and other parts, sufficient to overcome all opposition. The infant prince was kept secluded, and at length the regent issued the warrant in his own name for the nobles to assemble at the capital. Except the two traitors enumerated, they to a man refused; but instead of combining to oppose him, they indolently remained at their castles. Collecting all his troops, the usurper passed to Nohur, where he enticed the chief of Bookurko to an interview, and lodged him in the fortress of Nohur. Thence he passed to Ajitpura, which he plundered; and advancing to Sankoo, he attacked it in form. Doorjun Sing defended himself with valour, and when reduced to extremity, committed suicide. His heir was put in fetters, and a fine of twelve thousand rupees was levied from the vassals of Sankoo. The commercial town of Chooru was next attacked; it held out six months, when the confined chief of Bookurko, as the price of his own freedom, treacherously offered to put the tyrant in possession. He effected this, and a fine of nearly two lakhs of rupees (£20,000) was offered to spare the town from plunder.

By this act of severity, and the means it furnished, Soorut returned to Bikaner, determined to remove the only bar between him and the crown, his prince and nephew. In this he found some difficulty, from the virtue and vigilance of his sister, who never lost sight of the infant. Frustrated in all attempts to circumvent her, and not daring to blazon the murder by open violence, he invited the needy Raja of Nirwar to make proposals for his sister's hand. In vain she urged her advanced period of life; and in order to deter the suitor, that she had already been affianced to Rana Ursi of Mewar. All his scruples vanished at the dower of three lakhs, which the regent offered the impoverished scion of the famous Raja Nala.* Her objections were overruled and she was forced to submit; though she not only saw through her brother's anxiety for her removal, but boldly charged him with his nefarious intentions. He was not content with disavowing them, but at her desire gave her the most solemn assurances of the child's safety. Her departure was the signal of his death; for not long after, he was found strangled, and it is said by the regent's own hands, having in vain endeavoured to obtain the offices of the Mahajan chieftain as the executioner of his sovereign.

Thus, in one short year after the death of Raja Raj, the *gadi* of Beeka was dishonoured by being possessed by an assassin of his prince. In S. 1857 (A. D. 1801), the elder brothers of the usurper, Soortan Sing and Ajib Sing, who had found refuge in Jeypur, repaired to Bhutnair and assembled the vassals of the disaffected nobles and Bhattis in order to dethrone the tyrant. But the recollection of his severities deterred some, while bribes beat back others, and the usurper did not hesitate to advance to meet his foes. The encounter, which took place at Beegore, was obstinate and bloody, and three thousand Bhattis alone fell. This signal victory confirmed Soorut's usurpation. He erected a castle on the field of battle, which he called *Futtehgurh*, the abode of victory.

Flushed with this brilliant success, Soorut Sing determined to make his authority respected both at home and abroad. He invaded his turbulent countrymen, the Beedawuts, and levied fifty thousand rupees from

* The story of Nala and Dumyanti (or *Nul Dumun*, as it is familiarly called in these regions) is well known in oriental literature. From Nal, the famed castle of Narwar is named, of which this suitor for the hand of the Bikaner princess was deprived by Sindia.

their lands. Chdoru, which had promised aid to the late confederacy, was once more invested and mulcted, and various other places were attacked ere they could join. But one solitary castle was successfully defended, that of Ch'hani, near Bahaderan. Here the usurper was foiled, and, after six months' fruitless seige, compelled to return to his capital.

Shortly after, he eagerly availed himself of an opportunity to punish the excesses of the Daodpotras, and to withdraw attention from himself, by kindling a popular war against these powerful and turbulent neighbours. The occasion was the Kerani chief of Tearoh demanding his aid against his liege lord, Bhawul Khan. As these border feuds are not extinguished even in these days of universal peace, it may not be uninteresting to see the feudal muster-roll of the desert chiefs on such occurrences, as well as the mode in which they carry on hostilities. It was very shortly before that victory had preponderated on the side of the Rahthores by a gallant *coup-de-main* of the lord marcher of Bikaner, who carried the castle of Mozgurh in a midnight assault. The hero on this occasion was not a Rahtore, but a Bhatti chief, in the service of Bikaner, named Hindu Sing, who gained 'immortality' by the style in which he scaled the walls, put Mohamed Maroop Kerani, the governor, and the garrison to the sword, and brought away captive to Bikaner the governor's wife, who was afterwards ransomed for five thousand rupees and four hundred camels.

The outlaw who sought *sirna* at Bikaner, on this occasion, was of the same tribe, Kerani, his name Khodabuksh ('gift of God'), chief of Tearoh, one of the principal fiefs of the Daodpotras. With all his retainers, to the amount of three hundred horse and five hundred foot, he threw himself on the protection of Soorut Sing, who assigned him twenty villages, and one hundred rupees daily for his support. The Keranies were the most powerful vassals of Bhawul Khan, who might have paid dear for the resumption of Tearoh, whose chief promised the Rajpoot nothing less than to extend his conquests to the Indus. Allured by this bait, the *kher* was proclaimed and the sons of Beeka assembled from all quarters.

			Horse.	Foot.	Guns.
Abhoye Sing chief, of	Bookurko	...	300	2,000	
Rao Ram Sing, of	Poogul	...	100	400	
Hatti Sing, of	Ranair	...	8	150	
Kurrun Sing, of	Suttasir	...	9	150	
Anop Sing, of	Jussaroh	...	40	250	
Khet Sing, of	Jemunsir	...	60	350	
Bheni Sing, of	Jangloo	...	9	250	
Bhom Sing, of	Beetnoko	...	2	61	
Feudal retainers			528	3,611	
			Horse.	Foot.	Guns.
Park under Muji Purihar			...	...	21
Foreign Brigade in the Raja's service.	{ Khas Paega, or household troop		200	...	...
	{ Camp of Gunga Sing		200	1,500	4
	{ Do. of Doorjun Sing		60	600	4
Auxiliary Levies.	{ Anoka Sing		300	...	...
	{ Laori Sing		250	...	...
	{ Bood Sing		250	...	...
	{ Sooltan Khan		...	...	...
	{ Ahmed Khan		400	...	...
TOTAL...			2,188	5,711	29

The command-in-chief of this brilliant array was conferred on Jaitroh Match, son of the Dewan. On the 13th of Magh 1856 (spring of 1800) he broke ground, and the feudal levies fell in on the march by Kunasir, Rajasir, Kaili, Ranair, and Anopgurh, the last point of rendezvous. Thence he proceeded by Seogurh,* Mozgurh, and Phoolra, all of which were taken after a few weeks' siege, and from the last they levied a lakh and quarter of rupees, with other valuables, and nine guns. They advanced to Khyrpur, within three miles of the Indus, when being joined by other refractory chiefs, Jaitroh marched direct on the capital, Bhawalpur, within a short distance of which he encamped preparatory to the attack. The Khan, however, by this delay, was enabled to detach the most considerable of his nobles from the Rajpoot standard: on which the Bikaner Dewan, satisfied with the honour of having insulted Bhawalpur, retreated with the spoils he had acquired. He was received by the usurper with contempt, and degraded for not fighting.

The Bhattis, smarting with the recollection of their degradation, two years after the battle of Beegore attempted the invasion of Bikaner, but were again repulsed with loss; and these skirmishes continued until S. 1861 (A. D. 1805), when Raja Soorut attacked the Khan of the Bhattis in his capital, Bhutnair. It capitulated after a siege of six months, when Zabta Khan, with his garrison and effects, was permitted to retire to Rhania, since which this place has remained an appanage of Bikaner.

The coalition against Jodhpur was ruinous to Soorut, who supported the cause of the pretender, on which the usurper expended twenty-four lakhs of rupees, nearly five years' revenue of this desert region. On this occasion, he led all his troops in person against Jodhpur, and united in the siege, which they were, however, compelled to abandon with dishonour, and retrograde to their several abodes. In consequence of this, the usurper fell sick, and was at the last extremity; nay, the ceremonies for the dead were actually commenced; but he recovered, to the grief and misery of his subjects. To supply an exhausted treasury, his extortions know no bounds; and having cherished the idea that he might compound his past sins by rites and gifts to the priests, he is surrounded by a group of avaricious Brahmins, who are maintained in luxury at the expense of his subjects. His cruelty keeps pace with his avarice and his fears. The chief of Bookurko he put to death, notwithstanding his numerous services. Nahur Sing of Seedmookh, Gyan Sing and Goman Sing of Gundaili, amongst the chief feudatories of the state, shared the same fate. Chooru was invested a third time, and with its chief, fell into the tyrant's hands.

With this system of terror, his increasing superstition, and diminished attention to public duties, the country is annually deteriorating in population and wealth; and as if they had not misery enough within, they have not had a single good season for years.† Owing to the disobedience of the northern chiefs, and the continual incursions of the *Rakhs*, or 'Bhatti robbers,' who sweep the land of cattle, and often cut and carry off entire crops, the peasant Jit, the ancient lord of the soil, is often left to the alternative of starvation or emigration. Many have consequently sought shelter in the British frontier territories, in Hansi and Heriana, where they are kindly received. Since the English have occupied Sirsah and the lands belonging to the Bhatti Bahader Khan, the misfortunes of the

* Its former name was Bullur one of the most ancient cities of the desert, as is Phoolra, a Johya possession.

† This account was drawn up in 1814.

cultivators of the northern parts of Bikaner have been doubled by the inroads of a band left without resource. In some parts, the Jits combine to protect themselves against these inroads: every hamlet has its post of defence, a tower of earth, on which is perched a watchman and kettle-drum, to beat the alarm, which is taken up from village to village, and when an enemy is discovered, all are in arms to defend their property. The unfortunate Jit is obliged to plough his fields under the load of shield and *sang*, or heavy iron lance; so that, at no distant period, the whole of this region must become as desolate as the tracts once possessed by the Johyas.*

Such, at the end of three hundred and twenty-three years, is the change which a Rajpoot usurper has effected in the once comparatively populous communities of the Jits. From the founder, Beeka, to the present tyrannical governor, there have been only eleven descents though thirteen reigns, giving an average of thirty years for the one, and twenty-five for the other: a fact which speaks forcibly for the general morality of the descendants of Beeka.

Before we enter on the physical aspect of the country, we must make mention of Beedavati, the lands of 'the sons of Beeda,' now an integral portion of Bikaner. It will be borne in mind that Beeda, the brother of Beeka, led the first Rajpoot colony from Mundore, in search of a fresh establishment. His first attempt was in the province of Godwar, then belonging to the Rana: but his reception there was so warm, that he moved northward, and was glad to take service with the chief of the Mohils. This ancient tribe is by some termed a branch of the Yadus, but is by others considered a separate race, and one of the 'thirty-six royal races:' all are agreed as to its antiquity. The residence of the Mohil chiefs was Chaupur, where, with the title of *Thakoor*, he ruled over one hundred and forty townships. Beeda deemed circumvention better than open force to effect his purposes; and as, according to the Rajpoot maxim, in all attempts 'to obtain land,' success hallows the means, he put in train a scheme which, as it affords the least cause for suspicion, has often been used for this object. Beeda became the medium of a matrimonial arrangement between the Mohil chief and the prince of Marwar; and as the relation and natural guardian of the bride, he conveyed the nuptial train unsuspected into the castle of the Mohils, whose chiefs were assembled to honour the festivities. But instead of the Rakhthore fair and her band of maidens, the valorous sons of Joda rushed sword in hand from the litters and covered vehicles, and treacherously cut off the best men of Mohilla. They kept possession of the inner fortress until tidings of their success brought reinforcement from Jodhpur. For this aid, Beeda assigned to his father, Ladnoo, and its twelve villages, now incorporated with Jodhpur. The sons of Beeda, Tez Sing, laid the foundation of a new capital, which he called after his father, Beedasir. The community of the Beedawuts is the most powerful in Bikaner, whose prince is obliged to be satisfied with almost nominal remarks of supremacy, and to restrict his demands, which are elsewhere unlimited. The little region of the Mohillas, around the ancient capital Chaupur, is an extensive flat, flooded in the periodical rains from the surrounding *teebas* or 'sand-hills,' the soil

* While putting this to the press, rumour says that the chiefs of Bikaner are in open rebellion against the Raja, who was applied, but without success, to the British Government for support. This, if true, is as it should be.

of which is excellent, even wheat being abundantly produced. This *Q. isis* as it is entitled to be termed, may be twenty-five miles (twelve-cos) in extreme length, by about six in breadth. We cannot affirm that the entire Beedawut district of one hundred and forty villages, and to which is assigned a population of forty thousand to fifty thousand souls, one-third being Rahthores, 'the sons of Beeda' is within this flat. It is subdivided into twelve fiefs, of which five are pre-eminent. Of the ancient possessors, the indigenous Mohils, there are not more than twenty families throughout the land of Mohilla; the rest are chiefly Jit agriculturists and the mercantile castes.

We do the sons of Beeda no injustice when we style them a community of plunderers. Like the sons of Esau, "their hand is against every man;" and they are too powerful to fear retaliation. In former times they used to unite with the Larkhanis, another horde of robbers, and carry their raids into the most populous parts of Jeypur. In these habits, however, they only partake of the character common to all who inhabit desert regions. What nature has denied them, they wrest from those to whom she has been more bountiful. But it is to the absence of good government more than to natural sterility, that we must attribute the moral obliquity of the *Rajputras*, the off-spring of regality, spread over these extensive regions, who little discriminate between *meum* and *tuum* in all that refers to their neighbours.

CHAPTER II.

THIS region is but little known to Europeans, by whom it has hitherto been supposed to be a perfect desert, unworthy of examination. Its present condition bears little comparison with what tradition reports it to have been in ancient times; and its deterioration, within three centuries since the Rajpoots supplemented the Jits, almost warrants our belief of the assertion, that these deserts were once fertile and populous; nay, that they are still capable (notwithstanding the reported continual increase of the sand) to maintain an abundant population, there is little room to doubt. The princes of Bikaner used to take the field at the head of ten thousand of their kindred retainers; and although they held extraordinary grants from the empire for the maintenance of this contingents, their ability to do so from their proper resources was undoubted. To other causes than positive sterility must be attributed the wretched condition of this state. Exposed to the continual attacks of organized bands of robbers from without, subjected internally to the never-ending demands of rapacious government, for which they have not a shadow of advantage in return, it would be strange, if aught but progressive decay and wretchedness were the consequence. In three centuries more than one-half of the villages, which either voluntarily or by force submitted to the rule of the founder, Beeka, are now without memorial of their existence, and the rest are gradually approximating to the same condition. Commercial caravans, which passed through this state and enriched its treasury with the transit duties, have almost ceased to frequent it from the increasing insecurity of its territory. Besides the personal loss to the prince, the country suffers from the deterioration of the commercial towns of Chooru, Rajgurh, and Rinnie, which, as *entrepôts* supplied the country with the productions of Sind and the provinces to the westward, or those of Gangetic India. Nor is this confined to

Bikaner; the same cause affects Jessulmer, and the more eastern principalities, whose misgovernment, equally with Bikaner, fosters the spirit of rapine: the Maldotes of Jessulmer and the Larkhanis of Jeypur are as notorious as the Beedawuts of Bikaner; and to these may be added the Sahraes, Khosas, and Rajurs, in the more western desert, who, in their habits and principles, are as demoralized as the Bedouins of Arabia.

Extent.—Population.—Soil.—Teebas or Sand-hills.—The line of greatest breadth of this state extends from Poogul to Rajgurh, and measures about one hundred and eighty miles; while the length from north to south, between Bhutnair and Mahajin, is about one hundred and sixty miles; the area may not exceed twenty-two thousand miles. Formerly they reckoned two thousand seven hundred towns, villages, and hamlets scattered over this space, one-half of which are no longer in existence.

An estimate of the population of this arid region, without presenting some data, would be very unsatisfactory. The tract to the north-west of Jaetpur is now perfectly desolate, and nearly so from that point to Bhutnair; to the north-east, the population is but scanty, which observation also applies to the parts from the meridian of Bikaner to the Jessulmer frontier; while internally, from these points, it is more uniform, and equals the northern parts of Marwar. From a census of the twelve principal towns, with an estimate, furnished by well-informed inhabitants, of the remainder, we may obtain a tolerably accurate approximation on this point:

Chief Towns.				No. of Houses.	
Bikaner	...	...	...	...	12,000
Nohur	...	...	...	...	2,500
Bahaderan	...	...	...	...	2,500
Rinnie	...	...	...	...	1,500
Rajgurh	...	...	...	...	3,000
Chooru	...	...	...	...	3,000
Mahajin	...	...	...	...	800
Jaetpur	...	...	...	...	1,000
Beedasir	...	...	...	...	500
Ruttungurh	...	...	...	...	1,000
Daismookh	...	...	...	...	1,000
Senthal	...	...	...	...	50
					<hr/>
					28,850
100 Villages, each having 200 houses	...	...	...	...	20,000
100 Do.	...	150 Do.	...	...	15,000
200 Do.	...	100 Do.	...	...	20,000
800 Hamlets	...	30 each	...	...	24,000
					<hr/>
TOTAL number of houses				...	107,850

Allowing five souls to each house, we have a total of 539,250 souls, giving an average of twenty-five to the square mile, which I cannot think exaggerated, and making the desert regions depending on Bikaner equal, in the density of population, the highlands of Scotland.

Of this population, full three-fourths are the aboriginal Jits; the rest are their conquerors, descendants of Beeka, including the Sarsote Brahmins, Charuns, Bards, and a few of the debased classes, whose numbers, conjointly, are not one-tenth of the Rajpoots.

Jits.—The Jits are the most wealthy as well as the most numerous portion of the community. Many of the old Bhomia landlords, representatives of their ancient communal heads, are men of substance; but their riches are of no use to them, and to avoid the rapacity of their government, they cover themselves with the cloak of poverty, which is thrown aside only on nuptial festivities. On these occasions they disinter their hoards, which are lavished with unbounded extravagance. They even block up the highways to collect visitors, whose numbers form the measure of the liberality and munificence of the donor of the fete.

Sarsote (properly *Sarasvati*) Brahmins are found in considerable numbers throughout this tract. They aver that they were masters of the country prior to the Jit colonists. They are a peaceable, industrious race, and without a single prejudice 'of the order;' they eat meat, smoke tobacco, cultivate the soil, and trade even in the sacred kine, notwithstanding their descent from Singiricscha, son of Brahma.

Charuns.—The Charuns are the sacred order of these regions; the warlike tribes esteem the heroic lays of the bard more than the homily of the Brahmin. The Charuns are throughout revered by the Rahthores, and hold lands, literally, on the tenure of 'an old song.' More will be said of them in the Annals of Jessulmer.

Mallis, Naes, gardeners and barbers, and important member of every Rajpoot family, and to be found in all the villages, of which they are invariably the cooks.

Chooras, Thaoris, are actually castes of robbers: the former, from the Lakhi Jungle; the latter, from Mewar. Most of the chieftains have a few in their pay, entertained for the most desperate services. The Bahaderan chief has expelled all his Rajpoots, and retains only Chooras and Thaoris. The Chooras are highly esteemed for fidelity, and the barriers and portals throughout this tract are in their custody. They enjoy a very singular perquisite, which would go far to prove their being the aborigines of the country; namely, a fee of four copper coins on every dead subject, when the funeral ceremonies are over.

Rajpoots.—The Rahthores of Bikaner are unchanged in their martial qualifications, bearing as high a reputation, as any other class in India; and whilst their brethren of Marwar, Amber, and Mewar, have been for years groaning under the rapacious visitations of Mahrattas and Pathans, their distance and the difficulties of the country have saved them from such afflictions: though, in truth, they have had enough to endure at home, in the tyranny of their own lord. The Rahthores of the desert have fewer prejudices than their more eastern brethren; they will eat food, without enquiring by whom it was dressed, and will drink either wine or water, without asking to whom the cup belonged. They would make the best soldiers in the world, if they would submit to discipline, as they are brave, hardy, easily satisfied, and very patient; though, on the other hand, they have imbibed some qualities, since their migration to these regions, which could only be eradicated in the rising generation: especially the inordinate use of opium, and smoking intoxicating herbs, in both of which accomplishments 'the sons of Beeka' are said to bear the palm from the rest of the *Chhatees rajcula*, the thirty-six royal tribes of India. The *piala*, or 'cup' is a favourite with every Rajpoot who can afford it, and is, as well as opium, a pannacea for *ennui*, arising from the absence of all mental stimulants, in which they are more deficient, from the nature of the country, than most of their warlike countrymen.

Face of the country.—The whole of this principality, with the exception of a few isolated spots, or *oases*, scattered here and there consists more or less of sand. From the eastern to the western boundary, in the line of greatest breadth, it is one continuous plain of sand, though the *teebas*, or sand-hills, commence in the centre of the country, the principal chain running in the direction of Jessulmeer, and shooting forth subordinate branches in every direction; or it might be more correct to designate this main ridge, originating in the tracts bordering the eastern valley of the Indus, as terminating its elevations about the heart of Bikaner. On the north-east quarter, from Rajpuri to Nohur and Raotsir, the soil is good, being black earth slightly mixed with sand, and having water near enough to the surface for irrigation; it produces wheat, gram, and even rice, in considerable quantities. The same soil exists from Bhutnair to the banks of the Garah. The whole of the Mohilla tract is a fertile *oasis*, the *teebas* just terminating their extreme offsets on its northern limit: being flooded in the periodical rains, wheat is abundantly produced.

But exclusive of such spots which are "few and far between," we cannot describe the desert as a waste where "no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens;" for though the poverty of the soil refuses to aid the germination of the more luxuriant grains, Providence has provided a countervailing good, in giving to those it can rear a richness and superiority unknown to more favoured regions. The *bajra* of the desert is far superior to any grown in the rich loam of Malwa, and its inhabitant retains an instinctive partiality, even when admitted to revel in the luxurious repasts of Mewar or Amber, for the *bhawtis*, or 'bajra cakes,' of his native sand-hills, and not more from association than from their intrinsic excellence. In a plentiful season, they save enough for two years' consumption. The grain requires not much water, though it is of the last importance that this little should be timely.

Besides bajra, we may mention *mot'h* and *til*; the former a useful pulse both for men and cattle; the other the oil-plant, used both for culinary purposes and burning. Wheat, gram, and barley, are produced in the favoured spots described, but in these are enumerated the staple products of Bikaner.

Cotton is given in the tracts favourable for wheat. The plant is said to be septennial, even decennial, in these regions. As soon as the cotton is gathered, the shoots are all cut off, and the root alone left. Each succeeding year, the plant increases in strength, and at length attains a size unknown where it is more abundantly cultivated.

Nature has bountifully supplied many spontaneous vegetable products for the use of man, and excellent pasture for cattle. *Gowar*, *Kutchri*, *Kukree*, all of the cucurbitaceous family, and water-melons of a gigantic size, are produced in great plenty. The latter is most valuable; for being cut in slices and dried in the sun, it is stored up for future use when vegetables are scarce, or in times of famine, on which they always calculate. It is also an article of commerce and much admired even where vegetables are more abundant. The copious mucilage of the dried melon is extremely nourishing; and deeming it valuable as an antiscorbutic in sea-voyages, the Author sent some of it to Calcutta many years ago for experiment.* Our Indian ships would find no

* I sent specimens to Mr. Moarcroft so far back as 1813, but never learned the result.—See Article "On the Preservation of Food," Edin. Review, No. 45. p. 115. r

difficulty in obtaining a plentiful supply of this article, as it can be cultivated to any extent, and thus be made to confer a double benefit, on our seamen and the inhabitants of those desert regions. The superior magnitude of the water-melons of the desert over those of interior India gives rise to much exaggeration, and it has been gravely asserted by travellers in the sand *teehas*,* where they are most abundant, that the mucilage of one is sufficient to allay the thirst both of a horse and his rider.

In these arid regions where they depend entirely on the heavens for water, and where they calculate on a famine every seventh year nothing that can administer to the wants of man is lost. The seeds of the wild grapes, as the *bhoorut*, *burroo*, *herraro*, *sewun*, are collected, and, mixed with *bajra*-flour, enter much into the food of the poorer classes. They also store up great quantities of the wild *ber*, *khyr*, and *kharil* berries; and the long pods of the *kaijra*, astringent and bitter as they are, are dried and formed into a flour. Nothing is lost in these regions which can be converted into food.

Trees they have none indigenous (mangoes and tamarind are planted about the capital), but abundant shrubs, as the *babool*, and ever-green *peeloo*, the *jhal*, and others yielding berries. The Beedawuts, indeed, apply the term 'tree,' to the *roeuira*, which sometimes attains the height of twenty feet, and is transported to all parts for house-building; as likewise is the *nima*, so well-known throughout India. The *phok* is the most useful of all these, as with its twigs they frame a wicket work to line their wells, and prevent to sand from falling in.

The *ak*, a species of euphorbia, known in Hindustan as the *madar*, grows to an immense height and strength in the desert; from its fibres they make the ropes in general use throughout these regions, and they are reckoned superior, both in substance and durability, to those formed of *moonj* (hemp), which is, however, cultivated in the lands of the Beedawuts.

Their agricultural implements are simple and suited to the soil. The plough is one of single yoke, either for the camel or ox: that with double yoke being seldom required, or chiefly by the *mallis* (gardeners), when the soil is of some consistence. The drill is invariably used, and the grains are dropped singly into the ground, at some distance from each other, and each sends forth a dozen to twenty stalks. A bundle of bushes forms their harrow. The grain is trodden out by exen; and the *mot'h* (pulse) which is even more productive than the *bajra*, by camels.

Water.—This indispensable element is at an immense distance from the surface throughout the Indian Desert, which, in this respect as well as many others, differs very materially from that portion of the great African Desert in the same latitudes. Water at twenty feet, as found at Mourzook by Capt. Lyon, is unheard-of, and the degree of cold experienced by him at Zuela on the winter solstice, would have "burnt up" every natural and cultivated production of our Hindu Seharra. Captain Lyon describes the 'thermometer in lat. 26°, within 2° of zero of Reaumur,' Majors Denham and Clapperton never mark it under 40° of Fahrenheit, and mention ice, which I never saw but once, the [thermometer being 28°; and then not only the mouths of our *mushiks*, or 'water skins,' were

* Mr. Barrow, in his valuable work on Southern Africa, describes the water-melon as self-sown and abundant.

rozen, but a small pond, protected from the wind (I heard, for I saw it not), exhibited a very thin pellicle of ice. When at 30° the cold was deemed intense by the inhabitants of Maroo in the tracts limiting the desert, and the useful, *ak*, and other shrubs, were scorched and withered; and in north lat. 25°, the thermometer being 28°, desolation and woe spread throughout the land. To use their own phrase, the crops of gram and other pulses were completely "burnt up, as if scorched by the lightnings of heaven;" while the sun's meridian heat would raise it 50° more, or up to 80° a degree of variability at least not recorded by Captain Lyon.

At Daismokh near the capital, the wells are more than two hundred cubits, or three hundred feet, in depth; and it is rare that water fit for man is found at a less distance from the surface than sixty, in the tracts decidedly termed *thul*, or 'desert' though some of the flats, or *oases*, such as that of Mohilla, are exceptions and abundance of brackish water, fit for cattle, is found throughout at half this depth, or about thirty feet. All the wells are lined with basket-work made of *phok* twigs, and the water is generally drawn up by hand-lines.*

Sirr, or '*Salt-Lakes*.'—There are a few salt-lakes, which throughout the whole of the Indian Desert, are termed *sirr*, though none are of the same consequence as those of Marwar. The largest is at the town of *Sirr*, so named after the lake, which is about six miles in circumference. There is another at Chaupur about two miles in length and although each of them frequently contains a depth of four feet of water, this entirely evaporates in the hot winds, leaving a thick sheet of saline incrustation. The salt of both is deemed of inferior quality to that of the more southerly lakes.

Physiognomy of the Country.—There is little to vary the physiognomy of this region, and small occasion to boast either of his physical or moral beauties; yet, strange to say, I have met with many whose love of country was stronger than their perceptions of abstract veracity, who would dwell on its perfections, and prefer a mess of *rabri*, or porridge made of *bajra* to the greater delicacies of more civilized regions. To such, the *teebas*, or 'sand-ridges,' might be more important than the Himalaya, and their diminutive and scanty brushwood might eclipse the gigantic foliage of this huge barrier. Verdure itself may be abhorrent to eyes accustomed to behold only arid sands; and a region without *tofans* or 'whirl-winds;' or armies of locusts rustling like a tempest, and casting long shadows on the lands might be deemed by the prejudiced, deficient in the true sublime. Occasionally the sand-stone formation rises above the surface, resembling a few low isolated hills; and those who dwell on the boundaries of Nagore, if they have a love of more decided elevations than their native sand-hills afford, may indulge in a distant view of the termination of the Aravalli.

Mineral productions.—The mineral productions of this country are scanty. They have excellent quarries of freestone in several parts, especially at Husairah, thirteen coss to the north-east of the capital,

* Water is solid, in all the large towns, by the *mallis* or 'gardeners' who have the monopoly of this article. Most families have large cisterns or reservoirs called *tankas* which are filled in the rainy season. They are of masonry, with a small trap door at the top, made to exclude the external air, and having a lock and key affixed. Some large *tankas* are established for the community, and I underst and this water keeps sweet for eight or twelve months' consumption.

which yield a small revenue estimated at two thousand rupees annually. There are also copper mines at Beerumsir and Beedasil; but the former does not repay the expense of working, and the latter, having been worked for thirty years, is nearly exhausted.

An unctuous clay is excavated from a pit, near Kolath, in large quantities, and exported as an article of commerce, besides adding fifteen hundred rupees annually to the treasury. It is used chiefly to free the skin and hair from impurities, and the Cutchie ladies are said to eat it to improve their complexions.

Animal productions.—The kine of the desert are highly esteemed; as are the camels, especially those used for expedition and the saddle, which bear a high price,* and are considered superior to any in India. They are beautifully formed, and the head possesses much blood and symmetry. Sheep are reared in great abundance, and find no want of food in the excellent grasses and shrubs which abound. The *p'hok*, *jowas*, and other prickly shrubs, which are here indigenous, from the dainties of the camel in other regions. The Nilgae or elk, and deer of every kind are plentiful; and the fox of the desert is a beautiful little animal. Jackals and hyænas are not scarce, and even lions are by no means unknown in Bikaner.

Commerce and Manufactures.—Rajgurh was the great commercial mart of this country, and the point of *rendezvous* for caravans from all parts. The produce of the Punjab and Cashmere came formerly direct by Hansi-Hisar,—that of the eastern countries by Delhi, Rewarri, Dadri, etc., consisting of silks, fine cloths, indigo, sugar, iron, tobacco, etc.; from Harouti and Malwa came opium, which supplied all the Rajpoot states; from Sindé, *via* Jessulmer, and by caravans from Mooltan and Shikarpur, dates, wheat, rice, *loongees* (silk vestments for women), fruits, etc.; from Pali, the imports from maritime countries, as spices, tin, drugs, coco-nuts, elephants' teeth, etc. Much of this was for internal consumption, but the greater part a mere transit trade which yielded considerable revenue.

Woolens.—The wool of the sheep pastured in the desert is, however, the staple commodity both of manufacture and trade in this region. It is worked into every article of dress, both male and female, and worn by all, rich and poor. It is produced from the loom, of every texture and quality, from the coarse *looie* or 'blanket,' at three rupees per pair (six shillings), to thirty rupees. The quality of these last is very fine, of an intermediate texture between the shawl and camlet, and without any nap: it is always bordered with a stripe of chocolate brown or red. Of this quality are the *do-patis* or 'scarfs' for the ladies. Turbans are also manufactured of it, and though frequently from forty to sixty-one feet in length, such is the fineness of the web, that they are not bulky on the head.

From the milk of the sheep and goats as well as kine, *ghee* or 'clarified butter' is made, and forms an important article of trade.

Manufactures in iron.—The Bikaneris work well in iron, and have shops at the capital and all the large towns for the manufacture of sword-blades, matchlocks, daggers, iron lances, etc. The sword-handles, which are often inlaid with variegated steel or burnished, are in high request, and exported to various parts of India. They have also expert artists

* One thousand rupees have been given for one; one hundred is the average value.

in ivory, though the articles are chiefly such as are worn by females, as *chooris*, or 'bracelets.'

Coarse cotton cloths, for internal consumption, are made in considerable quantities.

Fairs.—Annual fairs were held, in the months of Kartic and Phalgun, at the towns of Kolath and Gujnair, and frequented by the merchants of the adjacent countries. They were celebrated for cattle, chiefly the produce of the desert, camels, kine, and horses from Multan and the Lakhi Jungle, a breed now almost extinct. These fairs have lost all their celebrity: in fact, commerce in these regions is extinct.

Government Revenues.—The personal revenues of the Raja were derived from a variety of sources: from the *Khalisa*, or 'crown-lands' imposts, taxes on agriculture, and that compendious item which makes up the deficiencies in all oriental budgets, *dind* or contribution. But with all these "appliances and means to boot," the civil list of this desert king seldom exceeded five lakhs of rupees, or about, 50,000 per annum. The lands of the feudality are more extensive proportionally in this region than in any other in Rajpootana, arising out of the original settlement, when the Bredawuts and Kandulotes, whose joint acquisitions exceeded those of Beeka, would not admit him to hold lands in their territory, and made but a slight pecuniary acknowledgment of his supremacy. The districts in which the crown-lands lie are Rajgurh, Rinnie, Nohur, Garib, Ruttengurh, Ranniah, and more recently Chooru.

The following are the items of the revenue:—1st. *Khalisa*, or fiscal revenue; 2nd. *Dhooah*; 3rd. *Angah*; 4th. Town and transit duties; 5th. *Pusaeti*, or plough-tax; 6th *Muibah*.

1st. The *fisc*. Formerly this branch of revenue yielded two lakhs of rupees; but with progressive superstition and prodigality, the *raja* has alienated almost two-thirds of the villages from which the revenue was drawn. These amounted to two hundred; now they do not exceed eighty, and their revenue is not more than one lakh of rupees. Soorut Sing is guided only by caprice; his rewards are uniform, no matter what the service or the object, whether a Brahmin or a camel-driver. The *Khalisa* is the only source which he considers he has merely a life-interest in. To supply the deficiencies, he has direct recourse to the pockets of his subjects.

2nd. *Dhooah* may be rendered hearth-tax, though literally it is a smoke (*dhooah*) tax. All must eat; food must be dressed; and as they have neither chimneys nor glass windows on which to lay the tax, Soorut Sing's chancellor of the exchequer makes the smoke pay a transit duty ere it gets vent from the various orifices of the edifice. It only amounts to one rupee on each house or family, but would form an important item if not evaded by the powerful chiefs: still it yields a lakh of rupees. The town of Mahajin, which was settled on Ruttun Sing, son of Raja Noonkurn, on the resignation of his right of primogeniture and succession, enjoys exemption from this tax. It is less liable to fluctuation than other taxes, for if a village becomes half-deserted, those who remain are saddled with the whole. *Dhooah* is only known to the two western states, Bikaner and Jessulmer.

3rd. *Angah*. This is not a capitation but a *body* tax (from *angah* the body), and was established by Raja Anop Sing. It might almost be termed a property-tax, since it embraced quadrupeds as well as bipeds of every sex and age, and was graduated according to age and sex in

the human species, and according to utility in the brute. Each male adult was assessed one *angah*, fixed at four annas (about sixpence), and cows, oxen, buffaloes, were placed upon a level with the lord of the creation. Ten goats or sheep were estimated as one *angah*; but a camel was equivalent to four *angahs*, or one rupee, which Raja Guj Sing doubled. This tax which is by far the most certain in a country, perhaps still more pastoral than agricultural, is most providently watched, and though it has undergone many changes since it was originally imposed, it yet yields annually two lakhs of rupees.

4th. *Sayer*, or 'imposts.' This branch is subject to much fluctuation, and has diminished greatly since the reign of Soorut Sing. The duties levied in the capital alone formerly exceeded what is collected throughout the whole of his dominions; being once estimated at above two lakhs, and now under one. Of this amount, half is collected at Rajmurl, the chief commercial mart of Bikaner. The dread of the *Rakhs*, who have cut off the communications with the Punjab, and the want of principle within, deter merchants from visiting this state, and the caravans from Mooltan, Bhawalpur, and Shikarpur, which passed through Bikaner to the eastern states, have nearly abandoned the route. The only duties of which he is certain are those on grain, of four rupees on every hundred maunds sold or exported, and which, according to the average sale price of these regions, may be about two per cent.

5th. *Pusaeti* is a tax of five rupees on every plough used in agriculture. It was introduced by Raja Rae Sing, in commutation of the corn-tax, or levy in kind, which had long been established at one-fourth of the gross produce. The Jits were glad to compound, and get rid of the agents of corruption, by the substitution of the plough-tax. It formerly yielded two lakhs of rupees, but with decreasing agriculture has fallen, like every other source, to a little more than one-half, but still yields a lakh and a quarter.

6th. *Malhak* is the name of the original tax which Jit the communities imposed upon themselves, when they submitted to the sway in perpetuity of Beeka and his successors. It is the land-tax* of two rupees on each hundred beeghas of land cultivated in Bikaner. It is now unproductive, not realising fifty thousand rupees, and it is said that a composition has been effected, by which it has been, or will be, relinquished; if so, Soorut Sing gives up the sole legitimate source of revenue he possesses.

Recapitulation.

				Rs.
1st.	Khalisa, or fiscf	...	...	1,00,000
2nd.	Dhooah	...	...	1,00,000

* *Mal* is the term for land which has no irrigation but from the heavens.

				Revenue.
				Rs.
† Nohur District	...	84	Villages	...
Rinnie	...	24	"	...
Raniah	...	44	"	...
Jalleli	...	1	"	...
				5,000

TOTAL original Fiscal Lands ... 1,35,000
since Rajmurl, Chooru, and other places recovered.

Recapitulation.			Rs.
3rd.	Angah	...	2,00,000
4th.	Sayer, imposts*	...	75,000
5th.	Pusaeti, plough-tax	...	1,25,000
6th.	Malbah, land-tax	...	50,000
TOTAL			6,50,000

Besides this the fullest amount arising to the prince from annual taxation, there are other items which occasionally replenish the treasury of Soorut Sing.

Dhatoie is a triennial tax of a five rupees levied on each plough. It was instituted by Raja Zoorawur Sing. The whole country is liable to it, with the exception of fifty villages in Asiagati, and seventy of the Beniwal, conditionally exempted, to guard the borders. It is now frequently evaded by the feudal chieftains, and seldom yields a lakh of rupees.

In addition to these specific expedients, there are many arbitrary methods of increasing the "ways and means" to satisfy the necessities or avarice of the present ruler, and a train of dependent harpies, who prey upon the cultivating peasantry, or industrious trader. By such shifts, Soorut Sing has been known to double his fixed revenue.

Dind Khooshali.—The terms *Dind*, and *Khooshali*, though etymologically the antipodes of each other,—the first meaning a 'compulsory contribution,' the other a 'benevolence, or voluntary,'†—have a similar interpretation in these regions, and make the subjects of those parts devoutly pray that their prince's house may be one rather of mourning than rejoicing, and that defeat rather than victory may be attendant on his arms.

The term *dind* is co-eval with Hindu legislation. The bird Chund describes it, and the chronicler of the life of the great Sidraj of Anulwarra, "who expelled the seven *Diddas*," or 'great evils,' whose initial letter was *d*, enumerates *dind* as one of them, and places it with the *Dholis* and *Dhakuns*, or minstrels and witches, giving it precedence amongst the seven plagues which his ancestors and tyrant custom had inflicted on the subject. Unhappily, there is no Sidraj to legislate for Rajpootana; and were their fourteen *Diddas* by which Soorut Sing could swell his budget, he would retain them all for the oppression of the impoverished Jits, who, if they could, would be happy to expel the letter *S* from amongst them. But it is from the chieftain, the merchant, and the banker, that the chief sums are realized; though indirectly the poor pea-

* Impost Duties in old times, <i>vis.</i> ,			Rs.
Town of Noonkurn	...	...	2,000
Rajgurh	...	...	10,000
Shekhsir	...	...	5,000
Capital—Bikaner	...	...	75,000
From Chooru and other towns	...	...	45,000

1,37,000

† *Khoosh* means 'happiness, pleasure, volition':—*ap ca kooshi*, 'at your pleasure.'

sant contributes his share. There are fourteen collectors of *dind*, one to every *cheera* or division, and these are furnished with arbitrary schedules according to the circumstances, actual or supposed, of each individual. So unlimited are these exactions, that the chief of Gundaili for two years offered the collector of his quarter ten thousand rupees if he would guarantee him against any further demand during even twelve months; and being refused, he turned the collector out, shut the gates of his castle, and boldly bid his master defiance.

One of his expedients to levy a *Khooshali*, or 'benevolence,' is worth relating: it was on the termination of his expedition against Bhutnair, which added this celebrated desert and castle to his territory, and in which he was attended by the entire feudal army of Bikaner. On his return, "flushed with conquest," he demanded from each house throughout his dominions the sum of ten rupees to cover the expenses of the war. If the tyrant-ridden subjects of Soorut Sing thus *rejoice* in his successes, how must they feel for his defeats! To them both are alike ominous, when every artifice is welcomed, every villany practised, to impoverish them. Oppression is at its height, and must work out its own cure.

Feudal levies.—The disposal force of all these feudal principalities must depend on the personal character of the Raja. If Soorut Sing were popular, and the national emergencies demanded the assemblage of the *kher*, or *levee en masse*, of the 'sons of Beeka,' he might bring ten thousand Rajpoots into the field, of whom twelve hundred might be good horse, besides the foreign troops and park; but under present circumstances, and the rapid deterioration of every branch of society, it may be doubted whether one-half could be collected under his standard.

The household troops consist of a battalion of foreign infantry, of five hundred men with five guns, and three squadrons of horse, about two hundred and fifty in number; all under foreign leaders. This is independent of the garrison of the capital, whose commandant is a Rajpoot of the Purihar tribe, who has twenty-five villages assigned for the payment of his troops.

Schedule exhibiting the Fiefs of Bikaner.

Names of Chieftains.	Clans.	Places of Abode.	Revenue. Ru.	RETAINERS.		REMARKS.
				Foot.	Horse.	
Beri Sal	Beeko	Mahajin	40,000	5,000	100	One hundred and forty villages attached for this fief, settled on the heir of Raja Naonkurn, who consequently forfeited the <i>gadi</i> .
Abhe Sing	Beniroto	Bookurko	25,000	5,000	300	The first of the chiefs of Bikaner.
Aseep Sing	Beeko	Jessanoh	5,000	400	40	
Palon Sing	"	Baie	5,000	400	25	
Chya Sing	Beniroto	Sawoh	20,000	2,000	300	
Himmet Sing	Raot	Raotsir	20,000	2,000	300	One hundred and forty <i>laties</i> (families lit., <i>chambers</i>) of this class.
Seo Sing	Beniroto	Chooru	25,000	3,000	300	
Ongh Sing	Beedawat	Beedasir	50,000	10,000	2,000	
Juch Sing	"	Saondwa				
Bahadur Sing	Narnote	Maynsir	40,000	4,000	500	
Soomaj-Mull		Teandesir				
Gomau Sing		Kattur				
Attie Sing	"	Kootchore	5,000	500	125	
Shere Sing		Neembaji				
Davee Sing		Seedmook				
Qawld Sing	"	Kurripoora	20,000	5,000	400	
Geertan Sing		Ajitpoora				
Kunal Daa		Beahsir				

Soortas Sing	Catchwabs	Nynawass	...	4,000	150	30	Three to fiefs are held by foreign nobles of the house of Amber, and the ancient Pramara, (vulg. Power.)
Puddum Sing	Powar ...	Jaetsisir	...	5,000	200	100	
Kishan Sing	Becke ...	Hyadesir	...	5,000	200	50	The fief of Poogul was wrested from the Bhatius of Jeasulmer.
Rac Sing	Bhatti ...	Poogul*	...	6,000	1,300	40	
Sooltan sing	" ...	Rajasir	...	1,500	200	50	Twenty-seven villages dependent on this family from Jodhpur, and settled here eleven years.
Lukteer sing	" ...	Ranair	...	2,000	400	75	
Kurnie Sing	" ...	Sutasir	...	1,100	200	9	Twenty-seven villages.
Bhoon Sing	" ...	Chuckurra	...	1,500	60	4	
Four Chieftains, &c	" ...	Beetchnok	...	15,00	60	6	Twenty-seven villages dependent on this family from Jodhpur, and settled here eleven years.
1 Bhoani sing	" ...	Gurialah	...	1,100	40	4	
2 Zalim sing	" ...	Soorjerah	...	800	30	2	Twenty-seven villages.
3 sirdar sing	" ...	Rundisir	...	600	32	2	
4 Kaet sing	" ...	Nokho	...	11,000	1,500	500	Twenty-seven villages.
Chund sing	Kurumsaut	Badilah	...	5,000	200	25	
auti sing	Roopawut	Jangloo	...	2,500	400	9	Twenty-seven villages.
Bhoon sing	Bhatti ...	Jaminsir	...	15,000	500	150	
Kaisi	" ...	saroonda	...	11,000	2,000	150	Twenty-seven villages.
Issaree sing	Mundilah	Koodsoo	...	1,500	60	4	
Puddum sing	Bhatti ...	Naineab	...	1,000	40	2	Twenty-seven villages.
Kullian sing	" ...		...		
TOTAL				3,31,400	43,572	5,402	

If ever the whole feudal array of Bikaner amounted to this, it would assuredly be found difficult now, were the *gun* proclaimed, to assemble one-fourth of this number.

* Poogul Putta. † These chiefs are called sirdars of Khari Patta, one of the original conquests of the founder, Beeka.

Foreign Troops.

					Horse.	Foot.	Guns.
Sooltan Khan	...	...	...	...	...	200	...
Anokha Singh, Sikh	...	...	...	...	...	250	...
Bond Singh, Dewarah	...	...	...	...	...	200	...
Doorjun Singh's Battalion	...	...	...	700	4	4	
Ganga Singh's Battalion...	...	...	...	1,000	25	6	
				TOTAL FOREIGNERS	...	1,700	679
							10
Park	...	...	...	...	...	...	21
					1,700	679	31

CHAPTER III.

BHUTNAIR, which now forms an integral part of Bikaner, was anciently the chief abode of another Jit community, so powerful as at one time to provoke the vengeance of kings, and at others to succour them when in distress. It is asserted that its name is in no wise connected with the Bhattis who colonised it, but derived from the Bardai, or Bhat, of a powerful prince, to whom the lands were granted, and who, desirous to be the founder of a poetic dynasty, gave his professional title to the abode. In the annals of Jessulmer, it will be seen that there is another story accounting for the appellation, which recalls the founding of Carthage or Byrsa. Both legends are improbable; and the Bhatti annals confirm what might have been assumed without suspicion, that to a colony of this race Bhutnair owes its name, though not its existence. The whole of the northern part is called Nair in the ancient geographical nomenclature of Maronsthal; and when some of the Bhatti clans became proselytes to Islam, they changed the vowel, *a* to *u*, to distinguish them from the parent stock, *vis.*, Bhatti for Bhutti. We shall, however, furnish evidence by and bye, in the annals of the original race, that in all probability the Yadu-Bhatti is the original Yuti colony from Central Asia; and that "the Jit prince of Salpoor," whose inscription is in the first volume of this work, was the predecessor of these very races.

Neither the tract depending on Bhutnair, nor that north of it to the Garah river, presented formerly the scene of absolute desolation they now exhibit, and I shall append a list of towns, to which a high antiquity is assigned, whose vestiges still remain, and from which something might perhaps be gleaned to confirm or overturn these deductions.

Bhutnair has attained great historical celebrity from its position, being in the route of invasion from Central Asia to India. It is more than probable that the Jits, who resisted the advance of Mahmood of Ghizni in a naval warfare on the Indus, had long before that period established themselves in the desert as well as in the Punjab; and as we find them occupying a place amongst the thirty-six royal tribes, we may infer that they had political power many centuries before that conqueror. In A.D. 1205, only twelve years after the conquest of India by Shabudin, his successor, Kootub, was compelled to conduct the war in person against the Jits of the northern desert, to prevent their wresting the

important post of Hansi from the empire; and when the unfortunate and intrepid queen Rizzia, the worthy heiress of the great Feroz, was compelled to abandon her throne to an usurper, she sought and found protection amongst the Jits, who, with their Scythic brethren, the Ghikers, assembled all their forces and marched, with their queen at their head, like Tomyris of old, to meet her foes. She was not destined to enjoy the same revenge, but gained a glorious death in the attempt to overturn the Salic law of India.* Again, in A.D. 1397, when Timoor invaded India, Bhutnair was attacked for "having distressed him exceedingly on his invasion of Mooltan" when he "in person scoured the country, and cut of a tribe of bandity called Jits." In short, the Bhuttis and Jits were so intermingled that distinction was impossible. Leaving this point, therefore, to be adjusted in the annals of the Bhuttis, we proceed to sketch the history of the colony which ruled Bhutnair when subjugated by the Rakhthores.

It was shortly after Timoor's invasion, that a colony of Bhattis migrated from Marote and Phoolra, under their leader Bersi, and assaulted and captured Bhutnair from a Mahomedan chief; but whether one of Timoor's officers, or a dependent of Delhi, remains unknown, though most probably the former. His name, Chigat Khan, almost renders this certain, and they must have made a proper name out of his tribe, Chagitai, of which he was a noble. This Khan had conquered Bhutnair from the Jits, and had acquired a considerable territory which the Bhatti colony took advantage of his return to invade and conquer. Sixteen generations have intervened since this event, which bringing it to the period of Timoor's invasion, furnishes an additional reason for concluding the Khan of Bhutnair to have been one of his nobles, whom he may have left entrusted with this important point of communication, should he mediate further intercourse with India.

Bersi ruled twenty-seven years, and was succeeded by his son Bhiroo, when the sons of Chigat Khan, obtaining aid from the Delhi monarch, invaded Bhutnair, and were twice repulsed with great loss. A third army succeeded; Bhutnair was invested and reduced to great straits, when Bhiroo hung out a flag of truce, and offered to accept any conditions which would not compromise his castle. Two were remained:—to embrace Islamism, or seal his sincerity by giving his daughter to the king. He accepted the first alternative, and from that day, in order to distinguish these proselytes the changed the name of Bhatti to Bhutti. Six chiefs intervened between Bhiroo and Rao Duleech, surnamed Hyat Khan, from whom Rae Sing of Bikaner wrested Bhutnair, and Futtehabad became the future residence of the Bhutti Khans. He was succeeded by Hosein Khan, (the grandson of Hyat), who recaptured Bhutnair from Raja Sujawun Sing, and it was maintained during the time of Hosein Mahmoud and Emam Mahmoud, until Soorut Sing made the final conquest of it from Buhader Khan, father to the present titular head of the Bhuttis.†

Zabta Khan, who resides at Raniah, having about twenty-five villages

* I presented to Mr. Marsden a unique coin of this ill-fated queen.

† In S. 1857 (A.D. 1801.) the celebrated George Thomas, for the sum of three lakhs, put the Bhuttis into the temporary possession of Bhutnair: but the succeeding year it was again taken from them by the Rakhthores.

dependant thereon.* Raniah was founded by Rae Sing of Bikaner, and named after his queen (*Rani*) to whom it was assigned. It was taken by Emam Mahmoud. The Bhutti Khan is now a robber by profession, and his revenues, which are said to have sometimes amounted to three lakhs of rupees, are extorted by the point of his lance. These depredations are carried to a frightful extent, and the poor Jits are kept eternally on the alert to defend their property. The proximity of the British territory preventing all incursions to the eastward, they are thrown back upon their original haunts, and make the whole of this northern region their prey. To this circumstance is attributed the desertion of these lands, which once reared cattle in abundance, and were highly valued. It is asserted that from the northern boundary of Bhutnair to the Garah, there are many tracts susceptible of high cultivation, having water near the surface, and many large spaces entirely free from *thul*, or 'sand-hills.' To drying up of the Hakra, or Caggar, many centuries ago, in conjunction with moral evils, is ascribed the existing desolation. According to tradition, this stream took a westerly direction, by Phoolra, where it is yet to be traced, and fell into the Indus below Ootich. The couplet recording its absorption by the sands of *Nair*, has already been given, in the time of Rao Hamir, prince of Dhat. If the next European traveller who may pass through the Indian Desert, will seek out the representative of the ancient Soda princes at Chore, near Amerkote, he may learn from their bard (if they retain such an appendage) the date of this prince, and that of so important an event in the physical and political history of their regions. The vestiges of large towns, now buried in the sands, confirm the truth of this tradition, and several of them claim a high antiquity: such as the *Rnng-mahal*, already mentioned, west of Bhutnair, having subterranean apartments still in good preservation. An aged native of Dhandoosir (twenty-five miles south of Bhutnair) replied, to my inquiry as to the recollections attached to this place, that "it belonged to a Powar prince who ruled once all these regions, when Sekunder Roomi attacked them."

An excursion from Hansi Hissar, our western frontier, into these regions, would soon put the truth of such traditions to the test, as far as these reported ruins are concerned; though what might appear the remains of palaces of the Pramaras, the Jolyas, and the Jits of ancient days, to the humble occupant of a hut in the desert, may only prove the foundations of some castellated building. But the same traditions are circulated with regard to the most western desert, where the same kind of vestiges is said to exist, and the annals make mention of capitals, the sites of which are now utterly unknown. Considering the safety, and comparative ease, with which such a journey can be made, one cannot imagine a more agreeable pursuit, than the prosecution of archæological inquiries in the northern deserts of Rajputana, where traditions abound, and where the existing manners, amongst such a diversity of tribes, would furnish ample materials for the portfolio, as well as for memoirs. Its productions, spontaneous or cultivated, though its botanical as well as zoological specimens may be limited, we know to be essentially different from those of Gangetic India, and more likely to find a parallel in the natural productions and phenomena of the great African desert. The Bhuttis, the Khosas, Rajurs, the Sahraes, the Mangulias, the Sodas, and various other

* This memoir was written in 1813-14 and may contain inaccuracies, from its very remote situation, and the difficulty of obtaining correct information.

nomadic tribes, present a wide field for observation ; and the physiologist, when tired of the habits of man, may descend from the nobler animal to the lion, the wild ass, every kind of deer, the flocks of sheep which, fed on the succulent grasses, touch not water for six weeks together, while the various herbs, esculent plants and shrubs, salt lakes, natron beds, etc., would give abundant scope for commentary and useful comparison. He will discover no luxuries, and few signs of civilization ; the *jhopra* (hut) constructed of poles and twigs, coated inside with mud and covered with grass, being little better than the African's dwelling.

We shall conclude this imperfect sketch of Bikaner and the desert with the names of several of their ancient towns, which may aid the search of the traveller in the regions to its northern border.—Abhore ; Banjarra ca Nuggur ; Rung-Mahel ; Sodul, or Sorutgurl ; Machotal ; Raati-bung ; Kali-Bung ; Kaliansir ; Phoolra ; Marote ; Tilwarra ; Gilwarra ; Bunni ; Manik-Khur ; Sour-sagur ; Bhameni ; Khoriwalla ; Kul-Dherani.

Some names in this list may be unimportant, but if two, or even one, should be the means of eliciting some knowledge of the past, the record will not be useless.

Phoolra and Marote have still some importance: the first is very ancient, and enumerated amongst the '*No-koti Marooca*,' in the earliest periods of Pramara (vulg., *Powar*) dominion. I have no doubt that inscriptions in the ornamental *nail-headed* character belonging to the Jains will be found here, having obtained one from *Lodorva* in the desert, which has been a ruin for nine centuries. Phoolra was the residence of Lakha *Phoolani*, a name well-known to those versed in the old traditions of the desert. He was contemporary with Sid Raa of Anhulwarra, and Udyadit of Dhar.

ANNALS OF JESSULMER.

CHAPTER I.

JESSULMER is the modern name of a tract of country comprehended, according to ancient geography, in *Maroosthali*, the desert of India. It is termed *Mer* in the traditional nomenclature of this region, from being a rocky (*mer*) oasis in the heart of the sandy desert, interesting both from its physical features, and its position as the *ultima thule* of independent Hinduism. Yet, however, entitled to regard from its local peculiarities or its products, the history of the tribe which inhabits it presents a still more engrossing subject for investigation.

This tribe is the Bhatti, a branch of the Yadu or Jadoo race, whose power was paramount in India three thousand years ago; and the prince now governing this distant corner of India, claims descent from those Yadu kings who ruled from the Yamuna to the "world's end,"* at that remote period.

It were preposterous to expect to find, in the annals of the the people so subject to the vicissitudes of fortune, an unbroken series of historical evidence in support of this ancestry; but they have preserved links of the chain which indicate original affinities. In tracing the Yadu-Bhatti history, two hypotheses alternately present themselves to our minds, each of which rests upon plausible grounds; the one supposing the Bhattis to be of Scythic, the other of Hindu origin. This incongruity may be reconciled by presuming the co-mixture of the two primitive races; by enlarging our views, and contemplating the barrier, which in remote ages separated Scythia and India, as ideal; and admitting that the various communities, from the Caspian to the Ganges, were members of one grand family, having a common language and common faith† in

* *Fuggut Coont*, the point of land beyond Dwarica, the last stronghold of the Yadus when their power was extinguished.

† *Manu* says: "The following races of *Cshatriyas*, by their omission of holy rites, and by seeing no Brahmins, have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of the fourth class (i. e., *Sudra*); *Paundracas*, *Odras*, and *Draviras*; *Cambojas*; *Yavanas*, and *Sacas*; *Paradas*, *Pahlavas*, *Chinas*, *Ciratas*, and *Chasas*.—Art. 43 and 44. Chap. x. page 346.

It is a great mistake to suppose the Bactrian Greeks are these *Yavanas*, who are descended from Yavan, fifth son of Yayat, third son of the patriarchal Nahu, though the Ionians may be of this race. The *Sacas* are the *Saca*, the races of Central Asia, (the *Sacha Rajpoot*); the *Pahlavas*, the ancient Persians, or Guebres; the *Chinas*, the inhabitants of China; and the *Chasas*, inhabitants of the great snowy mountains (*kho*), whence (*Kho-chasa* (the *Casia montes* of Ptolemy), corrupted to *Caucasus*).

that ancient central empire whose existence has been contended for and denied by the first names in science :‡ the Bharatvarsha of the Hindus, the Indo-Scythic empire of king Bharat, son of Budha, the ancestor of the Yadu-Bhattis now confined to a nook of the desert.

It would be vain to speculate upon the first colonization of India proper by the *Rajcula*, or 'royal tribes.' It appears to have possessed an indigenous population prior to the races of Surya, or Indu, though the genealogies which give the origin of these degraded races of Cabas,* Bhils, Meras, Goands, etc., assert that they were all from the same stem, and that their political debasement was the effect of moral causes. But as there is no proof of this, we must attribute the fable to the desire of the Brahmin archæologist to account for the origin of all things. Modern enquiries into these matters have been cramed by an erroneous and contracted view of the power of this ancient people, and the direction of that power. It has been assumed that the prejudices originating in Mooslem conquest, which prevented the Hindu chieftain from crossing the forbidden waters of the Attoc, and still more from "going down to the sea in ships," had always existed. But were it not far more difficult to part with erroneous impressions than to receive new and correct views, it would be apparent that the first of these restrictions is of very recent origin, and on the other hand, that the Hindus of remote ages possessed great naval power, by which communication must have been maintained with the coasts of Africa † Arabia and Persia, as well as the Australian Archipelago.‡ It is ridiculous, with all the knowledge now in our possession, to suppose that the Hindus always confined

‡ The illustrious Cuvier questions the existence of an ancient central kingdom, because "ni Moise, ni Homere, ne nous parlait d'un grand empire dans la Haute-Asie."—(*Discours sur les Revolutions de la Surface du Globe*, p. 206.)—Who, then, were "the sons of Iogarmah" (mentioned by Ezekiel) who conquered and long held Egypt?

* The Caba race is almost extinct; it was famed, even in the days of Crishna, as the savage inhabitants of Saurashtra. When the forester Bhil, who mortally wounded Crishna, was expressing his contrition for the unintentional act, he was forgiven, with the remark, that it was only retributive justice, as "in a former birth" as the godlike Rama, Crishna had slain him. Thus Rama appears as the subjugator and civilizer of these indigenous tribes, of whom the Cabas are described as plundering Crishna's family after his decease.

† Whence the Hindu names of towns at the estuaries of the Gambia and Senegal rivers, the Tambaconda and other *condas*, already mentioned?

‡ Mr. Marsden, at an early period of his researches into Hindu literature, shares the merit of discovering with Sir W. Jones, that the Malayan language, disseminated throughout the Archipelago, and extending from Madagascar to Easter Island, a space of 200 degs, of longitude, is indebted to the Sanscrit for a considerable number of its terms, and that the intercourse which effected this was many centuries previous to their conversion to the Mahomedan religion. He is inclined to think that the point of communication was from Guzerat. The legend of these islanders also abound with allusions to the *Mahabharat* and *Ramayana*. (See *Asiatic Researches*. Vol. iv. p. 226, Second Edition.)

Since Mr. M. wrote, the revelation of the architectural antiquities in these isles, consequent to British conquests, establishes the fact that they

themselves within their gigantic barriers, the limits of modern India. The cosmography of the *Poorans*, imperfect and 'puerile as it is, and some of the texts of Menu, afford abundant evidence of an intimate intercourse between the countries from the Oxus to the Ganges; and even in their allegories, we trace fresh streams of knowledge flowing into India from that central region, stigmatized in latter days as the land of the Barbarian (*Mletchchha*). Menu corroborates the *Poorans*, from which we infer the fact, that in distant ages one uniform faith extended from *Sacadwipa*, the continent of the Sacæ, to the Ganges.* These observations it is necessary to premise before we attempt, by following the tide of Yadu migration during the lapse of thirty centuries, to trace them from Indra-prastha, Surapura, Mathura, Priyaga, Dwarica, Judoo-ca-dang (the mountains of Jud), Behara, Gujni, in Zabulistan; and again reflux into India, at Salbahana or Salpura in the Punjab Tunnote, Derawul, Lodorva in the desert, and finally Jessulmer, founded in S. 1212 or A.D. 1156.

were colonized by the Suryas, whose mythological and heroic history is sculptured in their edifices and maintained in their writings. Nor should we despair that similar discoveries may yet disclose the link which of yore connected India with Egypt, and to which Ceylon was but the first stepping-stone. That Rama possessed great naval means is beyond doubt, inherited, from his ancestor Sagara 'the sea-king,' twenty generations before the hero of Lanka, which place I have long imagined to be Ethiopia; whence ancient writers assert Egypt to have had her institutions, and that the Ethiopians were of Indian origin. Cuvier, quoting Syncellus, even assigns the reign of Amenophis as the epoch of the colonization of Ethiopia from India.—Page 180 of his '*Discours*' etc.

* The cosmography of the *Agni Pooran* divides the world then known to the Hindus into seven *dwipas*, or continents; one of these is "Saca-dwipa, whose inhabitants, descended from Bupha, are termed Saceswara (*i. e.*, *Sacæ-lords*). His (Bupha's) offspring or descendants were Julud, Sookumar, Manichuk, Koorum, Ootures, Darbeeka, Drooma, each of whom gave his name to a *khand*, or division (*qu. Sookmarkhand?*) The chief ranges of mountains were Juldus, Raivat, Siamah, Induc, Amki, Rim, and Kesari. "There were seven grand rivers, *vis.*, Mug, Mugud, Arverna, etc. The inhabitants worship the sun."

Slight as this information is, we must believe that this *Sacadwipa* or *Sacatai*, is the Scythia of the Ancients; and the Saceswara (the Sacas of Menu) the Sacæ so well known to western history, the progenitors of the Parthians, whose first (*ad*) king was *Arsaca*. The sun-worship indicates the adorer of Mithras, the Mitra or Surya of the Hindu; the Arverna recalls the *Araxes* applied to the Jaxartes; while Julud, the proper name of the son of the first king of *Sacadwipa*, appears to be the Juldus of the Tatar historian Abulgazi, who uses the same term as does the Hindu, to designate a range of mountains. Whence this identity between Poonranic and Tatar cosmography?

"A chief of the twice-born tribe (*i. e.*, Brahmins) was brought by Vishan's eagle from *Sacadwipa*, and thus have *Sacadwipa* Brahmins become known in *Jambudwipa*" (India).—Mr. Colebrooke, *Indian Classes, Asiatic Researches*, Vol. v. p. 53. And Menu says that it was only on their ceasing to sanction Brahmins residing amongst them, that the inhabitants of these remote western regions became '*Mletchchha*,' or barbarians: testimonies which must be held conclusive of perfect intercourse and reciprocity of sentiment between the nations of Central Asia and India at periods the most remote.

Having elsewhere descanted at length on the early history of the Yadus,* we may refer those who are likely to take an interest in this discussion to that paper, and proceed at once to glean what we can from the native annals before us, from the death of their leader, Heri-Crishna, to the dispersion of the Yadus from India. The bare fact of their migration altogether out of India proper, proves that the original intercourse, which conducted Budha, patriarch of the Yadu race, into India† (where he espoused Ella, a princess of the Surya race, and by whom his issue was multiplied), was not forgotten, though fifty generations had elapsed from the patriarchal Budha to Hari—to whom and the chronicle we return.

"Pryaga‡ is the cradle of the Yadus who are *Somavansa* (of the lunar race). Thence Mathura founded by Prururwa remained for ages the seat of power. The name of Jadoo (Yadu), of whom there were fifty-six tribes,§ became famous in the world, and of this race was the mighty Heri-Crishna, who founded Dwarica."

The grand international conflicts amongst the "fifty-six Yadu tribes," at Curukhetra and subsequently at Dwarica, are sufficiently known to the reader of Hindu history, and may be referred to elsewhere.|| These events are computed to have happened about 1100 years before Christ. On the dispersion of these races many abandoned India, amongst these, two of the many sons of Crishna. This deified leader of the Yadus had eight wives, and the offspring of the first and the seventh, by a singular fate, now occupy what may be termed the out-posts of Hinduism.¶

Rookmani was the senior of these wives; and the eldest of her sons was Pridema, who was married to a princess of Bidurba; she bore him two sons, Anurad, and Bujra, and from the latter the Bhattis claims descent. Bujra had two sons, Naba and Khira.

* Vide "Essay on the Hindu and Theban Hercules," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. iii.

† The *Biagvat* says, "Budha a wiseman—a patriarch came to Bharatkhand to perform penitential rites, and espoused Ella, by whom he had Prururwa (founder of Mathura), who had six sons, viz., Ayu, etc., who carried on the lunar (Indu) races in India." Now this Ayu is likewise the patriarch of the Tatars, and in that language signifies the moon, a male divinity both with Tatars and Rajpoots. Throughout there are traces of an original identity, which justifies the application of the term Indo-Scythic to the Yadu race.

‡ Pryaga is the modern Allahabad, at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges, the capital of the Prasii of Megasthenes.

§ This is alternately called *Chapun Cula* and *Chapun Crore* "fifty-six tribes" and "fifty-six millions," of Yadus. As they were long supreme over India, this number is not inadmissible.

|| *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. III. Vide paper entitled, "Comparison of the Hindu and Theban Hercules."

¶ Jambuvati was the name of the seventh wife, whose eldest son was called Samba—he obtained possession of the tracts on both sides the Indus, and founded the *Sind-Samma* dynasty, from which the *Jharejas* are descended. There is every probability that Samba, of Samba nagari (*Minagara*), the opponent of Alexander, was a descendant of Samba, son of Crishna. The *Jhareja* chronicles, in ignorance of the origin of this titular appellation, say that their "ancestors came from Sham, or Syria."

"When the Yadus were exterminated in the conflict at Dwarica, and Heri had gone to heaven, Bujra was on his way from Mathura to see his father, but had only marched twenty coss (forty miles), when he received intelligence of that event, which had swept away his kindred. He died upon the spot, when Naba was elected king and returned to Mathura, but Khira pursued his journey, to Dwarica.

"The thirty-six tribes of Rajpoots hitherto oppressed by the Yadus, who had long held universal dominion, now determined to be revenged. Naba was compelled to fly the the holy city [Dwarica]; he became prince of Marusthali in the west.

"Thus far from the *Bhagvat*, (says the Bhatti chronicler), and I continue the history of the Bhattis, by the Brahmin Sookhidherma of Mathura.

"Naba had issue Prithibahu.

"Khira had two sons, Jhareja and Jad-bhan.*

"Jud-bhan was on a pilgrimage; the goddess heard his vows; she awoke him from his sleep, and promised whatever he desired. 'Give me land that I may inhabit,' said the youth; 'Rule in these hills,' replied the goddess, and disappeared. When Jud-bhan awoke, and was yet pondering on the vision of the night, a confused noise assailed him; and looking out, he discovered that the prince of the country had just died without issue, and they were disputing who should succeed him. The prime minister said, 'he dreamed that a descendant of Crishna had arrived at *Behera*,† and proposed to seek him out and invest him

* Jid, Jud, Judoo, are the various modes of pronouncing Yadu in the *Bhakha*, or spoken dialects of the west. *Jud-bhan*, 'the rocket of the Yadu,' would imply the knowledge of gunpowder at a very remote period.

† The precise knowledge of the topography of these regions, displayed in the Bhatti annals, is the most satisfactory proof of their authenticity. In the present day, it would be in vain to ask any native of Jessulmer the position of the "hill of Jud," or the site of *Behera*; and but for the valuable translation of *Baber's Memoirs*, by Mr. Erskine, we should have been unable to adduce the following testimony. *Baber* crossed the Indus on the 17th February 1519, and on the 19th, between that river and one of its great towns, the *Behat*, he reached the very tract where the descendant of *Crishna* established himself twenty five centuries before. *Baber* says, "Seven kos from *Behreh* to the north there is a hill. This hill in the *Zefer Nameh* (*History of Timoor*), and other books, is called the Hill of Jud. At first I was ignorant of the origin of its name, but afterwards discovered that in this hill there were two races of men descended of the same father. One tribe is called Jud, the other *Jenjuh*. From old times they have been the rulers and lords of the inhabitants of this hill, and of the *Is* and *Ulses* (political divisions) between *Nilab* and *Behreh*. Their power is exerted in a friendly and brotherly way. They cannot take from them whatever they please. They take as their share a portion that has been fixed from very remote times. The Jud is divided into various branches or families, as well as the *Jenjuh*. The chief man amongst them gets the name of *Rae*."—*Erskine's Baber*, p. 254.

Here is a decided confirmation that this Hindu colony preserved all their original manners and customs even to *Baber's* day. The tribe of *Jenjuh*, beyond a doubt, is the tribe of *Johiya*, so celebrated in the

as their prince. All assented, and Jud-bhan was elected king. He became a great prince, had a numerous progeny, and the place of their abode was henceforth styled *Judoo-ca-dang*, 'the mountains of Judoo.'

"*Prithwi-bahu* ('the arm of the earth,') son of Naba, prince of Marusthali, inherited the insignia of Sri-Crishna with the regal umbrella (*chhattri*) made by Viswacarma. He had a son *Bahubal*, ('strong arm,') who espoused Camalavati, daughter of Vijaya Sing, Prince of Malwa, who gave in dower (*daea*)* one thousand horses of Khorasan, one hundred elephants, pearls, gems, and gold innumerable, and five hundred handmaids, with chariots and bedsteads of gold. The Puar (Pamar) Chamlavati became the chief queen and bore her lord one son.

"*Bahu*, killed by a fall from his horse; he left one son,

"*Soobahu*, who was poisoned by his wife, a daughter of Mund Raja Chohan of Ajmere; he left a son,

"*Rijh*, who reigned twelve years. He was married to *Soobhag-Soondri*, daughter of Ber Sing, prince of Malwa. Having, when pregnant, dreamed that she was delivered of a white elephant, the astrologers, who interpreted this as an indication of greatness, desired he might be named *Guj*:‡ as he approached manhood, the coco-nut came from Jud-bhan, prince of *Pourubdes* (the eastern), and was accepted. At the same time tidings arrived that from the shores of the ocean, the barbarians (*Mlatchchha*), who had formerly attacked *Soobahu*,‡ were again advancing, having *Ferid Shah* of Khorasan at the head of four lakhs of horse,

region skirting the Sulej, and which will be noticed hereafter. I presented a small work entirely relating to their history, to the Royal Asiatic Society. As Baber says they are of the same family as the Jews, they are probably the descendants of Jinj, the brother of Bhatti, who changed the family patronymic from Jadoo or Judoo to Bhatti; and thus it appears, that when the elder branch was driven from Gujni, they retreated amongst their relations of the hills of Jud. Baber was quite enamoured with the beauty of the hill of Jud, which, with its lake and valleys, he describes as a miniature Cashmere.—Erskine's *Baber*, p. 255.

* The Pramars were formerly the most powerful potentates of Central India. Handmaids, and bedsteads of gold, were always a part of the *daea* or dower of Hindu princesses.

† Abulfazl mentions Joga as prince of Gasmien and Cashmere, who was slain by Oguz Khan, the Patriarch of the Tatar tribes.

‡ In this early portion of the annals there is a singular mixture of historical facts, and it appears that the Yadu tribes confound their connections with the Syrian and Bactrian Greeks, and with the first Mooslem conquerors. Imperfect as is this notice of Soobahu, his son Rijh, and grandson Guj, who were thus assailed by Ferid of Khorasan (Bactria), and his auxiliary, the king of Room (Syria), we have a powerful allusion to Antiochus the Great, who, two hundred and four years before Christ, invaded Bactria and India. Amongst the few facts left of this expedition is his treaty with Sophagasenus, the Indian monarch, in which the Syrian king stipulated for a tribute in elephants. There are, even in this medley of incidents, grounds for imagining that Sophagasenus is the Yadu prince of Gujni. Whether, out of Soobahu and Guj, the Greeks manufactured their Sophagasenus, or whether prince Guj could have been entitled Soobhag-sen, in compliment to his mother, Soobhag-Soondri of Malwa, must be left for the speculative to decide. It is

from whom the people fled in dismay. The Raja sent scouts to obtain accurate intelligence, and marched to Harreou to meet him; while the foe encamped two coss from Koonjsheher.* A battle ensued, in which the invader was defeated with the loss of thirty thousand men, and four thousand on the part of the Hindus. But the foeman,

not unlikely that the nature of the tribute, said to have been elephants, which the Indian agreed to furnish to the Greek prince, may have originated with the name of *Guj*, which means 'elephant.'

There is at the same time much that refers to the early progress of Islam in these regions of Central Asia. Price, in his excellent history, extracting from the *Kholausut-ul-Akbar*, says "Hejauge was entrusted with the government of Khorasan, and Obaidoolah with Seistan, who had orders from Hejauge, his superior, to invade Caubul, whose prince was Reteil or Retpeil, whom the Author supposes either a Tatar or Hindu prince. Artfully retiring, he drew the Mahomedan army into the defiles, and blocking up the rear, cut off their retreat, and Obaidoolah was compelled to purchase his liberation by the payment of seven hundred thousand dirhems."

This was the seventy-eighth year of the Hegira, or A. D. 697. Conjoined to what follows, it appears to have reference to Rijh, father of *Guj*. Again, "Obaidoolah and Abdoorehman invaded Seistan with forty thousand men. The prince of Caubul tried the same manœuvre, but was outwitted by the Mahomedan, who conquered, a great part of Caubul and acquired great booty, with which he returned to Seistan, to the great displeasure of Hejauge; and Abdoorehman entered into a confederacy with Retpeil to attack Hejauge, and absolve Caubul from tribute. Moghairah was the successor of Abdoorehman in Khorasan, while his father, Mohilel, was employed beyond the Jehoon, but died at Meru of a burning diarrhœa, bequeathing his government to Yezid."

This account of Moghairah's (the governor of Khorasan) death, while carrying on war against the Hindu Retpeil of Caubul, has much analogy to the sudden death of *Mamraiz*, the foe of Rijh of Zabulistan. One thing is now proved, that princes of the Hindu faith ruled over all these regions in the first ages of Islamism, and made frequent attempts, for centuries after, to reconquer them. Of this fact, Baber gives us a most striking instance in his description of *Gujni*, or, as he writes, *Ghasni*. He says, "I have seen in another history, that when the Rai of Hind besieged Subaktegin in *Gujni*, Subaktegin ordered dead flesh and other impurities to be thrown into the fountain, when there instantly arose a tempest and hurricane, with rain and snow, and by his device he drove away the enemy." Baber adds, "I made then inquiry in *Ghazni* for this well, but nobody could give me the slightest information regarding it." P. 150. Doubtless, when Baber conquered India, and became better acquainted with the Hindu warriors, he would have got to the bottom of this anecdote, and have seen that the success of the ruse of Subaktegin arose out of the religion of his foes, who could not use water thus contaminated by the flesh of the sacred kine. The celebrated Balabhi was reduced by the same stratagem.

* Neither of these towns appears in any map. "There is a Koonj Reshak in Khorasan, and a Penjher in Balk."—Sir W. Ouseley's *Ebn Haukal*, p. 213-223.

rallied, and Raja Rihj, who again encountered him, was wounded and died just as prince Guj returned with Hansavati, his bride, daughter of Jud-bhan of the east. In two battles the king of Khorasan was vanquished, when he obtained an auxiliary in the king of Room (*Romi-pati*), to establish the Koran and the law of the prophet in infidel lands. While the armies of the Asuras were thus preparing their strength, Raja Guj called a council of ministers. There being no stronghold of importance, and it being impossible to stand against numbers, it was determined to erect a fortress amidst the mountains of the north. Having summoned his friends to his aid, he sought council of the guardian goddess of his race; who foretold that the power of the Hindus was to cease, but commanded him to erect a fort and call it *Gujni*. While it was approaching completion, news came that the kings of Room and Khorasan were near at hand:

*Roomi-pat, Khorasan-pat, hae, gai, pakhur, pai,
Chinta terra, chith legi; soona Jud-pat Rae.**

"The stick wounded the drum of the Jadoo prince; the army was formed, gifts were distributed, and the astrologers were commanded to assign such a moment for marching as might secure the victory.

"Thursday (*Vrishpatwar*) the of 13th Magh, the enlightened half of the moon, when one gurri of the day had fled, was the auspicious hour; and the drum of departure sounded. That day he marched eight coss, and encamped at Doolapur. The combined kings advanced, but in the night the Shah of Khorasan died of indigestion. When it was reported to the king of Room (Shah Secunder Roomi) that Shah Mamraz was dead, he became alarmed and said, 'while we mortals have grand schemes in hand, he above has other views for us. Still his army advanced like waves of the ocean; caparisons and chains clank on the backs of elephants, while instruments of war resound through the host. Elephants move like walking mountains; the sky is black with clouds of dust; bright helms reflect the rays of the sun. Four coss (eight miles) separated the hostile armies. Raja Guj and his chieftains performed their ablutions, and keeping the *Foginist*† in their rear, advanced to the combat. Each host rushed on like famished tigers; the earth trembled; the heavens were overcast; nor was aught visible in the gloom but the radiant helm. War-bells resound; horses neigh; masses of men advanced on each other, like the dark rolling clouds of Bhadoon. Hissing speeds the feathered dart; the lion-roar of the warriors is re-echoed; the edge of the sword deluges the ground with blood; on both sides the blows resound on the crackling bones. Here was Jad-Rae, there the Khans and Ameers, as if Time had encountered his fellow. Mighty warriors strew the earth; heroes fall in the cause of their lords. The army of the Shah fled; he left twenty-five thousand souls entangled in the net of destruction; he abandoned elephants and horses, and even his throne. Seven thousand Hindus lay dead on the field. The drum of victory resounded, and the Jadoo returned triumphant to his capital.

* "The king of Room and the king of Khorasan, with horse (*hae*) elephants (*gai* or *guy*) caparisons (*pakhur*) and foot-soldiers (*pai* or *paek*) [are at hand]. Beware, let it enter in your mind, oh Rae, Lord of the Judoos!

† The unclean spirits of Rajpoot martial mythology, who feed on the slain.

"On Sunday, the 3rd of Bysak, the spring season (*Vasant*), the Rohini Nakhatra, and Samvat Dherma-raja *Yudhishtira*, 3008,* seated on the throne of Gujni, he maintained the Jadoon race. With this victory his power became firm: he conquered all the countries to the west, and sent an ambassador to Cashmere to call its prince Kandrupkelt† to his presence. But the prince refused the summons: he said the world would scoff at him if he attended the stirrup of another without being first worsted in fight. Raja Guj invaded Cashmere, and married the daughter of its prince, by whom he had a son, called Salbahan.

"When this child had attained the age of twelve, tidings of another invasion came from Khorasan. Raja Guj shut himself up for three entire days in the temple of Culadevi;‡ on the fourth day the goddess appeared and revealed to him his destiny: that Gujni would pass from his hands, but that his posterity would re-inherit it, not as Hindus but as Mooslems; and directed him to send his son Salbahan amongst the Hindus of the east, there to erect a city to be named after him. She said that he would have fifteen sons, whose issue would multiply; 'that he (Raja Guj) would fall in the defence of Gujni, but would gain a glorious reward hereafter.'

"Having heard his fate revealed, Raja Guj conveyed his family and kin, and on pretence of a pilgrimage to Jwala-mookhi,§ he caused them to depart with the prince Salbahan, for the east.

"Soon after the foe approached within five coss of Gujni. Leaving therein his uncle Seydeo for its defence, Raja Guj marched to meet him. The king of Khorasan divided his army into five divisions; the Raja formed his into three: a desperate conflict ensued, in which both the king and the Raja were slain. The battle lasted five *puhars*,* and a hundred thousand Meers and thirty thousand Hindus strewed the field. The king's son invested Gujni; for thirty days it was defended by Seydeo, when he performed, the *Saka*,† and nine thousand valiant men gave up their lives.

"When tidings of this fatal event were conveyed to Salbahan, for twelve days the ground became his bed.‡ He at length reached the Punjab, where he fixed on a spot with abundance of water, and having collected his clansmen around him, he laid the foundation of a city which he named after himself, Salbahanpur. The surrounding Bhomias attended, and acknowledged his supremacy. Seventy-two years of the era of

* This date is circumstantial, and might be fixed or disproved by calculation; if the heterogeneous mixture of such widely separated incidents as those in Syro-Macedonian and Mahomedan History did not deter us from the attempt.

† No such name appears in Wilson's *Raj Turangini*.

‡ Tutelary goddess, or "of the race cula."

§ This volcano is a well-known place of pilgrimage in the Sewaluk mountains.

* A *puhar* is one-fourth of the day.

† For a description of this rite, see Vol. I.

‡ In conformity with the Hindu ordinances of *matim* or mourning.

Vicrama had elapsed when Salbahanpur was founded on Sunday, the 8th of the month of Bhadoon.*

"Salbahan conquered the whole region of the Punjab. He had fifteen sons, who all became Rajas: *viz.*, Balund, Rasaloo, Dhurmungud, Vacha, Roopa, Sundur, Lekh, Juskurn, Naima, Maut, Neepak, Gangeou, Jugeou; all of whom, by the strength of their own arms, established themselves in independence.

"The coco-nut from Raja Jeipal Tuar was sent from Delhi, and accepted.† Balund proceeded to Delhi, whose prince advanced to meet him. On his return with his bride, Salbahan determined to redeem Gujni from the foe and avenge his father's death. He crossed the Attock to encounter Jellal, who advanced at the head of twenty thousand men. Crowned with victory, he regained possession of Gujni, where he left Balund, and returned to his capital in the Punjab: he soon after died, having ruled thirty-three years and nine months.

"Balund succeeded. His brothers had now established themselves in all the mountainous tracts of the Punjab, But the *Toorks*‡ began rapidly to increase, and to subjugate all beneath their sway, and the lands around Gujni were again in their power. Balund had no minister, but superintended in person all the details of his government. He had seven sons: Bhatti, Bhupati, Kullur, Jinj,§ Surmor, Bhynsrecha, Mangreo. The second son Bhupati, (*i. e.*, lord of the earth) had a son, Chakito, from whom is descended the Chakito (*Chagitai*) tribe.||

* Here is another circumstantial date, S. 72, or A. D. 16, for the foundation of Salbahana in the Punjab, by the fugitive Yadu prince from Gujni. Of its exact position we have no means of judging, but it could not have been remote from Lahore. It may be deemed a fortunate coincidence that I should discover that ancient inscription (Vol. I.) of this capital, styled *Salpoor*, governed by a Gete or Jit in the fourth century; which suggested the idea (which many facts tend to prove), whether these Yadus (whose illegitimate issue, as will appear in the sequel, are called Juts) may not be the Yuti or Getes from Central Asia. The coincidence of the date of Salbahan-Yadu with that of the Saca Salivahan, the Tak, will not fail to strike the enquirer into Hindu antiquities: and it is not the least curious circumstance, that these Yadus, or Yuti, displaced the Takshac, or Tak, from the region, as will appear immediately.

† At every page of these annals, it is evident that they have been transcribed by some ignoramus, who has jumbled together events of ancient and modern date. The prince of Delhi might have been Jeipal, but if we are to place any faith in the chronology of the Tuar race, no prince of this family could be synchronous with the Yadu Salbahan. I am inclined to think that the emigration of Salbahan's ancestors from Gujni was at much later period than S. 72, as I shall note as we proceed.

‡ *Toork* is the term in the dialects which the Hindus apply to the races from Central Asia, the *Turshka* of the *Pooranas*.

§ Doubtless the ancestors of the Johha race, termed the Jenjuheh by Baber, and who dwelt with the Juds in the hills of Jud, the Juddoo-cadang of the Bhatti MSS,

|| However curious this assertion, of the Chagitais being descended from the Yadus, it ought not to surprize us: I repeat, that all these tribes, whether termed Indo-Scythic or Tatar, prior to Islamism, professed a faith which may be termed Hinduism.

"Chakito had eight sons, viz., Deosi, Bharoo, Khemkhan, Nahur, Jeipal,* Dharsi, Beejli-Khan, Shan Summund.

"Balund, who resided at Salbahanpur, left Gujni to the charge of his grandson Chakito; and as the power of the barbarian (*mletchchha*) increased, he not only entertained troops of that race, but all his nobles were of the same body. They offered, if he would quit the religion of his fathers, to make him master of Balich Bokhara, where dwelt the Oosbek race, whose king had no offspring but one daughter. Chakito married her, and became king of Balich Bokhara, and lord of twenty-eight thousand horse. Between Balich and Bokhara runs a mighty river, and Chakito was king of all, from the gate of Balichshan to the face of Hindusthan; and from him is descended the tribe of Chakito Moguls.†

"Kullur, third son of Balund, had eight sons, whose descendants are designated Kullur‡. Their names were Seodas, Ramdas, Asso, Kistna, Samoh, Gango, Jesso, Bhago; almost all of whom became Moosulmans. They are a numerous race, inhabiting the mountainous countries west of the river,§ and notorious robbers.

"Jinj, the fourth son, had seven sons; Champo, Gokul, Mehraj, Hunsal, Bhadon, Rasso, Juggo, all whose issue bore the name of Jinj:|| and in like manner did the other sons become the patriarchs of tribes.

* As it is evident the period has reference to the very first years of Islamism, and it is stated that the sons of Guj were to be proselytes, it is by no means improbable that this is Jeypal, the infidel prince of Khwarezm.—See Price's *Mahomedan History*.

† This is a most important admission of the proselytism of the ancient Indo-Scythic Yadu princes to the faith of Islam, though there can be no reasonable doubt of it. Temugin, better known by his *nomme de guerre*, Jungeez, the father of Chagitai, according to the Mahomedan historians, is termed an infidel, and so was *Tacash*, the father of Mahomed of Khwarezm: the one was of the Getic or Yuti race; the other, as his name discloses, of the Tak or Takshac, the two grand races of Central Asia.—The insertion of this pedigree in this place completely vitiates chronology: yet for what purpose it could have been interpolated, if not founded on some fact, we cannot surmise.

‡ We can, by means of the valuable translation of the Commentaries of Baber, trace many of these tribes.

§ It has already been stated, that the fifteen brothers of Balund established themselves in the mountainous parts of the Punjab, and that his sons inherited those West of the Indus, or Damaun. The Afghan tribes, whose supposed genealogy from the Jews has excited so much curiosity, and who now inhabit the regions conquered by the sons of Salbahan, are possibly Yadus, who, on conversion, to give more *eclat* to their antiquity, converted *Yadu* into *Yuhudi*, or Jew, and added the rest of the story from the *Koran*. That grand division of Afghans called the *Euzofzye*, or 'Sons of Joseph,' whose original country was Caubul and Guzni, yet retain the name of Jadoon (vulgar of Yadu), as one of their principal subdivisions, and they still occupy a position in the hilly region east of the Indus, conquered by the sons of Balund. It would be a curious fact could we prove the Afghans not *Yahudis* but *Yadu*.

|| Doubtless the junction of Jinj with that of Johya, another numerous tribe, formed the Jenjuhah of Baber; the *Johyas* of the Bhatti annals, now known only by name, but whose history forms a volume.

"Bhatti succeeded his father Bahund. He conquered fourteen princes, and added their fortunes to his own. Among his effects, he reckoned twenty-four thousand mules* laden with treasure; sixty thousand horse, and innumerable foot. As soon as he mounted the *gadi*, he assembled all his forces at Lahore preparatory to the *teeka-dour†* destined against Bheerbhan Bhagel, lord of Kenekpur. Bheerbhan fell in the battle which ensued, at the head of forty thousand men.

"Bhatti had two sons, Mungul Rao and Musoor Rao. With Bhatti, the patronymic was changed, and the tribe thenceforth was distinguished by his name.

"Mungul Rao succeeded, but his fortune was not equal to that of his fathers. Dhoondi, king of Guzni, with a mighty force, invaded Lahore;‡ nor did Mungul Rao oppose him, but with his eldest son fled into the wilds on the banks of the river. The foe then invested Salbahanpur, where resided the family of the Raja; but Musoor Rao escaped and fled, to the Lakhi Jungle.§ There being only a cultivating peasantry in this tract, he overcame them, and became master of the country. Musoor Rao had two sons, Abhe Rao and Sarun Rao. The elder, Abhe Rao, brought the whole Lakhi Jungle under his control, and his issue, which multiplied, became famous as the Abhoria Bhattis. Sarun quarrelled with and separated from his brother, and his issue descended to the rank of cultivators, and are well known as the Sarun Juts.||

"Mungul Rao, the son of Bhatti, and who abandoned his kingdom, had six sons: Mujum Rao, Kullursi, Mookraj, Seoraj, Phool, Kewala.

"When Mungul Rao fled from the king, his children were secreted in the houses of his subjects. A Bhomia named Satidas, of the tribe of

The sons of Jinj have left numerous traces—Jenjian on the Garah; Jinjinialli in the Desert, etc.

* Even the mention of an animal unknown in the desert of India, evinces the ancient source whence these annals are compiled. Had the Yadu colony at this period obtained a footing in the desert, south of the Sutlej, the computation would have been by camel-loads, not by mules.

† See Vol. I, for an account of this military foray.

‡ This would almost imply that Lahore and Salbahan were one and the same place, but from what follows, the intervening distance could not have been great between the two cities. There is a Sangala, south of Lahore, near the altars of Alexander, and a Sailkote in our modern maps. Salbahan, Salbahanpur, or simply Salpoora, may have been erected on the ruins of Kampilanagari. We may hope that researches in that yet untouched region, the Punjab, will afford much to the elucidation of ancient history.

§ The Lakhi Jungle is well known in India for its once celebrated breed of horses, extinct within the last twenty years.

|| Thus it is that the most extensive agricultural races spread all over India, called *Jats* or *Fits*, have a tradition that they are descended from the Yadu race, (*qu. Yuti?*) and that their original country is Candahar. Such was stated to me as the origin of the Jats of Biana and Bhurtpur. Why the descendants of Sarun assumed the name of Juts is not stated.

Tak* whose ancestors had been reduced from power and wealth by the ancestors of the Bhatti prince, determined to avenge himself, and informed the king that some of the children were concealed in the house of a banker (*sakhoocar*). The king sent **Tak** with a party of troops, and surrounded the house of Sridhar, who was carried before the king, who swore he would put all his family to death if he did not produce the young princes of Salbahana. The alarmed banker protested he had no children of the Raja's, for that the infants who enjoyed his protection were the offspring of a Bhomia, who had fled, on the invasion, deeply in his debt. But the king ordered him to produce them; he demanded the name of their village, sent for the Bhomias belonging to it, and not only made the royal infants of Salbahana eat with them, but marry their daughters. The banker had no alternative to save their lives but to consent: they were brought forth in the peasant's garb, ate with the husbandmen (*Futs*), and were married to their daughters. Thus the offspring of Kullur-rai became the Kullorea Jats; those of Moondraj, and Seoraj, the Moonda and Seora Jats; while the younger boys, Phool and Kewala were passed off as a barber (*nar*) and a potter (*khomar*), fell into that class.

"Mungul Rao, who found shelter in the winds of the Garah, crossed that stream and subjugated a new territory. At this period, the tribe of Barahat inhabited the banks of the river; beyond them were the Boota Rajpoots of Bootaban.† In Poogul dwelt the Pramara,§ in Dhat the

* This incidental mention of the race of **Tak**, and of its being in great consideration on the settlement of the Yadus in the Punjab, is very important. I have given a sketch of this tribe, but since I wrote it, I have discovered the capital of the *Tak*, and on the very spot where I should have expected the site of *Taxila*, the capital of *Taxiles*, the friend of Alexander. In that sketch I hesitated not to say, that the name was not personal, but arose from his being the head of the *Takshac* or *Naga* tribe, which is confirmed. It is to Baber, or rather to his translator, that I am indebted for this discovery. In describing the limits of Banu, Baber thus mentions it: "And on the west is Desht, which is also called Bazar and **Tak**;" to which the erudite translator adds, "**Tak** is said long to have been the capital of Daman." In Mr. Elphinstone's map, Bazar, which Baber makes identical with **Tak**, is a few miles north of the city of Attoc. There is no question that both the river and city were named after the race of **Takor**. *Takshac*, the Nagas, Nagvansi or 'snake race,' who spread over India. Indeed, I would assume that the name of Omphis which young *Taxiles* had on his father's death, is *Ophis*, the Greek version of **Tak**, the 'serpent.' The **Taks** appear to have been established in the same regions at the earliest period. The *Mahabharat* describes the war between Janmejaya and the *Takshacs*, to revenge on their king the death of his father Parkhit, emperor of Indraprastha, or Delhi.

† The names of these Rajpoot races, several of which are now blotted from the page of existence, prove the fidelity of the original manuscript. The Barahas are now Mahomedans.

‡ The Boota is amongst the extinct tribes.

§ Poogul from the most remote times, has been inhabited by the Pramara race. It is one of the *No-Koti Maroo-ca*, the nine castles of the desert.

Soda* race; and the Lodra† Rajpoots in Lodorva. Here Mungul Rao found security, and with the sanction of the Soda prince he fixed his future abode in the centre of the lands of the Lodras, the Barahas, and the Sodas. On the death of Mungul Rao, he was succeeded by "Mujum Rao, who escaped from Salbahanpur with his father. He was recognized by all the neighbouring princes, who sent the usual presents on his accession, and the Soda prince of Amerkote made an offer of his daughter in marriage, which was accepted, and the nuptials were solemnized at Amerkote. He had three sons, Kehur, Moolraj,‡ and Gogli.

"Kehur became renowned for his exploits. Hearing of a caravan (*kafila*) of five hundred horses going from Arore§ to Mooltan, he pursued them with a chosen band disguised as camel-merchants, and came up with his prey across the Punjnud,|| where he attacked and captured it and returned to his abode. By such exploits he became known, and the coco-nut (*narjil*) was sent to Mujum Rao, and his two elder sons, by Allansi Deora, of Jhalore. The nuptials were celebrated with great splendour, and on their return, Kehur laid the foundation of a castle, which he named Tunnote in honour of Tunno-devi. Ere it was completed, Rao Mujum died.

* The Sodas of Amerkote have inhabited the desert from time immemorial, and are in all probability the Sogdi of Alexander.

† Lodorva will be described hereafter.

‡ Moolraj had three sons, Rajpal, Lohwa, and Choohar. The elder son had two sons, Ranno and Geegoh; the first of whom had five sons, Dhookur, Pohor, Bood, Koolro, Jeipal, all of whom had issue, and became heads of clans. The descendants of Geegoh bore the name of Khengar (*qu.* chiefs of Girnar?). The annals of all these states abound with similar minute genealogical details, which to the Rajpoots are of the highest importance in enabling them to trace the affinities of families, but which it is imperative to omit, as they possess no interest for the European reader. I have extracted the names of the issue of Moolraj to shew this. The Khengars were famed in the peninsula of Saurashtra—nine of them ruled in Joonagur Girnar; and but for this incidental relation, their origin must have ever remained concealed from the archæologist, as the race has long been extinct. On some future day I hope to present a sketch of Khengar's palace, on the sacred mount Girnar, to the public.

§ The remains of this once famous town, the ancient capital of the upper valley of the Indus, I had the happiness to discover by means of one of my parties, in 1811. It is the *Alore* of Abufazl, the capital of Raja Sehris, whose kingdom extended north to Cashmere, and south to the ocean; and the *Asour* of D'Anville, who on the authority of Ebn Haukal, says, "*Asour of est presque comparable a Multan pour la grandeur.*" He adds, that Azizi places it "*trente parasanges de Mansora.*" If Mansora is the ancient Bekher (capital of the Sogdi), we should read *three* instead of *thirty*.

|| *Punjnud* is the name which the Indus bears immediately below the point of confluence of the five streams (*punj-nadi*). The mere mention of such terms as the *Punjnud*, and the ancient *Arore*, stamps these annals with authenticity, however they may be deformed by the interpolations and anachronisms of ignorant copyists. Of *Arore*, or the *Punjnud*, excepting the regular *casids*, or messengers, perhaps not an individual living in Jessulmer could now speak.

"Kehur succeeded. On his accession, Tunnote was attacked by Jersit, chief of the Barahas,* because it was erected on the bounds of his tribe; but Moolraj defended it and the Barahas were compelled to retire.

"On Mungulwar (Tuesday), the full moon of Magh, S. 787† (A.D. 731) the fortress of Tunnote was completed, and a temple erected to Tunno-Mata. Shortly after a treaty of peace was formed with the Barahas, which was concluded by the nuptials of their chief with the daughter of Moolraj."

Having thus fairly fixed the Yadu Bhatti chieftain in the land of Maruca, it seems a proper point at which to close this initiatory chapter with some observations on the diversified history of this tribe, crowded into so small a compass; though the notes of expanation, subjoined as we proceeded, will render fewer remarks requisite, since with their help the reader may draw his own conclusions as to the value of this portion of the Bhatti annals, which may be divided into four distinct epochs.

1st. That of Heri, the ancestor of the Yadu race.

2nd. Their expulsion, or the voluntary abandonment of India by his children, with their relations of the Hericula and Pandu races, for the countries west of the Indus: their settlements in Marusthali: the founding of Gujni, and combats with the kings of Room and Khorasan.

3rd. Their expulsion from Zabulisthan, colonization of the Punjab, and creation of the new capital of Salbahanpur.

4th. Their expulsion from the Punjab, and settlement [in Mer, the rocky oasis of Maroo, to the erection of Tunnote.

It is the more unnecessary to enter into greater details on these outlines of the early Yadu history, since the subject has been in part treated elsewhere.‡ A multiplicity of scattered facts and geographical distinctions, fully warrants our assent to the general truth of these records, which prove that the Yadu race had dominion in Central Asia, and were again, as Islamism advanced, repelled upon India. The obscure legend of their encounters with the allied Syrian and Bactrian kings would have seemed altogether illusory, did not evidence exist that Antiochus the Great was slain in these very regions by an Indo-Scythian prince, called by the Greek writers Sophagasenas: a name in all probability com-

* This shews that the Baraha tribe was of the same faith with the Yadu Bhatti; in fact "the star of Islam" did not shine in these regions for some time after, although Omar, in the first century, had established a colony of the faithful at Bekher, afterwards Mansoor. The Barahas are mentioned by Pottinger in his travels in Baloochistan.

† There are but six descents given from Salbahan, the leader of the Yadu colony from Zabulisthan into the Punjab, and Kehur, the founder of their first settlement in the desert of India. The period of the first is S. 72, of the other S. 787. Either names are wanting, or the period of Salbahan is erroneous. Kehur's period, viz., S. 787, appears a landmark, and is borne out by numerous subsequent most valuable synchronisms. Were we to admit one hundred years to have elapsed between Salbahan and Kehur, it would make the period of expulsion from Zabulisthan about S. 687, which is just about the era of Mahomed.

‡ See "Essay on the Hindu and Theban Hercules," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. iii.

pounded from Soobahu and his grandson Guj (who might have used the common affix of *sena*), the Yadu princes of Gujni, who are both stated to have had conflicts with the Bactrian (Khorasan) kings.

Seestan (the region of cold, 'see') and both sides of the valley, were occupied in the earliest periods by another branch of the Yadus; for the Sind-Samma dynasty was descended from Samba (which like Yadu became a patronymic)—of which the Greeks made *Sambus*—and one of whose descendants opposed Alexander in his progress down the Indus. The capital of this dynasty was *Samma-ca-kote*, or Samanagari, yet existing on the lower Indus, and which was corrupted into *Minagara* by the Greeks.

It is an interesting hypothesis, that would make the Chagitais descendants of the Yadus.* In like manner, Bappa, the ancestor of the Ranas of Mewar, abandoned central India after establishing his line in Cheetore, and retired to Khorasan. All this proves that Hinduism prevailed in these distant regions, and that the intercourse was unrestricted between Central Asia and India. We have undiscovered fields of inquiry in Transoxiana, and in the still more accessible region of the Punjab, where much exists to reward the archæologist: Salbahanpur, Kampilnagari, Behera, the hill of Jud, perhaps Bucephalia,† the seven towns of Ooch, but, above all, the capital of Taxiles. Let us hope that, in this age of enterprize, these suggestions may be followed up: we can promise the adventurer a very different result from that which tempts the explorer of barbarous Africa, for here he would penetrate into the first haunts of civilization, and might solve one of the great problems which still distract mankind.

* Mr. Wilson discovered the name of *Pandu* in Ptolemy's Geography of Sogdiana; and according to Ebn Haukal, the city of Herat is also called Heri. This adjoins Maru, or Murve, and to Marusthali the Pandu and Hericula races retired on their exile from India. If ever these remote regions are searched for ancient inscriptions, we may yet ascend the ladder of Time. What was that *Hamiri* language, inscribed on the gate of Samarkand? (Ouseley, *Ebn Haukal*.) The lamented death of that enterprizing traveller, Mr. Brown, when he was about visiting Transoxiana, leaves a fine field to the adventurous. The Buddhist colossal sculptures and caves at Bamian, with such inscriptions as they may contain, are of the highest importance; and I have little doubt, will be found of the same character as those discovered in the cave temples of India, attributed to the Pandus.

† In a portion of the essay "On the Theban and Hindu Hercules," which I suppressed as better suited to an intended dissertation "On the Sepulchral Monuments of the Rajpoots," where I trace a close analogy between their customs and those of the Scythic and Scandinavian Warriors, my particular attention was drawn to that singular monument discovered by Elphinstone, called the "*Tope Manikyanla*." I had before (*Trans. R. A. S. Vol. I.*) conjectured it to be one of the many mausoleums erected to Menander, but on observing the geography of St. Croix, in his '*Examen Critique des Historiens d' Alexandre*,' who places the city of Bucephalus on the very spot where the monument found by Mr. E. exists, I gave up Menander for Alexander's horse, and this, long anterior to its reported excavation by the Chev. Ventura, for whose subsequent observations we impatiently wait.

CHAPTER II.

THE dates of the varied events related in the preceding chapter may be of doubtless accuracy, but we have at length arrived on the *terra firma* of the Bhatti chronology. We may distrust the date, 3008 of Yudhishtira's era, for the victory obtained by the Jadoon prince of Gujni over the kings of Room and Khorasan;* as well as that of S. 72 assigned for the exode of Salbahan and his Yadus from Zabulistan, and their colonization of the Punjab;† but their settlements in the desert, and the foundation of Tunnote, their first seat of power, in S. 787 (A. D. 731), are corroborated by incontrovertible synchronisms in almost every subsequent reign of these annals.

Kehur, a name highly respected in the history of the Bhatti race, and whose exploit has been already recorded, must have been the contemporary of the celebrated Khalif Al Walid, the first whose arms extended to the plains of India, and whose earliest conquests and chief positions was Arore, the capital of Upper Sind.

Kehur‡ had five sons; *vis.* Tunno, Ooti-rao, Chunnur, Kafirio, Thazem. All of them had offspring,§ who became the heads of clans, retaining the patronymic. All were soldiers of fortune, and they conquered the lands of the Chunna Rajpoots:¶ but the latter revenged themselves upon Kehur, whom they attacked and slew as he was hunting.

Tunno succeeded. He laid waste the lands of the Barahas,¶ and those of the Langaha of Mooltan. But Husein Shah advanced with the Langaha Pathans,** clothed in armour with iron helms, with the men of

* The emperor Baber tells us, in his Commentaries, that the people of India apply the term *Khorasan*, to all the regions west of the Indus.

† Notwithstanding the lapse of eleven hundred years since the expulsion of the Bhattis from the Punjab, and in spite of the revolutions in laws, language, and religion, since the descendants of Salbahan abandoned that region, yet, even to this day, there is abundant testimony in its geographical nomenclature, that the Bhattis had dominion there. We have *Pindi Bhattia-ca*, *Bhatti-ca-chuk*, in the very position where we should look for Salbahanpur.—See Elphinstone's *Map*.

‡ Although I omit the inverted commas indicative of translation, the reader is to understand, that what follows, is a free interpretation of the original chronicle.

§ Ooti-rao had five sons, Sorna, Schesi, Jeeva, Chako, and Ujo; their issue had the generic term of *Ootirao*. It is thus their clans and tribes are multiplied *ad infinitum*, and since the skill of the genealogist (*bhat*) is required to keep them clear of incestuous marriages, even such uninteresting details have some value, as they stamp their annals with authenticity.

¶ The tribe of Chunna is now extinct.

¶ These Indo-Scythic tribes were designated by the names of animals. The *Barahas* are the hogs; the *Noomries*, the foxes; *Takshacs*, the snakes; *Aswas* or *Asi*, the horses, etc.

** These Langaha Pathans were proselytes from the Solanki Rajpoots, one of the four Agnicula races. Probably they inhabited the district of Lumghan, west of the Indus. It is curious and interesting to find that the Solanki *gotra-acharya*, or 'genealogical creed,' claims Lokote as their settlement. The use of the word *Pathan*, by no means, precludes their being Hindus.

Doodi,* of Kheeche,† the Khokur;‡ the Mogul, the Johya,§ the Jood, and Syed, all mounted on horses, to the number of ten thousand men, to attack the Jadoo. They reached the territory of the Barahas, who joined them, and there they encamped. Tunno collected his brethren around him, and prepared for defence. During four days they defended the castle; and on the fifth the Rao ordered the gates to be thrown open, and with his son, Beeji Rae, sallied out, sword in hand, and attacked the besiegers. The Barahas were the first to fly, and they were soon followed by the Asoors. The victors carried the spoils of the field into Tunnote. As soon as the armies of Mooltan and Langahia were driven off, the *coco-nut* came from Jeejoo, chief of the Bootas of Bootaban,|| and an alliance offensive and defensive was formed against the prince of Mooltan.

Tunno had five sons, Beeji Rae, Makur, Jeytung, Allun, and Rakecho. The second son, Makur, had issue Maipah, who had two sons, Mohola and Decao, the latter of whom excavated the lake known by his name. His issue became, carpenters (*soutar*), and are to this day known as the Makur sootar.¶

* Baber, in his valuable *Autobiography*, gives us the names of all the tribes he met in his passage into India, and this enumeration goes far to prove the authenticity of the early annals of the Bhattis. Baber does not mention "the men of Doodi."

† The introduction of the name of this tribe here is highly important, and very interesting to those who have studied, in the Rajpoot bards, their early history. The bards of the Kheechees give them this northern origin, and state that all *Sindsagur*, one of the *do-abehs* of the Punjab, belonged to them.

‡ The Khokur is most probably the Glikur. Baber writes the name 'Guker,' a singular race, and decidedly Scythic in their habits even in his day.

§ Of the Joodis and Johyas we have already spoken as inhabiting the range called in the native annals *Juddoo-ca-dang*, and by Baber 'the hill of Jud,' skirting the Behat. The position of Behera is laid down in that monument of genius and industry, the Memoir of Rennel (who calls it Bheera), in 32° N. and 72° 10' E.; and by Elphinstone in 32° 10', but a whole degree further to the east, or 73° 15'. This city, so often mentioned in the Yadu-Bhatti annals as one of their intermediate places of repose, on their expulsion from India and migration to Central Asia, has its position minutely pointed out by the Emperor Baber, who in his attack on the hill tribes of Jits, Geojurs, Gukers, etc., adjoining Cashmere, "expelled Hati Guker from Behreh, on the Behut River, near the cave-temples of "Gar-kotri at Bikrum," of which the able annotator remarks, that as well as those of But Bamian, they were probably Buddhist. Baber also found the Jits masters of Sialkote, most likely the Salpur of the Inscription (Vol. I.), conquered from a Jit prince in the twelfth century by the Patum prince, and presumed to be the Salbahanpur founded by the fugitive Yadu prince of Gujni.

|| Bootaban, probably from *vanu*, pronounced in the dialect *bun*, the 'wild' or 'forest,' of Boota.

¶ Illegitimate children can never overcome this natural defect amongst the Rajpoots. This we find among all classes of artisans in India, some of royal but spurious descent.

The third son, Jeytung, had two sons, Ruttunsi and Chohir. The first repaired the ruined city of Beekumpur.* Chohir had two sons, Kola and Gir-raj, who founded the towns of Kolasir and Girajsir.*

The fourth son, Allun, had four sons, Deosi, Tirpal, Bhaoni, and Rakecho. The descendants of Deosi became Rebarris (who rear camels), and the issue of Rakecho became merchants (*baniahs*), and are now classed amongst the Oswal tribe.†

Tunno having, by the interposition of the goddess Beejasenni, discovered a hidden treasure, erected a fortress, which he named Beejnote; and in this he placed a statue of the goddess, on the 13th. of the enlightened part of the month Megsir, the Rohini Nakshatra, S. 813 (A. D. 757). He died after ruling eighty years.

Beeji Rae succeeded in S. 870 (A. D. 814). He commenced his reign with the *teeka-dour* against his old enemies, the Barahas, whom he defeated and plundered. In S. 892, he had a son by the Bhoota queen, who was called Deoraj. The Barahas and Langahas once more united to attack the Bhatti prince; but they were defeated and put to flight. Finding that they could not succeed by open warfare, they had recourse to treachery. Having under pretence of terminating this long feud, invited young Deoraj to marry the daughter of the Baraha chief, the Bhattis attended, when Beeji Rae and eight hundred of his kin and clan were massacred. Deoraj escaped to the house of the Purohit (of the Barahas, it is presumed), whither he was pursued. There being no hope of escape, the Brahmin threw the Brahminical thread round the neck of the young prince, and in order to convince his pursuers that they were deceived as to the object of their search, he sat down to eat with him from the same dish. Tunnote was invested and taken, and nearly every soul in it put to the sword, so that the very name of Bhatti was for a while extinct.

Deoraj remained for a long time concealed in the territory of the Barahas; but at length he ventured to Boota, his maternal abode, where he had the happiness to find his mother, who had escaped the massacre at Tunnote. She was rejoiced to behold her son's face, and "waved the salt over his head," then threw it into the water, exclaiming, "thus may your enemies melt away." Soon tired of a life of dependence, Deoraj asked for a single village, which was promised; but the kin of the Boota chief alarmed him, and he recalled it, and limited his grant to such a quantity of land as he could encompass by the thongs cut from a single

* These towns and lakes are well known, but have been seized by Bikaner.

† The Oswal is the richest and most numerous of the eighty-four mercantile tribes of India, and is said to amount to one hundred thousand families. They are called 'Oswal' from their first settlement, the town Ossi. They are all of pure Rajpoot birth, of no single tribe, but chiefly Puars, Solankis, and Bhattis. All profess the Jain tenets, and it is a curious fact, though little known, that the pontiffs of that faith must be selected from the youth of Ossi. The wealthy bankers and merchants of these regions scattered throughout India, are all known under one denomination, *Marwari*, which is erroneously supposed to apply to the Jodhpur territory, whereas, in fact, it means belonging to the desert. It is singular that the wealth of India should centre in this region of comparative sterility!

buffalo's hide : and this, too, in the depth of the desert. For this expedient he was indebted to the architect Kekeya, who had constructed the castle of Bhutnair.* Deoraj immediately commenced erecting a place

* The deception practised by the Bhatti chief to obtain land on which to erect a fortress is not unknown in other parts of India, and in more remote regions. Bhutnair owes its name to this expedient, from the division (*bhatna*) of the hide. The etymology of *Calcutta* is the same, but should be written *Khalcutta*, from the cuttings of the hide (*khal*). Byrsa, the castle of Carthage, originates from the same story. If there existed any affinity between the ancient *Pali* language of India and the Punic or Phœnician (as the names of its princes and their adjuncts of *bal* would indicate), and the letters B and Ch were as little dissimilar in Punic as in Sanscrit, then *Byrsa* would become *chursa*, 'hide or skin,' which might have originated the capital of the African Mauritania, as of the Indian Maruthan. Thus Marocco may be from *Maru-ca*, of, or belonging to Maru, the desert, also probably the origin of the *Murve* of Iran. The term Moor may likewise be corrupted from Mauri, an inhabitant of Maruca, while the Sehrae of our Indian desert is the brother in name and profession of the Saracen of Arabia, from *Sehra*, a desert, and *zuddun*, to assault. The Nomadic princes of Mauritania might, therefore, be the *Pali* or shepherd kings of *Maruthan*, the great African desert. And who were these Philita or *Pali* kings of Barbary and Egypt? It is well known that the Berbers who inhabited Abyssinia and the south coast of the Red Sea, migrated to the northern coast not only occupying it, as well as Mount Atlas, but pushing their tribes far into the grand *sehra*, or desert. To those colonists, that coast owes its name of Barbary. From the days of Solomon and his contemporary Sishac, an intimate communication subsisted between the eastern coast of Africa and India; and I have already hazarded the opinion, that we must look to this coast of Æthiopia and Abyssinia for the Lanka, of the Rameses (Rameswar) of India; and from the former country the most skillful archæologists assert that Egypt had her mythology, and more especially that mystery, the prominent feature of both systems—the *Phallic* rites, or worship of the *lingam*. *Berber* according to Bruce, means a shepherd, and as *ber* is a sheep in the language of India, *Berber* is a shepherd in the most literal sense, and consequently the synonym of *Pali*. It has been asserted that this race colonized these coasts of Africa from India about the time of Amenophis, and that they are the *Yksos*, or 'shepherd kings,' who subjugated Egypt. On this account, a comparison of the ancient architectural remains of Abyssinia and Æthiopia with those of the ancient Hindus, is most desirable. It is asserted, and with appearance of truth that the architecture of the Pyramids is distinct from the Pharaonic, and that they are at once Astronomic and Phallic. In India, the symbolic pinnacle surmounting the temples of the sun-god are always pyramidal. If the forthcoming history of the Berbers should reveal the mystery of their first settlements in Abyssinia, a great object would be attained; and if search were made in the old cave-temples of that coast, some remains of the characters they used, might aid in tracing their analogy to the ancient *Pali* of the East: an idea suggested by an examination of the few characters found in the grand desert inhabited by the Tuaricks, which have a certain resemblance to the Punic, and to the unknown characters attributed to the Indo-Scythic tribes of India, as on their coins and cave-temples. Wide asunder as are these regions, the mind that will strive to lessen the historical separation may one day be successful, when connection between Æthiopia (*qu*,

of strength, which he called after himself Deogurh, Deorawul,* on Monday, the 5th of the month Magh (soodi), the Pookh Nakshatra, S. 900.

Soon as the Boota chief heard that his son-in-law was erecting, not a dwelling, but a castle, he sent a force to raise it. Deoraj despatched his mother with the keys to the assailants, and invited the leaders to receive the castle and his homage; when the chief men, to the number of a hundred and twenty, entering, they were inveigled, under pretence of consultation, ten at a time, and each party put to death and their bodies thrown over the wall. Deprived of their leaders, the rest took to flight.

Soon after, the prince was visited by his patron, the Jogi, who had protected him amongst the Barahas, and who now gave him the title of *Sid*. This Jogi, who possessed the art of transmuting metals, lodged in the same house where Deoraj found protection on the massacre of his father and kindred. One day, the holy man had gone abroad, leaving *jirhirkunta*, or 'tattered doublet,' in which was the *Rasoompa*, or 'elixir-vessel,' a drop of which having fallen on the dagger of Deoraj and changed it to gold, he decamped with both, and it was by the possession of this he was enabled to erect Deorawul. The Jogi was well aware of the chief whom he now came to visit; and he confirmed him in the possession of the stolen property, on one condition, that he should become his *chela* and disciple, and, as a token of submission and fidelity, adopt the external symbols of the Jogi. Deoraj assented, and was invested with the Jogi robe of ochre.† He placed the *moodra*‡ in his ear, the little horn round his neck, and the bandage (*langota*) about his loins; and with the gourd (*cupra*) in his hand, he perambulated the dwellings of his kin, exclaiming, *Aluc! Aluc!*§ The gourd was filled with gold and pearls; the title of *Rao* was abandoned for that of *Rawul*|| the *teeka* was made on his forehead; and exacting a pledge that these rites of inauguration should be continued to the latest posterity, the Baba Riita (for such was the Jogi's name) disappeared.

from *aditya* and contracted *ait*, the Sun?) and Surashtra, 'the land of the Sun,' or Syria of India, may become more tangible. Ferishta (*vide* Briggs' *Translation*, Vol. iv.) quoting original authorities says, "the inhabitants of Selandip, or the Island of Ceylon, were accustomed to send vessels to the coast of Africa, to the Red Sea, and Persian Gulf, from the earliest ages, and Hindu pilgrims resorted to Mecca and Egypt for the purpose of paying adoration to the idols. It is related also that this people trading from Ceylon became converts to the true faith at so early a period as the first caliphs," all which confirms the fact of early intercourse between Egypt and India.

* Deorawul was one of the points of halt in Elphinstone's mission to Cabul. This discloses to us the position of the Boota territory, and as astronomical data are given, those inclined to prove or disprove the Bhatti chronology have ample means afforded.

† Called *geeroo*; garments coloured] with this dye are worn by all classes of mendicants.

‡ The *moodra* is a round prickly seed worn by the ascetics as ear-rings.

§ The Supreme Being; the Universal and One God.

|| *Rawul* is still the title of the prince of Jessulmer, as it once was that of the Mewar house.

Deoraj determined to wreak his revenge on the Barahas, and he enjoyed it even "to stripping the scarfs from the heads of their females." On his return to Deorawul, he prepared for an attack on Langaha, the heir of which was then on a marriage expedition at Aleepur. There, Deoraj attacked and slew a thousand of them, the rest henceforth acknowledged his supremacy. The Langahas were gallant Rajpoots.

As the tribe of Langaha, or Langa, will from this period go hand in hand, in all international wars of the Yadu-Bhattis, from their expulsion from the Punjab to their final settlement in the Indian Desert, it is of some interest to trace its origin and destiny. It is distinctly stated that, at this epoch, the Langas were Rajpoots; and they are in fact a sub-division of the Solanki or Chalook race, one of the four *Agnicula*; and it is important to observe that in their *gotra-acharya*, or 'genealogical creed,' they claim Lokote in the Punjab as their early location; in all probability prior to their regeneration on Mount Aboo, when they adopted Brahminical principles. From the year S. 787 (A. D. 731), when the castle of Tunnote was erected by the leader of the Bhatti colony, down to S. 1530 (A. D. 1474), a period of seven hundred and forty three years, perpetual border-strife appears to have occurred between the Bhattis and Langas, which terminated in that singular combat, or duel, of tribe against tribe, during the reign of Rawal Chachik, in the last mentioned period. Shortly after this, Baber conquered India, and Mooltan became a province of the empire, when the authority of tribes ceased. Ferishta, however, comes to our aid and gives us an account of an entire dynasty of this tribe as Kings of Mooltan. The first of this line of five kings began his reign A. H. 847 (A. D. 1443), or thirty years anterior to the death of Rawul Chachik. The Mooslem historian (see Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. iv, p. 388), says that when Khizer Khan Syud was emperor of Delhi, he sent Shekh Yusooph as his lieutenant to Mooltan, who gained the esteem of the surrounding princes; amongst whom was Rae Sehra, head of the tribe of Langa, who came to congratulate him, and to offer his services and a daughter in marriage. The offer was accepted; constant communication was kept up between Sevee and Mooltan, till at length Rae Sehra disclosed the object of all this solicitude; he threw aside the mask, confined the Shekh, sent him off to Delhi, and crowned himself king of Mooltan under the title of Kootub-u-din.

Ferishta calls Rae Sehra and his tribe of Langa, Afghans; and Abulfazil says, the inhabitants of Sevee were of the *Noomrie* (fox) tribe, which is assuredly one of the most numerous of the Jit or Gete race, though they have all, since their conversion, adopted the distinctive term of *Baloch*. The Bhatti chronicle calls the Langas in one page *Pathan*, and in another *Rajpoot*, which are perfectly reconcilable, and by no means indicative that the Pathan or Afghan of that early period, or even in the time of Rae Sehra, was a Mahomedan. The title of Rae is sufficient proof that they were even then Hindus. Mr. Elphinstone scouts the idea of the descent of the Afghans from the Jews; and not a trace of the Hebrew is found in the Pooshtoo, or language of this tribe, although it has much affinity to the Zend Sanskrit. I cannot refrain from repeating my conviction of the origin of the Afghans from the Jadu, converted into *Yuhudi*, or 'Jew.' Whether these Yadus are not *Yuti*, or Getes, remains to be proved.

To the south of Deorawul dwelt the Lodra Rajpoots; their capital was Lodorva, an immense city, having twelve gates. The family Purohit,

having been offended, took sanctuary (*sirna*) with Deoraj, and stimulated him to dispossess his old masters of their territory. A marriage was proposed to Nirphhan, the chief of the Lodras, which being accepted, Deoraj, at the head of twelve hundred chosen horse, departed for Lodorva. The gates of the city were thrown open as the bridegroom approached; but no sooner had he entered with his suits, than swords were drawn, and Deoraj made himself master of Lodorva.* He married the chief's daughter, left a garrison in Lodorva, and returned to Deorawul. Deoraj was now lord of fifty-six thousand horse, and a hundred thousand camels.†

At this period a merchant of Deorawul, named Jiskurn, having gone to Dharanagari, was imprisoned by its prince, Brij-bhan Paur, and compelled to pay a ransom for his liberty. On his return to Deorawul, he showed the mark of the iron-collar to his sovereign, who, indignant at the dishonour put upon his subject swore he would not drink water until he had avenged the insult. But he had not calculated the distance between him and his foe; in order, however, to redeem his pledge, a *Dhar* of clay (*gar-ra-dhar*) was constructed, on which he was about to wreak his vengeance, but there were Pramars in his army, who were at their post ready to defend their mock capital; and as their astonished prince advanced to destroy it, they exclaimed—

Jan Puar thyan Dhar hyn
Or Dhar thyan Puar
Dhar binna Puar nuhyn
Or nuhyn Puar binna Dhar,

which may be thus translated :

"Wherever there is a Puar, there is a Dhar; and where there is a Dhar, there is a Puar. There is no Dhar without a Puar; neither is there a Puar without a Dhar."‡ Under their leaders, Tejsi and Sarung, they protected the mock Dhar, and were cut to pieces to the number of one hundred and twenty. Deoraj approved their valour, and provided for their children. Being thus released from his oath, he proceeded towards Dhar, reducing those who opposed his progress. Brij-bhan defended Dhar during five days, and fell with eight hundred of his men; upon which Deoraj unfurled the flag of victory and returned to his late conquest, the city of Lodorva.

* We are not told of what race (*cula*) was the Lodra Rajpoot; in all probability it was Pramara, or Puar, which at one time occupied the whole desert of India. Lodorva, as will be seen, became the capital of the Bhattis, until the founding of their last and present capital Jessulmer; it boasts a high antiquity, though now a ruin, occupied by a few families of shepherds. Many towns throughout the desert were formerly of celebrity, but are now desolate, through the conjoined causes of perpetual warfare and the shifting sands. I obtained a copper-plate inscriptions of the tenth century from Lodorva, of the period of Beejiraj, in the ornamental Jain character; also some clay signets, given to pilgrims, bearing Jain symbols. All these relics attest the prevailing religion to have been Jain.

† A gross exaggeration of the annalist, or a cypher in each added by the copyist.

‡ Dhar or Dharanagari, was the most ancient capital of this tribe, the most numerous of the Agnicula races,

Deoraj had two sons, Moond and Chedoo; the last, by a wife of the Baraha tribe, had five sons, whose descendants were styled Cheda Rajpoots. Deoraj excavated several large lakes in the territory of Khadal (in which Deorawal is situated); one at Tunnote is called Tunno-sirr; another, after himself, Deosirr. Having one day gone to hunt, slightly attended, he was attacked by an ambush of the Chumna Rajpoots, and slain with twenty-six of his attendants, after having reigned fifty-five years. His kin and clans shaved their locks and moustaches, excepting.*

Moond, who succeeded, and performed all the ceremonies during the twelve days. Having made his ablutions with the water from sixty-eight different wells, in which were immersed the leaves of one hundred and eight different shrubs and trees, a female of spotless virtue waved the burning frankincense over his head. Before him was placed the *punj-amrit*, consisting of curds, milk, butter, sugar, and honey; likewise pearls, gems, the royal umbrella, the grass called *dhoob*, various flowers, a looking-glass, a young virgin, a chariot, a flag or banner, the *vela* flower, seven sorts of grain, two fish, a horse, a *nukhunk* (unknown), a bullock, a shell, a lotus, a vessel of water, the tail of the wild ox (*chaour*), a sword, a female calf, a litter, yellow clay, and prepared food. Then, seated on the *lion's hide*,—(on which were painted the seven *dwipas* or continents of Hindu cosmography, apparelled in the dress of the Jogi, and covered with ashes (*bluboot*), with the *moodra* in his ears),—the white *chaour* (ox-tail) was waved over his head, and he was inaugurated on the *gadi* of Deoraj, while the Purohit and chiefs presented their offerings. The *teeka-dou* was against the assassins of his father, who had congregated for defence, eight hundred of whom were put to death. Rawul Moond had one son, who was called Bachera. When about fourteen years of age the *coco-nut* came from Bullub-sen Solanki, Raja of Patun.† He forthwith proceeded to Patun, where he married the Solanki princess, and died not long after his father.

Bachera succeeded on Saturday, the 12th Sravan, S. 1035.‡ The same rites of installation were performed; the *kanferra* (split-eared) Jogi was the first to put the regal *tiluc* on his forehead, and 'his hand upon his back.' Rawul Bachera had five sons, Doosaj; Singh, Bappi Rao, Unkho, and Maall-Pusao; all of whom had issue, forming clans.

* There is no *interregnum* in Rajwarra: the king never dies.

* This affords a most important synchronism, corroborative of the correctness of these annals. Raja Bullub-sen of Patun (Anhulwarra) immediately followed Chamund Rae, who was dispossessed of the throne by Mahmoud of Ghizni, in the year A. D. 1011, or S. 1067. Bullub-sen died in the year of his installation, and was succeeded by Doorlubh, whose period has also been synchronically fixed by an inscription belonging to the Pramaras.—See *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

† This date, S. 1035, is evidently an error of the copyist. Bachera married Bullub-sen's daughter in S. 1067, and he died in S. 1100; so that it should be either S. 1055 or 1065. It is important to clear this point as Rawul Bachera was the opponent of Mahmoud of Ghizni in his invasion of India, A. H. 393, A. D. 1000, = S. 1056 or S. 1066, the samvat era being liable to a variation of ten years (Colebrooke). If we are right, a passage of Ferishta, which has puzzled the translators, should run thus: "Mahmoud directed his march against the Bhatti, and passing Mooltan, arrived at Behera, a Bhatti city."—Cf. Dow, Vol. I. (4th Edition), and Briggs, Vol. I.

A merchant came to Lodorva with a caravan of horses, of which there was one of a race so superior, that a lakh of rupees was fixed as his price; the breed belonged to a Pathan chief, west of the Indus. To obtain it, Doosaj and his son Unkho put themselves at the head of a band, crossed the Indus, slew Gazi Khan, the Pathan chief, and carried off his stud.

Singh had a son, Sacha-rae; his son was Balla who had two sons, Ruttun* and Jugga; they attacked the Purihar prince Juggernath of Mundore, and carried off five hundred camels: their descendants are styled Singrao Rajpoots.

Bappi Rao had two sons, Pahoo and Mandun. Pahoo had likewise two, Beerun and Toolir, whose unmerous issue were styled the Pahoo Rajpoots. The Pahoo issued from their abode of Beekumpoor, and conquered the lands of the Jolyas, as far as *Deri-jhal*; and having made Poogul* their capital, they dug numerous well in the *thul*, which still go by the name of the Pahoo wells.

Near Khatoth, in the Nagore district of Marwar, there dwelt a warrior of the Kheechee tribe, named Jiddra, who often plundered even to the gates of Poogul, slaying many of the Jytung Bhattis. Doosaj prepared a *kafila* ('caravan,') under pretence of making a pilgrimage to the Ganges, invaded unawares the Kheechee chief's territory, and slew him, with nine hundred of his men.

Doosaj, with his three brothers, went to the land of Kher, where dwelt Pertap Sing, chief of the Gohilotes,† whose daughters they espoused. "In the land of Kher, the Jadoon showered gold, enriching it." In the *dajja* (dower) with his daughter, the Gohilote gave fifteen *Dewa-darries*, or 'virgin lamp-holders.' Soon after, the Baloches made an inroad into the territory of Khadal; a battle ensued, in which five hundred were killed, and the rest fled beyond the river. Bachera died, and was succeeded by

Doosaj in the month of Asar, S. 1100. Hamir, prince of the Sodas,‡ made an incursion into his territories, which he plundered. Doosaj, having unavailingly remonstrated, reminding him of ancient ties, he marched into Dhat, and gained a victory. Doosaj had two sons, Jesul and Beejiraj, and in his old age a third son, by a Ranawut princess of the house of Mewar, called *Lanja Breejirae*, who, when Doosaj died, was placed on the throne by the nobles and civil officers of the state. Previous to his elevation, he had espoused a daughter of Sidraj Jey Sing, Solanki.

* This was one of the points touched at in Mr. Elphinstone's journey.

† The chief of the Gohilotes is now settled at Bhaonuggur at the estuary of the Myhie: where I visited him in 1823. The migration of the family from Kherdthur occurred about a century after that period, according to the documents in the Rao's family. And we have only to look at the opening of the Annals of Marwar to see that from its colonization by the Rathores, the Gohil community of Kherdthur was finally extinguished. To the general historian these minute facts may be unimportant, but they cease to be so when they prove the character of these annals for fidelity.

‡ If this is the Hamira alluded to in the annals of Bikaner, in whose time the Caggar river ceased to flow in these lands, we have another date assigned to a fact of great physical importance.

During the nuptial ceremonies, as the mother of the bride was marking the forehead of the bridegroom with the *tiluk* or 'inauguration mark,' she exclaimed, "My son, do thou become the portal of the north—the barrier between us and the king, whose power is becoming strong."* By the princess of Puttun he had a son, who was named Bhojdeo, and who, by the death of his father when he attained the age of twenty-five, became lord of Lodorva. The other sons of Doosaj were at this time advanced in manhood, Jesul being thirty-five, and Beejiraj thirty-two years of age.

Some years before the death of Doosaj, Raedhuwal Puar, son (or descendant) of Udvadit of Dhar, had three daughters, one of whom he betrothed to Jeypal (Ajipal) Solanki, son of Sidraj;† another to Beejiraj Bhatti, and the third to the Rana of Cheetore. The Bhatti prince left Lodorva for Dhar at the head of seven hundred horse, and arrived at the same time with the Seesodia and Solanki princes. On his return to Lodorva, he erected a temple to *Sheslinga*, close to which he made a lake. By the Puar princess he had a son named Rahir, who had two sons, Netsi and Keksi.

Bhojdeo had not long occupied the *gadi* of Lodorva, when his uncle Jesul conspired against him; but being always surrounded by a guard of five hundred Solanki Rajpoots, his person was unassailable. At this time, the prince of Puttun was often engaged with the king's troops from Tatha. Jesul, in pursuance of his plan, determined to

* Here we have another synchronism. In the *Komarpuṭ Charitra* or history of the kings of Anhulwarra Puttun, the reign of Sidraj was from S. 1150 to S. 1201, or A. D. 1094 to 1145: the point of time intermediate between invasion of Mahmoud of Ghizni and the final conquest of India by Shabudin, during which there were many irruptions into India by the lieutenants of the monarchs of Ghizni. There was one in the reign of Musood, in A. H. 492 (A. D. 1098), four years after the accession of Sidraj; another A. D. 1120, in the reign of Byram Shah during which, according to Ferishta, the Ghaznevide general, Balin rebelled and assailed the Hindu Rajas from Nagore, where he established himself. In all probability this is the event alluded to by the queen of Puttun, when she nominated the Bhatti prince as her champion.

† The mention of these simultaneous intermarriages in three of the principal Rajpoot monarchies of that day, *viz.*, Dhar, Puttun, and Cheetore, is important, not only as establishing fresh synchronisms, but as disclosing the intercourse between the Bhattis and the more ancient princely families of India. The period of Udvadit Pramar has been established beyond cavil (see *Trans. R. A. S.*) and that of Sidraj, likewise, whose son and successor, Ajipal, had but a short reign when he was deposed by Komarpal, whose date is also found from inscription. It is a singular fact, that all the Rajpoot dynasties of these regions were established about the same epoch, *viz.*, Puttun by the Chauras, Cheetore by the Gehlotes, Delhi, refounded by the Tuars, and the Bhatti principality by the descendant of Salbahan. This was in the middle of the eighth century of Vikramaditya, when the older Hindu Governments were broken up. The admission of Bhatti to intermarry with their families proves one of two facts: either that they were considered Rajpoots, notwithstanding their being inhabitants of the regions beyond the Indus; or, that the families mentioned, with which they were allied, were Indo-Scythic like themselves.

coalesce with the king, and cause an attack on Puttun (Anhulwarra), by which alone he could hope for the departure of the Solanki body-guard. Jesul, with his chief kin, escorted by two hundred horse, marched to the Punjnad, where he saw the king of Ghor, who had just overcome the king of Tatha,* and placed his own garrison there, and he accompanied him to Arore, the ancient capital of Sind. There he unfolded his views, and having sworn allegiance to the king, he obtained a force to dispossess his nephew of his territory. Lodorva was encompassed, and Bhojdeo slain in its defence. In two days the inhabitants were to carry off their effects, and on the third the troops of Ghor were permitted the license of plunder. Lodorva was sacked, and Kureem Khan departed for Bekher with the spoils.

Jesul thus obtained the *gadi* of Lodorva; but it being open to invasion, he sought a spot better adapted for defence, and he found one only five coss (ten miles) from Lodorva. Upon the summit of a rocky ridge, he discovered a Brahmin, whose solitary hermitage adjoined the fountain of Brimsir. Having paid homage, and disclosed the purport of his visit, the recluse related the history of the triple-peaked hill, which overlooked his hermitage. He said, that in the *Treta*, or 'silver age,' a celebrated ascetic, called Kak, or Kaga, resided at this fountain, after whom the rivulet, which issued thence had its name of Kaga; that the Pandu Arjoon, with Heri Crishna, came there to attend a great sacrifice, on which occasion Crishna foretold that, in some distant age, a descendant of his should erect a town on the margin of the rivulet, and should raise a castle on *Tricutu*, the triple-peaked mount.† While Crishna thus prophesied, it was observed to him by Arjoon that the water was bad, when Crishna smote the rock with his *chakra* (discus), whereupon a sweet spring bubbled up, and on its margin were inscribed the prophetic stanzas which the hermit Eesul now pointed out to the Bhatti prince, who read as follows:

1.

"Oh prince of Jidoo-vansa! come into this land, and on this mountain's top erect a triangular castle.

2.

"Lodorva is destroyed, but only five coss therefrom is Jesanoh, a site of twice its strength.

* At every step we see, however meagre may be the outline, the correctness of this historical sketch. It was, according to Ferishta, in A. H. 555 A. D. 1159, or S. 1215), that the prince of Ghor conquered Ghizni, and immediately after overran Mooltan and Sind (see Briggs, Vol. I.); and doubtless it was on this occasion that the Bhatti prince swore allegiance to Shahudin, and obtained the force which drove his nephew from Lodorva, which being sacked by his auxiliaries, he founded Jessulmer in S. 1212. The three years' discrepancy between the Mahomedan and Hindu dates is of little consequence; but even this could be remedied, when we recollect that the Samvat, according to Mr. Colebrooke, is liable to a variation of ten years.

† If there were no better support for the assumed descent of the Bhatti founder of Jessulmer from the *Yadus* of the *Bharat*, than this prophecy, we should be confirmed in our suspicion that they are a colony of the *Yuti*, and that the Brahmins took advantage of the nominal resemblance to incorporate them in the *Chhatees Rajcula*, or thirty-six royal race.

3.

"Prince whose name is Jesul, who will be of Yadu race, abandon Lodorvura; here erect thy dwelling."

The hermit Eesul alone knew the existence of the fountain on whose margin these lines were engraved. All that he stipulated for himself was, that the fields to the westward of the castle should retain his name, "the fields of Eesul." He foretold that the intended castle should twice and a half times be sacked; that rivers of blood would flow, and that for a time all would be lost to his descendants.

On *Rubwar*, 'the day of the sun,' (a favourite day for commencing any grand undertaking with all these tribes), the 12th of Sravana, the enlightened half of the moon, S. 1212 (A. D. 1156), the foundation of Jessulmere was laid, and soon the inhabitants, with all that was valuable abandoned Lodorva,* and began to erect new habitations. Jesul had two sons, Kailun and Salbahan. He chose his chief ministers and advisers from the children of Sodil, of the Pahoo tribe, who became too powerful. Their old enemies, the Chunna Rajoots, again invaded the lands of Khadal; but they suffered for their audacity. Jesul survived this event five years, when he died and was succeeded by his youngest son, Salbahan the II.

CHAPTER III.

HAVING thus epitomized the Bhatti annals, from the expulsion of the tribe from the Punjab, and the establishment of Tunnote in the Indian Desert, in A. D. 731, to the foundation of the existing capital, Jessulmer, in A. D. 1156, we shall continue the sketch to the present day, nearly in the language of the chronicle, adding explanatory notes as we proceed.

The interval between the erection of the castle of Tunnote and the present time is exactly eleven hundred years; during which the historical narrative, whatever may be its value, is at least continuous, and the events recorded are corroborated, even in the darkest period, by numerous synchronisms in the annals of the other states; and viewed synoptically, it presents matter of deep interest to the explorer of Indian history. The period of four hundred and twenty-five years, embraced in the preceding chapter, is full of incidents. It is a record of a people who once deemed their consequence and their fame imperishable. And even were it less diversified by anecdotes descriptive of manners, it would still possess claims to interest as a simple relation of the gradual peopling of a great portion of the Indian Desert. We see tribes and cities disappearing; new races and new capitals taking their place; and although not a syllable is written which bears directly upon religion, we can see, incidentally, the analogy of these Indo-Scythic tribes, from Zabulistan Salbahana, with the Hindu, confirming what Menu says, that the

* Lodorva remains in ruins; a journey thither might afford subject-matter for the antiquary, and enable him to throw light upon the origin of the Bhatti tribe. It is ten miles N.-W. of the present capital.

Sacas, Yavanas, Pehlaris, and the *Khasas** of Central Asia, were all Chettris or Rajpoots. We now proceed with the chronicle.

Jessul, the founder of Jessulmer, survived the change of captitay only twelve years. His elder son, Kaihun, having given displeasure to the Pahoo minister was expelled, and his younger brother placed upon the *gadi*.

Salbahan, a name of celebrity in the annals, renewed in the son of Jessul, succeeded in S. 1224 (A. D. 1168). His first expedition was against the Catti or Cathi tribe, who, under their leader, Jughban, dwelt between the city of Jhalore and the Aravalli.† The Cathi Rao was killed, and his horses and camels were carried to Jessulmer. The fame of this exploit exalted the reputation of Salbahan. He had three sons, Beejir, Banar, and Hasso.

In the mountains of Bhadrinath, there was a state, whose princes were of the Jadoon (Yadu) race, descended from the first Salbahan at the period of the expulsion from Gujni.‡ At this time, the prince of this state dying without issue, a deputation came to Jessulmer to obtain a prince to fill the vacant *gadi*. Hasso was accordingly sent, but died just as he arrived. His wife, who was pregnant, was taken with the pains of labour on the journey, and was delivered of a son under the shade of a *palas* tree, whence the child was called *Palaseo*. This infant succeeding, the *raj* (principality) was named after him *Palaseoh*.§

* There is a race in the desert, now Mahomedan, and called *Khossas*. Elphinstone mentions the *Khasa-Khel*. Khasgar is 'the region of the Khasas,' the *Casia Regia* of Ptolemy.

† We can scarcely refuse our assent to the belief, that the Cathi, or Catti tribe, here mentioned, is the remnant of the nation which so manfully opposed Alexander. It was then located about Multan, at this period occupied by the Langas. The colony attacked by the Bhatti was near the Aravalli, in all probability a predatory band from the region they peopled and gave their name to, Cattiawar, in the Saurashtra peninsula.

‡ Mr. Elphinstone enumerates the Jadoon as a sub-division of the Eusolzyes, one of the great Afghan tribe, who were originally located about Cabul and Ghizni. I could not resist surmising the probability of the term Jadoon, applied to a sub-division of the Afghan race, originating from the Hindu-Scythic Jadoon, or Yadu; whence the boasted descent of the Afghans from Saul king of the Jews (*Yuhudis*). The customs of the Afghans would support this hypothesis: "The Afghans," (says the Emperor Baber), "when reduced to extremities in war, come into the presence of their enemy with grass between their teeth, being as much as to say, 'I am your ox.'" This custom is entirely Rajpoot, and ever recurring in inscriptions recording victories. They have their bards or poets in like manner, of whom Mr. Elphinstone gives an interesting account. In features, also, they resemble the Northern Rajpoots, who have generally aquiline noses, or, Mr. Elphinstone expresses it, in the account of his journey through the desert, "Jewish features:" though this might tempt one to adopt the converse of my deduction, and say, that these *Yadu* of Gujni were, with the Afghans, also of *Yahudi* origin: from the lost tribes of Israel.

§ See Mr. Elphinstone's *Map* for the position of the Jadoon branch of the Eusolzyes at the foot of the Sewalik hills.

Proposals of marriage came from Munsî Deora of Sirohi. The Rawul left Jessulmer to the care of his eldest son Beejil. Soon after his departure, the foster-brother (*dhabhae*) of the young prince propagated the report of the Rawul's death in an encounter with a tiger, and prompted Beejil to assume the dignity. Salbahan, on his return, finding his seat usurped, and having in vain expostulated with his traitorous son, proceeded to Khadal, of which Deorawul is the capital, where he was slain, with three hundred of his followers, in repelling an irruption of the Baloches. Beejil did not long enjoy the dignity: having in a fit of passion struck the *dhabhae*, the blow was returned, upon which, stung with shame and resentment, he stabbed himself with his dagger.

Kailun, the elder brother of Salbahan, who was expelled by the Pahoos, was now (A. D. 1200) recalled and installed at the age of fifty. He had six sons, Chachik Deo, Palhan, Jeichand, Petumsi, Peetumchand, and Usrao. The second and third had numerous issue, who are styled Jaseir and Seehana Rajpoots.

Khizzur Khan Baloch, with five thousand men, at this time again crossed the Mehran (Indus), and invaded the land of Khadal, which was the second irruption since he slew Salbahan. Kailun marched against him at the head of seven thousand Rajpoots, and after a severe engagement, slew the Baloch leader and fifteen hundred of his men. Kailun ruled nineteen years.

Chachik Deo succeeded, in S. 1275. (A. D. 1219). Soon after his accession, he carried on war against the Chunna Rajpoots (now extinct), of whom he slew two thousand, capturing fourteen thousand cows, and compelling the tribe to take refuge with the Johyas. Soon after, the Rawul invaded the lands of Rana Urmsi, prince of the Sodas, who though taken by surprise, assembled four thousand horse: but was defeated, and forced to fly for shelter to the walls of his capital, Amerkote. The Puar was glad to obtain the absence of his foe by the offer of his daughter in marriage.*

The Rahtores, recently established in the land of Kher, had become to

* In this single passage we have revealed the tribe (*gote*), race (*cula*), capital, and proper name, of the prince *Dhat*. The *Soda* tribe, as before stated, is an important branch of the *Pramara* (Puar) race, and with the *Oomras* and *Soomras* gave dynasties to the valley of Sind from the most remote period. The *Soda*, I have already observed, were probably the *Sogdi* of Alexander, occupying Upper Sind when the Macedonian descended that stream. The *Soomra* dynasty is mentioned by Ferishta from ancient authorities, but the Mahomedan historians knew nothing, and cared nothing, about Rajpoot tribes. I write this note chiefly for the information of the patriarch of oriental lore on the Contingent, the learned and ingenious De Sacy. If this Mentor ask, "Where are now the Sodas?" I reply, the ex-prince of Amerkote, with whose ancestors Hemayoon took refuge,—in whose capital in the desert, the great Akber was born,—and who could on the spur of the moment oppose four thousand horse to invasion, has only one single town, that of Chore, left to him. The Rahtores, who, in the time of Urmsi Rana and Rawul Chachik, were hardly known in *Marudes*, have their flag waving on the battlements of the "immortal castle," (*amurcuta*), and the Ameers of Sind have incorporated the greater part of *Dhat* with their state of Hyderabad.

troublesome neighbours; Chachik obtained the aid of the Sodat troops to chastise them, and he proceeded to Jessole and Bhilotra, where they were established; but Chadoo and his son Theedo averted his wrath by giving him a daughter to wife.*

Rawul Chachik ruled thirty-two years. He had only one son, Tej Rao, who died at the age of forty-two, from the small-pox, leaving two sons Jaetsi and Kurrun. To the youngest the Rawul was much attached; and having convened the chiefs around his death-bed, he entreated they would accede to his last wish, that his youngest grandson might be his successor.

Kurrun having succeeded, his elder brother, Jaetsi abandoned his country, and took service with the Mahomedans in Guzerat. About this time, Mozuffer Khan, who occupied Nagore with five thousand horse, committed great outrages. There was a Bhomia of the Baraha tribe, named Bhagaoti-das, who resided fifteen coss from Nagore, and was master of one thousand five hundred horse. He had an only daughter, who was demanded by the Khan and being unwilling to comply, and unable to resist, he resolved to abandon the country. For this purpose he prepared carriages, in which he placed his family and chattels, and at night proceeded towards Jessulmer; but the Khan, gaining intelligence of his motions, intercepted the convoy. A battle ensued, in which four hundred of the Barahas were killed, and his daughter and other females were carried off. The afflicted Baraha continued his route to Jessulmer, and related his distress to Rawul Kurrun, who immediately put himself at the head of his followers, attacked the Khan, whom he slew, with three thousand of his people, and re-inducted the Bhomia in his possessions. Kurrun ruled twenty-eight years, and was succeeded by his son.

Lakhun Sen, in S. 1327 (A. D. 1271). He was so great a simpleton, that when the jackals howled at night, being told that it was from being cold, he ordered quilted dresses (*duglas*) to be prepared for them. As the howling still continued, although he was assured his orders had been fulfilled, he commanded houses to be built for the animals in the royal preserves (*rumna*), many of which yet remain. Lakhun was the contemporary of Kanirdeo Sonigurra, whose life was saved by his (Lakhun's) wife's knowledge ofomens. Lakhun was ruled by this Rani, who was of the Soda tribe. She invited her brethren from Amerkote; but the madman, her husband, put them to death and threw their bodies over the walls. He was allowed to rule four years, and was then replaced by his son,

Poonpal. This prince was of a temper so violent that the nobles dethroned him, and recalled the exiled Jaetsi from Guzerat. Poonpal had a residence assigned him in a remote quarter of the state. He had a son, Lakumsi, who had a son called Rao Raningdeo, who by a stratagem

* To those interested in the migration of these tribes, it must be gratifying to see these annals, thus synchronically corroborating each other. About two centuries before this, in the reign of Doosaj, when the Bhatti-capital was at Lodorva, an attack was made on the land of Kher, then occupied by the Gohilotas, who were, as related in the Annals of Marwar, dispossessed by the Rahtoras. None but an inquirer into these annals of the desert tribes can conceive the satisfaction arising from such confirmations.

pointed out by a Khurl* Rajpoot, took Marote from the Johyas, and Poogul from the Thories, thieves by profession, whose chief, styled Rao, he made captive; and in Poogul he settled his family. Rao Raning had a son called Sadool, who alternately bathed in the sea of pleasure, and struggled in that of action: to their retreat the father and son conveyed the spoils seized from all around them.

Jaetsi obtained the *gadi* in S. 1332 (A. D. 1276). He had two sons, Moolraj and Ruttunsi. Deoraj, the son of Moolraj espoused the daughter of the Sonigurra chief of Jhalore. Mahomed [Khooni] Padsha invaded the dominions of Rana Roopsi, the Purihar prince of Mundore,† who, when defeated, fled with his twelve daughters, and found refuge with the Rawul, who gave him Baroo as a residence.

Deoraj, by his Sonigurra wife, had three sons Janghan, Sirwin, and Hamir. This Hamir was a mighty warrior, who attacked Kompol Sen of Mehwo, and plundered his lands. He had issue three sons, Jaito, Loonkurn, and Mairoo. At this period, Ghori Alla-oo-din commenced the war against the castles of India. The tribute of Tatha and Mooltan, consisting of fifteen hundred horses and fifteen hundred mules laden with treasure and valuables, was at Bekher in progress to the king at Delhi. The sons of Jaetsi determined to lay an ambush and capture the tribute. Disguised as grain-merchants, with seven thousand horse and twelve hundred camels, they set out on their expedition, and on the banks of the Punjnud found the convoy, escorted by four hundred Mogul and the like number of Pathan horse. The Bhattis encamped near the convoy; and in the night they rose upon and slew the escort, carrying the treasure to Jessulmer. The survivors carried the news to the king, who prepared to punish this insult. When tidings reached Rawul Jaetsi that the king was encamped on the *Anasagar* at Ajmere, he prepared Jessulmer for defence. He laid in immense stores of grain, and deposited all round the ramparts of the fort large round stones to hurl on the besiegers. All the aged, the infirm, and his female grand-children, were removed into the interior of the desert, while the country around the capital for many miles was laid waste, and the towns made desolate. The Rawul, with his two elder sons and five thousand warriors, remained inside for the defence of the castle, while Deoraj and Hamir formed an army to act against the enemy from without. The sultan in person remained at Ajmere and sent forward an immense force of Khorasanis and Koreishes, cased in steel armour, "who rolled on like the clouds in Bhadoon." The fifty-six bastions were manned, and three thousand seven hundred heroes distributed amongst them for their defence, while two thousand remained in reserve to succour the points attacked. During the first week that the besiegers formed their entrenchments, seven thousand Moosulmans were slain, and Meer Mohabet and Alli Khan remained on the field of battle. For two years the invaders were confined to their camp by Deoraj and Hamir, who kept the field, after cutting off their supplies, which came from Mundore, while the garrison was abundantly furnished from Khadal, Barmair and Diat. Eight years† had the siege lasted, when Rawul Jaetse died, and his body was burnt inside the fort.

* This tribe is unknown to Central India.

† The title, tribe, and capital of this race, shew that the Bhattis were intimately connected with the neighbouring states.

‡ This can mean nothing more than that desultory attacks were

During this lengthened siege, Ruttunsi had formed a friendship with the Nawab Maboob Khan, and they had daily friendly meetings under a *khaijra* tree, between the advanced posts, each attended by a few followers. They played at chess together; and interchanged expressions of mutual esteem. But when duty called them to oppose each other in arms, the whole world was enamoured with their heroic courtesy. Jaetsi had ruled eighteen years when he died.

Moolraj III., in S. 1350 (A.D. 1294), ascended the *gadi* surrounded by foes. On this occasion, the customary rejoicings on installation took place, at the moment when the two friends, Ruttunsi and Maboob Khan, had met, as usual, under the *khaijra* tree. The cause of rejoicing being explained to the Nawab, he observed that the Sooltan had heard of, and was offended with, these meetings, to which he attributed the protracted defence of the castle, and acquainted Ruttunsi that next day a general assault was commanded, which he should lead in person. The attack took place; it was fierce, but the defence was obstinate, and the assailants were beaten back with the loss of nine thousand men. But the foe obtained reinforcements, and towards the conclusion of the year, the garrison was reduced to the greatest privations, and the blockade being perfect, Moolraj assembled his kinsmen and thus addressed them: "For so many years we have defended our dwellings; but our supplies are expended, and there is no passage for more. What is to be done? The chiefs, Sehir and Bikumsi, replied, "a *saka* must take place; we must sacrifice ourselves:" but that same day the royal army, unaware of the distress of the besieged, retreated.

The friend of Ruttunsi had a younger brother, who, on the retreat of the royal forces, was carried inside the fort, when seeing the real state of things, he escaped and conveyed intelligence of it, upon which the siege was renewed. Moolraj reproached his brother as the cause of this evil, and asked what was fit to be done? to which Ruttunsi replied, "there is but one path open; to immolate the females, to destroy by fire and water whatever is destructible, and to bury what is not; then open wide the gates, and sword in hand rush upon the foe, and thus attain *swerga*." The chiefs were assembled; all were unanimous to make *Jesa-nuggur* resplendent by their deeds, and preserve the honour of the Jadoo race. Moolraj thus replied: "you are of a warlike race, and strong are your arms in the cause of your prince; what heroes excel you, who thus tread in the Chetrie's path? In battle, not even the elephant could stand before you. For the maintenance of my honour the sword is in your hands; let Jessulmer be illumined by its blows upon the foe." Having thus inspired the chiefs and men, Moolraj and Ruttunsi repaired to the palace of their queens. They told them to take the *sohag*,* and prepare to meet in heaven, while they gave up their lives in defence of their honour and their faith. Smiling, the Soda Rani, replied, "this night we shall prepare, and by the morning's light we shall be inhabitants of *swerga*" (heaven); and thus it was with the chiefs and all their wives. The night was passed together for the last time in preparation for the awful morn. It came;

carried on against the Bhatti capital. It is certain that Alla never carried his arms in person against Jessulmer.

* *Sohagun*, one who becomes *sati* previous to her lord's death. *Dohingun*, who follows him after death.

ablutions and prayers were finished, and at the *Rajdwira** were convened *bala*, *prude*, and *bridu*†. They bade a last farewell to all their kin; the *johur* commenced, and twenty-four thousand females, from infancy to old age, surrendered their lives, some by the sword, others in the volcano of fire. Blood flowed in torrents, while the smoke of the pyre ascended to the heavens: not one feared to die, every valuable was consumed with them, not the worth of a straw was preserved for the foe. This work done, the brothers looked upon the spectacle with horror. Life was now a burden, and they prepared to quit it. They purified themselves with water, paid adoration to the divinity, made gifts to the poor, placed a branch of the *toolsi*‡ in their casques, the *saligram*§ round their neck; and having cased themselves in armour and put on the saffron robe, they bound the *mor*§ (crown) around their heads, and embraced each other for the last time. Thus they awaited the hour of battle. Three thousand eight hundred warriors, with faces red with wrath, prepared to die with their chiefs.

Ruttunsi had two sons, named Garsi and Kanur, the eldest only twelve years of age. He wished to save them from the impending havoc, and applied to the courteous foeman. The Mooslem chief swore he would protect them, and sent two confidential servants to receive the trust; to whom, bidding them a last farewell, their father consigned them. When they reached the royal camp they were kindly welcomed by the Nawab, who, putting his hand upon their heads, soothed them, and appointed two Brahmins to guard, feed, and instruct them.

On the morrow, the army of the Sultan advanced to the assault. The gates were thrown wide and the fight began. Ruttun was lost in the sea of battle; but one hundred and twenty Meers fell before his sword ere he lay in the field. Moolraj plied his lance on the bodies of the barbarians: the field swam in blood. The unclean spirits were gorged with slaughter; but at length the Jidonn chief fell, with seven hundred of the choice of his kin. With his death the battle closed; the victors ascended the castle, and Mabooh Khan caused the bodies of the brothers to be carried from the field and burned. The *saka* took place in S. 1351, or A. D. 1295. Deoraj, who commanded the force in the field, was carried off by a fever. The royal garrison kept possession of the castle during two years, and at length blocked up the gateways, and dismantled and abandoned the place, which remained long deserted, for the Bhattis had neither means to repair the *kangras* (battlement), nor men to defend them.

* Literally, 'the royal gate;' an allusion to the female apartments, or *Raj-loca*.

† *Bala*, is under sixteen; *prude*, middle-aged; *bridu*, when forty.

‡ The funeral qualities of the *toolsi* plant, and the emblematic *saligram*, or stone found in the Gunduc river, have been often described.

§ On two occasions the Rajpoot chieftain wears the *mor*, or 'coronet' on his marriage, and when going to die in battle; symbolic of his nuptials with the *Apsara*, or 'fair of heaven.'

CHAPTER IV.

SOME years subsequent to this disastrous event in the Bhatti annals, Jugmal, son of Maloji Rahthore, chief of Mehwo, attempted a settlement amidst the ruins of Jessulmere, and brought thither a large force, with seven hundred carts of provisions. On hearing this, the Bhatti chiefs, Doodoo and Tiluksi, the sons of Jesir, assembled their kinsmen, surprised the Rahthores, drove them from the castle, and captured the supplies. Doodoo, for this exploit, was elected Rawul, and commenced the repairs of Jessulmere. He had five sons. Tiluksi, his brother, was renowned for his exploits. He despoiled the Baloch, the Manguleo, the Meliwo, and the Deoras and Sonigurras of Aboo, and Jhalore felt his power. He even extended his raids to Ajmere, and carried off the stud of Feeroz Shah from the Anasagur (lake), where they were accustomed to be watered. This indignity provoked another attack upon Jessulmere, attended with the same disastrous results. Again the *saka* was performed, in which sixteen thousand females* were destroyed; and Doodoo with Tiluksi and seventeen of the clan, fell in battle, after he had occupied the *gadi* ten years.

On the death of Rawul Doodoo, in S. 1362 (A. D. 1306), the young princes, Gursi and Kanur, by the death of their patron Maboob, were left to the protection of his sons, Zoolficar and Gazi Khan. Kanur went privately to Jessulmer, and Gursi obtained leave to proceed westward to the Mehwo tract, where he married Bimaladevi, a widow, sister to the Rahthore, who had been betrothed† to the Deora. While engaged in these nuptials, he was visited by his relation Soningdeo, a man of gigantic strength, who agreed to accompany him on his return to Delhi. The king made trial of his force, by giving him to string an iron bow sent by the king of Khorasan, which the nervous Bhatti not only bent but broke. The invasions of Delhi by Timoor Shah‡ having occurred at this time, the services of Gursi were so conspicuous that he obtained a grant of his hereditary dominions, with permission to re-establish Jessulmer. With his own kindred, and the aid of the vassals of his friend Jagmal of Mehwo he soon restored order, and had an efficient force at command. Hamir and his clansmen gave their allegiance to Gursi, but the sons of Jesir were headstrong.

Deoraj, who married the daughter of Roopra, Rana of Mundore, had a son named Kehur, who, when Jessulmer was about to be invested by the

* The Rajpoots, by their exterminating *sacas*, facilitated the views of the Mahomedans. In every state we read of these horrors.

† The mere act of being betrothed disqualifies from a second marriage; the affianced becomes a *rand* (widow), though a *komari* (maid).

‡ Even these anachronisms are proofs of the fidelity of these Annals. Ignorant native scribes, aware of but one great Mogul invasion, consider the invader to be Timoor; but there were numerous Moghul invasions during the reign of Alla-oo-din. In all probability, that for which the services of the Bhatti prince obtained him the restoration of his dominions, was that of Eibak Khan, general of the king of Transoxiana, who invaded India in A. H. 705 (A. D. 1305), and was so signally defeated, that only three thousand out of fifty-seven thousand horse escaped the sword, and these were made prisoners and trod to death by elephants, when pillars of Skull were erected to commemorate the victory.—See Briggs's *Feristha*, Vol. I. p. 364.

troops of the Sooltan, was conveyed to Mundore with his mother. When only twelve years of age, he used to accompany the cowherds of the old Rao's kine, and his favourite amusement was penning up the calves with twigs of the *ak*, to imitate the picketting of horses. One day, tired of this occupation, young Kehur fell asleep upon the hole of a serpent, and the reptile issuing therefrom, arose and spread its hood over him as he slept. A *Charun* (bard, or genealogist), passing that way, reported the fact and its import immediately to the Rana, who, proceeding to the spot, found it was his own grandson whom fate had thus pointed out for sovereignty. Gursi, having no offspring by Bimaladevi, proposed to her to adopt a son. All the Bhatti youth were assembled, but none equalled Kehur, who was chosen. But the sons of Jesir were displeased, and conspired to obtain the *gadi*. At this time, Rawul Gursi was in the daily habit of visiting a tank, which he was excavating, and they seized an occasion to assassinate him; whereupon, in order to defeat their design, Bimaladevi immediately had Kehur proclaimed. The widowed queen of Gursi, with the view of securing the completion of an object which her lord had much at heart, namely, finishing the lake *Gursi-sirr*, as well as to ensure protection to her adopted son Kehur, determined to protract the period of self-immolation; but when six months had elapsed, and both these objects were attained, she finished her days on the pyre. Bimaladevi named the children of Hamir as the adopted sons and successors of Kehur. These sons were Jaita and Loonkurn.

The coco-nut was sent by Koombho, Rana of Cheetore, to Jaita. The Bhatti prince marched for Mewar, and when within twelve coss of the Aravalli hills, was joined by the famous Sankala Meeraj, chief of Salbanny. Next morning, when about to resume the march, a partridge began to call from the right: a bad omen, which was interpreted by the brother-in-law of the Sankala, deeply versed in the science of the *Sookani* and the language of birds.* Jaita drew the rein of his horse, and to avert the evil, halted that day. Meanwhile, the partridge was caught and found to be blind of an eye, and its ovary quite filled. The next morning, as soon as they had taken horses, a tigress began to roar, and the *Sookani* chieftain was again called upon to expound the omen. He replied that the secrets of great houses should not be divulged, but he desired them to despatch a youth, disguised as a female *Nao* (barbar class) to Komuliner, who there would learn the cause. The youth gained admission 'to the ruby of Mewar,' (*Lala Mewari*), who was anointing for the nuptials. He saw things were not right, and returning made his report; upon hearing which, the Bhatti prince married Marrud, the daughter of the Sankala chief. The Rana was indignant at this insult, but a sense of shame prevented his resenting it; and instead of proclaiming the slight, he offered his daughter's hand to the famous Kheechee prince, Achildas of Gagrown, and it was accepted.† Jaita met his death, together with his brother

* It is scarcely necessary to repeat that this is a free translation of the chronicle.

† The Kheechee prince, we may suppose, had no follower skilled in omens—they lived very happily, as appears by the Kheechee chronicle, and she bore him a son, who was driven from Gagrown. The scandal propagated against the 'ruby of Mewar' was no doubt a *ruse* of the Sankala chief, as the conclusion shows. However small the intrinsic worth of these anecdotes, they afford links of synchronisms, which constitute the value of the annals of all these states.

Loonkurn, and his brother-in-law, in an attempt to surprise Poogul; he fell with a hundred and twenty followers. When the old Rao Raningdeo, discovered against whom he had thus successfully defended himself, he clad himself in black garments, and in atonement performed pilgrimage to all the shrines in India.* On his return, he was forgiven and condoled with by Kehur.

Kehur had eight sons: 1st Somaji, who had a numerous offspring, called the Soma-Bhattis; 2nd Lukmun; 3rd Kailun, who forcibly seized Beekumpur, the appanage of his elder brother Soma, who departed with all his *bussie*,† and settled at Giraup; 4th Kilkurn; 5th Satul, who gave his name to an ancient town, and called it Sātulmer. The names of the rest were Beejoo, Tumo, and Tejsi.

When the sons of Raningdeo became converts to Islam, in order to avenge their father's feud with the Rahtore prince of Nagore, they forfeited their inheritance of Poogul and Marote, and thence forward mixed with the Abhorias Bhattis, and their descendants are termed Momun Bhutti. On this event, Kailun, the 3rd son of the Rawul, took possession of the forfeited lands, and besides Beekumpur, regained Deorawul, which had been conquered by their ancient foes, the Dahya Rajpoots.

Kailun built a fort on the Beyah, called, after his father, Kerroh, or Kerore, which again brought the Bhattis into collision with the Johyas and Langas, whose chief, Amur Khan Korai, attacked him, but was defeated. Kailun became the terror of the Chahils,‡ the Mohils,§ and Joyhas,¶ who lived in this quarter and his authority extended as far as the Punjnad. Kailun married into the Samma family of Jam,§ and arbitrated their

* Sadeo was the son and heir of Raningdeo, and it was from this portion of the Bhatti annals I extracted that singular story, related in (Vol I.) to illustrate the influence which the females of Rajpootana have on a national manners. The date of this tragical event was S. 1462, according to the Bhatti annals; and Pana Mokul, the contemporary of Rawul Jait and Rao Raningdeo, was on the throne of Mewar from S. 1454 to S. 1475. The annals of this state notice the marriage of the 'Ruby' to Dheruj, son of Achildas, but say nothing on the other point. A vague recollection of some matrimonial insult being offered evidently yet prevails, for when a marriage was contracted in A. D. 1821, through the author's intervention, between the Rana of Oodipur's daughter and the present Rawul Guj Sing of Jessulmer, it was given out that there was no memorial of any marriage-alliance between the two houses. After all, it may be vain-glorious invention of the Bhatti annalist.

† The term *bussie* has been explained in Vol. I. The *bussie* is a slave in the mildest sense; one who in distress sells his liberty. His master cuts the *choti*, or lock of hair, from the centre of the head, as a mark of bondage. They are transferable like cattle. This custom prevails more in the desert states than in Central Rajwarra; there every great man has his *bussie*. Shiam Sing Champawut of Pokurn had two hundred when he fled to Jeypur, and they all fell with him fighting against the Mahrattas. All castes, Brahmins and Rajpoots, becomes *bussies*: they can redeem their liberty by purchase.

‡ These three tribes are either extinct, or were lost on becoming proselytes to Islamism.

§ The Samma or summa tribe, which is well known in Mahomedan history, as having given a dynasty to Sindh in modern times, is a great

disputes on succession, which had caused much bloodshed. Shujahit Jam, whom he supported, accompanied him to Marote, on whose death, two years after, Kailun possessed himself of all the Samma territory, when the Sinde river became the boundary of his dominion. Kailun died at the age of seventy-two, and was succeeded by*

Chachik-deo, who made Marote his head-quarters, to cover his territories from the attacks of Mooltan, which took umbrage at the return of the Bhattis across the Garah. The chief of Mooltan united in a league all the ancient foes of the Bhattis, the Langas, the Johyas, the Khêeches, and all the tribes of that region. Chachick formed an army of seventeen thousand horse and fourteen thousand foot, and crossed the Beyah to meet his foes. The encounter was desperate; but the Bhattis were victorious, and returned with rich spoils to Marote. In the year following another battle took place, in which seven hundred and forty Bhattis were slain, and three thousand of the men of Mooltan. By this success, the conquests of Chachick were extended, and he left a garrison (*thanna*) under his son in Asini-kote, beyond the Behah, and returned to Poogul. He then attacked Maipal, chief of the Doondis, whom he defeated. After this victory he repaired to Jessulmer, to visit his brother Lukman, reserving the produce of the lands dependent on Asini-kote† for his expenses at

branch of the Yadus, and descended from *Samba*, son of *Crishna*; and while the other branch colonized *Zabulistan*, maintaining the original name of *Yadus*, the sons of *Samba* made his name the patronymic in *Seistan* and the lower valley of the *Indus*. *Samma-ka-kote*, or *Samma-nagar* was the capital, which yet exists, and doubtless originated the *Minagara* of the Greeks. *Sambus*, the opponent of *Alexander*, it is fair to infer, was the chief of the *Samma* tribe. *Samba*, meaning 'of, or belonging to *Sham* or *Sama*' (an epithet of *Crishna*, from his dark complexion, was son of *Jambuvati*, one of the eight wives of this deified *Yadu*, The *Jharejas* of *Cutch*, and *Jams* of *Sinde* and *Saurashtra* are of the same stock. The *Sind-Samma* dynasty, on the loss of their faith and coming into contact with *Islam*, to which they became proselytes, were eager to adopt a pedigree which might give them importance in the eyes of their conquerors: *Sam* was transformed into *Jam*, and the Persian king, *Jamshid*, was adopted as the patriarch of the *Sammās*, in lieu of the legitimate *Samba*. *Ferishta* gives an account of this dynasty, but was ignorant of their origin. He says, "The *Zemindars* of *Sinde* were originally of two tribes or families, *Somuna* and *Soomura*; and the chief of the former was distinguished by the appellation of *Jam*."—*Briggs' Ferishta*, Vol. iv. p. 422. The historian admits they were *Hindus* until A. H. 782 (A. D. 1380, S. 1436); a point of little doubt, as we see the *Bhatti* prince intermarrying with this family about twenty years subsequent even to the date assigned by *Ferishta* for their proselytism.

I may here again state, once for all, that I append these notes in order not to interfere with the text, which is abridged from the original chronicle.

* It is said that *Rinmul* succeeded; but this was only to the northern portion, his appanage: he lived but two months.

† Position unknown, unless it be the *Tchin-kot* of *D'Anville*, at the confluence of the river *Cabul* with the *Indus*. There is no doubt that this castle of the *Bhatti* prince was in the *Punjab*; and coupled with his alliance with the chief of *Sehat* or *Swat*, that it is the *Tchin-kot*, or *Ashnagar* of that celebrated geographer, whence the *Acesines* of the *Greeks*.

court. On his return home by Baroo, he was accosted by a Jinj Rajpoot,* pasturing an immense flock of goats, who presented the best of his flock and demanded protection against the raids of Birjung Rahthore. This chief had wrested the celebrated fortress of Satulmer,† the abode of wealthy merchants, from a Bhatti chief, and extended his forays far into the desert, and the Jinj was one of those who had suffered by his success. Not long after Rao Chachick had passed by the pastures of the Jinj, he received a visit from him, to complain of another inroad, which had carried off the identical goat, his offering. Chachick assembled his kinsmen, and formed an alliance with Shoomar Khan, chief of the Seta tribe,‡ who came with three thousand horse. It was the custom of the Rahthores of Satulmer to encamp their horse at a *tank* some distance from the city, to watch, while the chief citizens used daily to go abroad. Chachick surprised and made prisoners of the whole. The bankers and men of wealth offered large sums for their ransom; but he would not release them from bondage, except on condition of their settling in the territory of Jessulmer. Three hundred and sixty-five heads of families embraced this alternative, and hence Jessulmer dates the influx of her wealth. They were distributed over the principal cities Deorawul, Poogul, Marote, etc.§ The three sons of the Rahthore were also made prisoners; the two youngest were released, but Mairah, the eldest, was detained as a hostage for his father's good conduct. Chachick dismissed his ally, the Seta chief, whose grand-daughter, Sonaldevi, he married. The father of the bride, Hybat Khan,|| gave with her in *dajia* (dower) fifty horses, thirty-five slaves, four palkis and two hundred female camels, and with her Chachick returned to Marote.

Two years after this, Chachick made war on Thir-raj Khokur, the chief of Peeleebunga,¶ on account of a horse stolen from a Bhatti. The

* I may here repeat, that the Jinj and Johya were no doubt branches of the same race; the Jenjuheh of Baber, who locates them about the mountains of Joude.

† Now belonging to Marwar, and on its north-western frontier; but I believe in ruins.

‡ Most likely the Swatees, or people of Swat, described by Mr. Elphinstone (See Vol.) I. as of Indian origin, and as possessing a kingdom from the Hydaspes to Jellalabad, the *Suastene* of Ptolemy.

§ It must not be forgotten, that Satulmer was one of the Bhatti castles wrested from them by the Rahthores, who have greatly curtailed their frontiers.

|| From this and many other instances we come to the conclusion that the Tatar or Indo-Scythic title of Khan, is by no means indicative of the Mahomedan faith. Here we see the daughter of the prince of Swat or Suvat, with a genuine Hindi name.

¶ The position of *Peeleebunga* is unknown; in all probability it has undergone a metamorphosis with the spread of the faith, over these regions. As before mentioned, I believe this race called *Khokur* to be the Ghiker, so well known to Baber, and described as his inveterate foes in all his irruptions into India. Their manners, especially that distinctive mark, Polyandrisms, mentioned by Ferishta, mark the Ghikers as Indo-Scythic. The names of their chiefs are decidedly Hindu. They were located with the Joudis in the upper part of the Punjab and according to Elphinstone, they retain their old position, contiguous to the *Eusofzye Jadoons*.

Khokurs were defeated and plundered; but his old enemies the Langas, taking advantage of this occasion, made head against Chachick, and drove his garrison from the new possession of Dhooniapur.* Disease at length seized on Rawul Chachick, after a long course of victorious warfare, in which he subdued various tracts of country, even to the heart of the Punjab. In this state he determined to die as he had lived, with arms in his hands; but having no foe near with whom to cope, he sent an embassy to the Langa prince of Mooltan, to beg, as a last favour, the *jood-dan*, or 'gift of battle,' that his soul might escape by the steel of his foeman, and not fall a sacrifice to slow disease.† The prince, suspecting treachery, hesitated; but the Bhatti messenger pledged his word that his master only wished an honourable death, and that he would only bring five hundred men to the combat. The challenge being accepted, the Rawul called his clansmen around him, and on recounting what he had done, seven hundred select Rajpoots, who had shared in all his victories, volunteered to take the last field, and make *sunklul* (oblation) of their lives with their leader. Previous to setting forth, he arranged his affairs. His son Guj Sing, by the Seta Rani, he sent with her to her father's house. He had five other sons, *vis.*, Khoombho, Birsil, Bheemdeo, (by Lala Rani, of the Soda tribe), Rutto and Rindheer, whose mother was Soorajdevi, of Chohan race. Birsil, his eldest son, he made heir to all his dominions except the land of Khadal (whose chief town is Deorawul), which he bestowed upon Rindheer, and to both he gave the *tika*, making them separate states. Birsil marched to Kerore,‡ his capital, at the head of seventeen thousand men.

Meanwhile, Rawul Chachick marched to Dhooniapur, 'to part with life.' There he heard that the prince of Mooltan was within two coss. His soul was rejoiced; he performed his ablutions, worshipped the sword§ and the gods, bestowed charity, and withdrew his thoughts from this world.

The battle lasted four *ghurris* (two hours), and the Jadoon prince fell with all his kin after performing prodigies of valour. Two thousand Khans fell beneath their swords: rivers of blood flowed in the field; but the Bhatti gained the abode of Indra, who shared his throne with the hero. The king crossed the Behah, and returned to Mooltan.

While Rundheer was performing at Deorawul the rites of the twelve days of *matum*, or 'mourning,' his elder brother, Koombho, afflicted with insanity, rushed into the assembly, and swore to avenge his father's death. That day he departed, accompanied by a single slave, and reached the prince's camp. It was surrounded by a ditch eleven yards wide, over which the Bhatti leaped his horse in the dead of night, reached

* Dhooniapur is not located.

† In this chivalrous challenge, or demand of the *jood-dan*, we recognize another strong trait of Scythic manners, as depicted by Herodotus. The ancient Gete of Transoxiana could not bear the idea of dying of disease; a feeling which his offspring carried with them to the shores of the Baltic, to Yeut-land or Jutland!

‡ This fortress, erected by Rao Kailun, is stated to be twenty-two coss, about forty miles, from Bahwulpur; but though the direction is not stated, there is little doubt of its being to the northward, most probably in that *do-abeh* called *Sind-Sagur*.

§ Couple this martial rite with the demand of *Food-dan*, and there is an additional reason for calling these Yadus, Indo-Scythic.

the harem, and cut off the head of Kaloo Shah, with which he rejoined his brethren at Deorawul. Birsil re-established Dhooniapur, and then went to Kerore. His old foes, the Langas, under Hybat Khan, again, attacked him, but they were defeated with great slaughter. At the same time, Husein Khan Baloch invaded Beekumpur.*

Rawul Bersi, who at this time occupied the *gadi* of Jessulmer, went forth to meet Rao Birsil on his return from his expedition in the Punjab. In S. 1530 (A. D. 1474), he made the gates and palace of Beekumpur.

We may, in this place, desert the literal narrative of the chronicle; what follows is a record of similar border-feuds and petty wars, between 'the sons of Kailun'† and the chiefs of the Punjab, alternately invaders and invaded, which is pregnant with mighty words and gallant deeds, but yielding no new facts of historical value. At length, the numerous offspring of Kailun separated, and divided amongst them the lands on both sides of the Garah; and as Sultan Baber soon after this period made a final conquest of Mooltan from the Langas, and placed therein his own governor, in all probability the Bhatti possessors of Kerore-kote and Dhooniapur, as well as Poogul and Marote (now Mahomedans), exchanged their faith (sanctioned even by Menu) for the preservation of their states.‡ The bard is so much occupied with this Poogul branch that the chronicle appears almost devoted solely to them.

He passes from the main stem, to Rawuls Jait, Noonkurn, Bheem, Munohur-das to Subbul Sing, five generations, with little further notice than the mere enumerations of their issue. With this last prince, Subbul Sing, an important change occurred in the political condition of the Bhattis.

CHAPTER V.

WE have now reached that period in the Bhatti annals, when Shah Jehan was emperor of India. Elsewhere, we have minutely related the measure which the great Akbar adopted to attach his Rajpoot vassalage to the empire; a policy pursued by his successors. Subbul Sing, the first of the princes of Jessulmer, who held his dominions as a

* The foregoing, including the actions of Kailun, Chachick, and Birsil, must be considered as an episode, detailing the exploits of the Raos of Poogul, established by Kailun, third son of Rawul Kehur of Jessulmer. It was too essential to the annals to be placed in a note.

† Rao Kailun had established his authority over nine castles, heads of districts, *vis.*, Asini, or Aswini-kote, Beekumpur, Marote, Poogul, Deorawul, Kehrore (twenty-two coss, or about forty miles, from Bahwul-pur), Goomun, Bahun, Nadno, and Matailoh, on the Indus.

‡ There never was any thing so degrading to royalty as the selfish protection guaranteed to it by this Lycurgus of the Hindus, who says, "Against misfortune let him preserve his wealth; at the expense of his wealth, let him preserve his wife; but let him at all events preserve himself even at the hazard of his wife and riches."—Menu *On Government, or On the Military Class*. The entire history of the Rajpoots shews they do not pay much attention to such unmanly maxims.

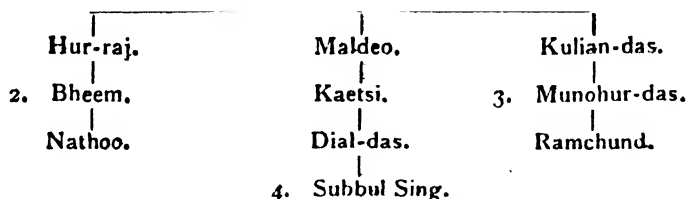
fief of the empire, was not the legitimate heir to the '*gadi* of Jessul.*' Monohur-das had obtained the *gadi* by the assassination of his nephew. Rawul Nathoo, the son and heir of Bheem, who was returning from his nuptials at Bikaner, and had passed the day at Filodi, then a town of Jessulmer, when a poison was administered to him by the hands of a female. But it was destined that the line of the assassin should not rule, and the dignity fell to Subbul Sing, the third in descent from Maldeo, second son of Rawul Noonkurn.

The good qualities of young Subbul, and the bad ones of Ramchund, son of the usurper, afforded another ground for the preference of the former. Moreover Subbul was nephew to the prince of Amber, under whom he held a distinguished post in the Government of Peshore where he saved the royal treasure from being captured by the Afghan mountaineers. For this service, and being a favourite of the chiefs who served with their contingents, the king gave Jeswunt Sing of Jodhpur command to place him on the *gadi*. The celebrated Nahur Khan Koompawut† was entrusted with this duty, for the performance of which he received the city and domain of Pokurn, ever since severed from Jessulmer.

This was the first considerable abstraction from the territories which had been progressively increased by Rawul Jessul and his successors, but which have since been woefully curtailed. A short time before Barber's invasion, the dependencies of Jessulmer extended on the north to the Garah river,‡ west to the Mehran or Indus; and on the east and south, they were bounded by the Rahthores of Bikaner and Marwar, who had been gradually encroaching for two centuries, and continue to do so, to this day. The entire *thul* of Barmair and Kottorah, in the south, were Bhatti chieftainships, and eastward to the site of Bikaner itself.

* Noonkurn had three sons, Hur-raj, Maldeo, and Kalian-das; each had issue. Hur-raj had Bheem (who succeeded his grand-father Noonkurn). Maldeo had Kaetsi, who had Dial-das, father of Subbul Sing, to whom was given in appanage the town of Mundilla, near Pokurn. The third son, Kalian-das, had Monohur-das who succeeded Bheem. Ramchund was the son of Monohur-das. A slip from the genealogical tree will set this in clear light.

1. Noonkurn.



† Another synchronism (see Annals of Marwar for an account of Nahur Khan) of some value, since it accounts for the first abstraction of territory by the Rahthores from the Bhattis.

‡ The Garah is invariably called the Behah in the chronicle, Garah, or Gharra, is so called, in all probability, from the mud (*gar*) suspended in its waters. The Garah is composed of the waters of the Behah and Sullej.

Umra Sing, son of Subbul, succeeded. He led the *tika-dour* against the Baloches, who had invaded the western tracts, and was installed on the field of victory. Soon after, he demanded aid from his subjects to portion his daughter, and being opposed by his Rajpoot minister, Ragho-nath, he put him to death. The chunna Rajpoots, from the north-east, having renewed their old raids, he in person attacked and compelled them to give bonds, or written obligations, for their future good conduct.

Provoked by the daily encroachments of the Kandulote Rahthores, Soonder-das and Dilput, chiefs of Beekumpur, determined to retaliate: "Let us get a name in the world," said Dilput, "and attack the lands of the Rahthores." Accordingly, they invaded, plundered, and fired the town of Jujoo, on the Bikaner frontier. The Kandulotes retaliated on the towns of Jessulmer, and an action took place, in which the Bhattis were victorious, slaying two hundred of the Rahthores. The Ruwul partook in the triumph of his vassals. Raja Anop Sing of Bikaner was then serving with the imperial armies in the Dekhan. On receiving this account, he commanded his minister to issue a summons to every Kandulote capable of carrying arms to invade Jessulmer, and take and raze Beekumpur or he would consider them traitors. The minister issued the summons; every Rahthore obeyed it, and he added, as an auxiliary, a Pathan chief with his band from Hissar. Rawul Umra collected his Bhattis around him, and instead of awaiting the attack, advanced to meet it; he slew many of the chiefs, burnt the frontier towns, and recovered Poogul, forcing the Rahthore chiefs of Barmair and Kottorah to renew their engagements of fealty and service.

Umra had eight sons, and was succeeded by Jeswunt, the eldest, in S. 1758 (A. D. 1702), whose daughter was married to the heir apparent of Mewar.

Here ends the chronicle, of which the foregoing is an abstract: the concluding portion of the annals is from a MS. furnished by a living chronicler, corrected by other information. It is but a sad record of anarchy and crime.

Soon after the death of Rawul Umra, Poogul, Barmair, Filodi, and various other towns and territories in Jessulmer, were wrested from this state by the Rahthores.*

The territory bordering the Garah was taken by Daod Khan, an Afghan chieftain from Shikarpur, and it became the nucleus of a state called after himself Daodpotra.

* The most essential use to which my labours can be applied, is that of enabling the British Government, when called upon to exercise its functions, as protector and arbitrator of the international quarrels of Rajpootana, to understand the legitimate and original grounds of dispute. Here we perceive the germ of the border-feuds, which have led to so much bloodshed between Bikaner and Jessulmer, in which the former was the first aggressor; but as the latter, for the purpose of redeeming her lost territory, most frequently appears as the agitator of public tranquillity, it is necessary to look for the remote cause in pronouncing our award.

Jeswunt Sing succeeded. He had five sons, Juggut Sing, who committed suicide, Esuri Sing, Tej Sing, Sirdar Sing, and Sooltan Sing. Juggut Sing had three sons, Akhi Sing, Bood Sing, and Zoorawur Sing.

Akhi Sing succeeded. Bood Sing died of the small-pox; Tej Sing, uncle to the Rawul, usurped the government, and the princes fled to Delhi to save their lives. At this period, their grand-uncle, Hurri Sing (brother of Rawul Jeswunt), was serving the king, and he returned in order to displace the usurper. It is customary for the prince of Jessulmer to go annually in state to the lake Gursi-sirr, to perform the ceremony of *Las*, or clearing away the accumulation of mud and sand. The Raja first takes out a handful, when rich and poor follow his example. Hurri Sing chose the time when this ceremony was in progress to attack the usurper. The attempt did not altogether succeed; but Tej Sing was so severely wounded that he died, and was succeeded by his son.

Sowae Sing, an infant of three years of age. Akhi Sing collected the Bhattis from all quarters, stormed the castle, put the infant to death, and regained his rights.

Akhi Sing ruled forty years. During this reign, Bahwul Khan, son of Daod Khan, took Derawul and all the tract of Khadal, the first Bhatti conquest, and added it to his new state of Bhawalpur, or Daod-putra.

Moolraj succeeded in S. 1818 (A. D. 1762). He had three sons, Rae Sing, Jaet Sing, and Man Sing. The unhappy choice of a minister by Moolraj completed the demoralization of the Bhatti principality. This minister was named Soorup Sing, a Bania of the Jain faith and Mehta family, destined to be the exterminators of the laws and fortunes of the 'sons of Jessul.' The cause of hatred and revenge of this son of commerce to the Bhatti aristocracy arose out of a disgraceful dispute regarding a *Bukhtun*, a fair frail one, a favourite of the Mehta, but who preferred the Rajpoot, Sirdar Sing, of the tribe of Aef. The Bhatti chief carried his complaint of the minister to the heir-apparent, Rae Sing, who had also cause of grievance in the reduction of his income. It was suggested to the prince to put this presumptuous minister to death; this was effected by the prince's own hand, in his father's presence; and as the Mehta, in falling, clung to Moolraj for protection, it was proposed to take off Moolraj at the same time. The proposition, however, was rejected with horror by the prince, whose vengeance was satisfied. The Rawul was allowed to escape to the female apartments; but the chieftains, well knowing they could not expect pardon from the Rawul, insisting on investing Rae Sing, and if he refused, on placing his brother on the *gadi*. The an of Rae Sing was proclaimed; but no entreaty or threat would induce him to listen to the proposal of occupying the throne; in lieu of which he used a pallet (*khat*). Three months and five days had passed since the deposal and bondage of Moolraj, when a female resolved to emancipate him: this female was the wife of the chief conspirator, and confidential adviser of the regent prince. This noble dame, a Rahthore Rajpootni, of the Mahecha clan, was the wife of Anop Sing of Jinjinali, the premier noble of Jessulmer and who, wearied with the tyranny of the minister and the weakness of his prince, had proposed the death of the one and the deposal of the other. We are not made acquainted with any reason, save that of *Swandherma*, or 'fealty,' which prompted the Rahthorni to rescue her prince even at the risk of her husband's life; but her appeal to her son Zoorawur, to perform his duty,

is preserved, and we give it *verbatim*: "should your father oppose you, sacrifice him to your duty, and I will mount the pyre with his corpse." The son yielded obedience to the injunction of his magnanimous parent who had sufficient influence to gain over Arjoon, the brother of her husband, as well as Megh Sing, chief of Baroo. The three chieftains forced an entrance into the prison where their prince was confined, who refused to be released from his manacles, until he was told that the Mahechi had promoted the plot for his liberty. The sound of the grand *nakarra*, proclaiming Moolraj, repossession of the *gadi*, awoke his son from sleep; and on the herald depositing at the side of his pallet the sable *siropa*,* and all the insignia of exile,—the black steed and black vestments,—the prince, obeying the command of the emancipated Rawul, clad himself therein, and accompanied by his party, bade adieu to Jessulmer and took the road to Kottoroh. When he arrived at this town, on the southern frontier of the state, the chief proposed to 'run the country;' but he replied, "the country was his mother, and every Rajpoot his foe who injured it." He repaired to Jodhpur, but the chieftains abided about Sheo Kottoroh and Barmair, and during the twelve years they remained outlaws, plundered even to the gates of Jessulmer. In the first three years they devastated the country, their castles were dismantled, the wells therein filled up, and their estates sequestered. At the end of the twelve, having made the *tilak*, or oath against further plunder, their estates were restored and they were re-admitted into their country.

The banished prince remained two years-and-a-half with Raja Beej Sing, who treated him like a son. But he carried his arrogant demeanour with him to Jodhpur; for one day, as he was going out to hunt, a Bania, to whom he was indebted, seized his horse by the bridle, and invoking the *an* of Beej Sing, demanded payment of his debt. The prince, in turn, required him, with the invocation "by Moolraj!" to unloose his hold. But the man of wealth, disregarding the appeal insolently replied, "what is Moolraj to me?" It was the last word he spoke; the sword of Rae Sing was unsheathed, and the Bania's head rolled on the ground: then turning his horse's head to Jessulmer, he exclaimed, "better be a slave at once, than live on the bounty of another." His unexpected arrival outside his native city brought out the entire population to see him. His father the Rawul, sent to know what had occasioned his presence, and he replied, that it was merely preparatory to pilgrimage. He was refused admittance; his followers were disarmed, and he was sent to reside at the fortress of Dewoh, together with his sons Abhe Sing and Dhonkul Sing, and their families.

Salim Sing, who succeeded his father as prime minister of Jessulmer, was but eleven years of age at the time of his murder. His young mind appears, even at that early age, to have been a hot-bed for revenge; and the seeds which were sown soon quickened into a luxuriance rarely equalled even in those regions, where human life is held in little estimation. Without any of that daring valour which distinguishes the Rajpoot, he overcame, throughout a long course of years, all who opposed him, uniting the subtlety of the serpent to the ferocity of the tiger. In person

* *Siropa* is the Rajpoot term for *khelat*, and is used by those who, like the Rana of Oodipur, prefer the vernacular dialect to the corrupt jargon of the Islamit. *Sir-o-pa* (from 'head' *sir*, to 'foot' *p a*) means a complete dress; in short, *cap-a-pie*.

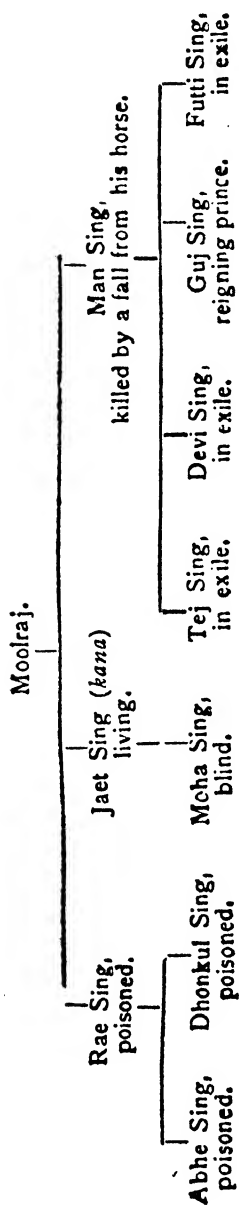
he was effeminate, in speech bland; pliant and courteous in demeanour; promising, without hesitation, and with all the semblance of his sincerity, what he never had the most remote intention to fulfil. Salim, or, as he was generally designated by his tribe, *the Mehta*, was a signal instance of a fact of which these annals exhibit too many examples, namely the inadequacy of religious professions, though of a severe character, as a restraint on moral conduct: for though the tenets of his faith (the Jain) imperatively prescribe the necessity of "hurting no sentient being," and of sitting in the dark rather than, by luring a moth into the flame of a lamp, incur the penalty attached to the sin of insect-murder, this man has sent more of "the sons of Jessoh" to *Yamaloka*,* than the sword of their external foes during his long administration. He had scarcely attained man's state when the outlawed chiefs were restored to their estates by a singular intervention. Raja Bheem Sing had acceded to the *gadi* of Marwar, and the Mehta was chosen by the prince of Jessulmer, as his representative, to convey his congratulations, and the *tika* of acknowledgment on his succession, to Raja Berjy Sing. On his return from this mission, he was waylaid and captured by the outlawed chieftains, who instantly passed sentence of death upon the author of their miseries. The sword was uplifted, when, 'placing his turban at the feet of Zoorawur Sing,' he implored his protection—and he found it! Such is the Rajpoot;—an anomaly amongst his species; his character a compound of the opposite and antagonistical qualities which impel mankind to virtue and to crime. Let me recall to the mind of the reader, that the protector of this vampire was the virtuous son of the virtuous Rajpootni who, with the elevation of mind equal to whatever is recorded of Greek or Roman heroines, devoted herself, and a husband whom she loved, to the one predominant sentiment of the Rajpoot, *swamdherma*, or 'fealty to the sovereign.' Yet had the wily Mehta effected the disgrace of this brave chief, to whom the Rawul owed his release from bondage and restoration to his throne, and forced him to join the outlaws amidst the sand-hills of Barmair. Nothing can paint more strongly the influence of this first of the Bhatti chiefs over his brethren than the act of preserving the life of their mortal foe, thus cast into their hands; for not only did they dissuade him from the act, but prophesied his repentance of such mistaken clemency. Only one condition was stipulated, their restoration to their homes. They were recalled, but not admitted to court a distinction reserved for Zoorawur alone.

When Rae Sing was incarcerated in Dewoh, his eldest son, Abhe Sing, *Rajkumar*, 'heir-apparent,' with the second son, Dhonkul, were left at Barmair, with the outlawed chiefs. The Rawul, having in vain demanded his grandchildren, prepared an army and invested Barmair. It was defended during six months, when a capitulation was acceded to, and the children were given up to Moolraj on the bare pledge of Zoorawur Sing, who guaranteed their safety; and they were sent to the castle of Dewoh, where their father was confined. Soon after, the castle was fired, and Rae Sing and his wife were consumed in the flames. On escaping this danger, which were made to appear accidental, the young princes were confined in the fortress of Ramghur, in the most remote corner of the desert, bordering the valley of Sinde, for their security and that of the Rawul (according to the Mehta's account), and to prevent faction from having a nucleus around which to form. But Zoorawur, who entertained doubts of the minister's motives, reminded the Rawul that the proper

* Pluto's realm.

place for the heir-apparent was the court, and that his honour stood pledged for his safety. This was sufficient for the Mehta, whose mind was instantly intent upon the means to read himself of so conscientious an adviser. Zoorawur had a brother named Kaitsi, whose wife, according to the courtesy of Rajwarra, had adopted the minister as her brother. Salim sounded his adopted sister as to her wish to see her husband become lord of Jinjinialli. The tempter succeeded: he furnished her with poisoned comfits, which she administered to the gallant Zoorawur; and her lord was inducted into the estates of Jinjinialli. Having thus disposed of the soul of the Bhatti nobility, he took off in detail the chiefs of Baroo, Dangri and many others, chiefly by the same means, though some by the dagger. Kaitsi, who, whether innocent, or a guilty participant in his brother's death, had benefited thereby, was marked in the long list of proscription of this fiend, who determined to exterminate every Rajoot of note. Kaitsi knew too much, and those connected with him shared in this dangerous knowledge: wife, brother, son, were, therefore, destined to fall by the same blow. The immediate cause of enmity was as follows. The minister, who desired to set aside the claims of the children of Rae Sing to the *gadi*, and to nominate the youngest son of Moolraj as heir-apparent, was opposed by Kaitsi, as it could only be effected by the destruction of the former; and he replied, that "no co-operation of his should sanction the spilling of the blood of any of his master's family." Salim treasured up the remembrance of this opposition to his will, though without any immediate sign of displeasure. Soon after, Kaitsi and his brother Suroop were returning from a nuptial ceremony at Kunero, in the district of Bhalotra. On reaching Beejoraye, on the Jessulmer frontier, where the ministers of the Mehta's vengeance were posted, the gallant Zoorawur and his brother were conducted into the castle, out of which their bodies were brought only to be burnt. Hearing of some intended evil to her lord, Kaitsi's wife with her infant son, Megha, sought protection in the minister's own abode, where he had a double claim, as his adopted sister, to sanctuary and protection. For five days, the farce was kept up of sending food for herself and child; but the slave who conveyed it remarking, in coarse, unfeeling language, that both her husband and her brother were with their fathers, she gave a loose to grieve and determined on revenge. This being reported to the Mehta, he sent a dagger for her repose.

The princes, Abhe Sing and Dhonkul Sing, confined in the fortress of Ramghur, after the murder of Kaitsi were carried off, together with their wives and infants, by poison. The murderer then proclaimed Guj Sing, the youngest but one of all the posterity of Moolraj, as heir-apparent. His brothers sought security in flight from this fiend-like spirit of the minister, and are now refugees in the Bikaner territory. The following slip from the genealogical tree will shew the branches so unmercifully lopped off by this monster:



Maha Sing, being blind of one eye* (*kana*) could not succeed; and Man Sing being killed by a fall from his horse, the Mehta was saved the crime of adding one more "mortal murther to his crown."

It is a singular fact, that the longest reigns we know of in Rajwarra occurred during ministerial usurpations. The late Maharao of Kotah occupied the *gadi* upwards of half a century, and the Rawul Moolraj swayed the nominal sceptre of this oasis of the desert upwards of fifty-eight years. His father ruled forty years, and I doubt whether, in all history, we can find another instance of father and son reigning for a century. This century was prolific in change to the dynasty, whose whole history is full of strange vicissitudes. If we go back to Jeswunt Sing, the grand-father of Moolraj, we find the Bhatti principality touching the Garah on the north which divided it from Mooltan; on the west it was bounded by the Punjnud, and thus included a narrow slip of the fertile valley of Sinde; and we have seen it stretch, at no remote period, even to the ancient capital Mansoorah, better known to the Hindu as Rori-Bekher, the islandic capital of the Sogdi (*Soda*) of Alexander. To the south, it rested on Dhat, including the castles of Sheo, Kottoroh, and Barmair, seized on by Marwar; and in the east embraced the districts of Filodi, Pokurn, and other parts, also in the possession of Marwar or Bikaner. The whole of the state of Bhawalpur is formed out of the Bhatti dominion, and the Rahthores have obtained therefrom not a small portion of their western frontier. This abstraction of territory will account for the heart-burnings and border feuds which continually break out between the Bhattis and Rahthores, and "the children of David (*Daodpotras*)."

Could the same prophetic steel which carved upon the pillar of Brimsir the destenies of the grandson of the deified Heri, eleven hundred years before Christ, have subjoined to that of Jessoh the fate which awaited his descendant Moolraj, he would doubtless have regarded the prophecy as conveying a falsehood too gross for belief. That the offspring of the deified prince of Dwarica, who founded Guzni and fought the united kings of Syria and Bactria, should, at length, be driven back on India, and compelled to seek shelter under the sign of the cross, reared amidst their sand-hills by a handful of strangers, whose ancestors, when

* A person blind of one eye is incompetent to succeed, according to Hindu law. *Kana* is the nickname given to a person labouring under this personal defect, which term is merely an anagram of *anka*, 'the eye.' The loss of an eye does not deprive an occupant of his rights—of which we had a curious example in the siege of the imperial city of Delhi, which gave rise to the remark, that the three greatest men therein had only the complement of one man amongst them: that Emperor had been deprived of both eyes by the brutality of Gholam Kadir; the besieging chief Holcar was *kana*, as was the defender, Sir D Ochterlony. Holcar's name has become synonymous with *kana*, and many a horse, dog, and man, blind of an eye, is called after this celebrated Mahratta leader. The Hindus, by what induction I know not, attach a degree of moral obliquity to every individual *Kana*, and appear to make no distinction between the natural and the acquired defect; though to all *kanas* they apply another and more dignified appellation, *Sukracharya*, the Jupiter of their astro-mythology, which very grave personage came by his misfortune in no creditable way,—for, although the *guru*, or spiritual head of the Hindu Gods, he set as bad a moral example to them as did the classical Jupiter to the tenants of the Greek and Roman Pantheon.

they were even in the maturity of their fame, were wandering in their native woods, with painted bodies, and offering human sacrifices to the sun-god,—more resembling Balsiva than Balkrishna,—these would have seemed prodigies too wild for faith.

CHAPTER VI.

IT was in the *Samvat* (era) of Vicrama, 1818, that Rawul Moolraj was inaugurated on the throne of Jessoh; and it was in the year of our Lord 1818, that a treaty of perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests" was concluded between the Honourable East India Company and Maha Rawul Moolraj, the Raja of Jessulmer, his heirs and successors, the latter agreeing "to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and with submission to its supremacy."* This was almost the last act of Rawul Moolraj, who had always been a mere puppet in the hands of Mehta Salim Sing or his father. He died A.D. 1820, when his grandson, Guj Sing, was proclaimed.

Rawul Guj Sing was fitted, from his years, his past seclusion, and the examples which had occurred before his eyes, to be the submissive pageant Salim Sing required. Isolated, in every sense, from intercourse with the rest of mankind, by the policy of the minister, he had no community of sympathy with them, and no claim upon their aid. Surrounded by the creatures of Salim Sing, who, even to their daily dole, ascribe every thing to this man's favour, each word, each gesture, is watched and reported. The prince himself, his wives and family, are alike dependents on the minister's bounty, often capriciously exercised. If he requires a horse, he must solicit it; or if desirous of bestowing some recompense, he requests to be furnished with the means, and deems himself fortunate if he obtain a moiety of his suit.

It will be observed from the date of this treaty (Dec. 1818), that Jessulmer was the last of the states of India received under the protection of the British Government. Its distance made it an object of little solicitude to us; and the minister, it is said, had many long and serious consultation with his oracles before he united his destiny with ours. He doubted the security of his power if the Rawul should become subordinate to the British government; and he was only influenced by the greater risk of being the sole state in Rajwarra without the pale of its protection, which would have left him to the mercy of those enemies whom his merciless policy had created around him. The third and most important articles of the treaty† tranquillized his apprehensions as to external foes; with these apprehensions all fear as to the consequences arising from ministerial tyranny towards the princely exiles was banished, and we shall presently find that this alliance instead of checking his rapacity and oppression, incited them. But it is necessary, in the first place, to bestow

* See Appendix No. III. for a copy of this treaty.

† Art. III. "In the event of any serious invasion directed towards the overthrow of the principality of Jessulmer, or other danger of great magnitude occurring to that principality, the British Government will exert its power for the protection of the principality, provided that the cause of the quarrel be not ascribable to the Raja of Jessulmer."

a few remarks on the policy of the alliance as regards the British Government.

Its inequality require no demonstration: the objects to be attained by it to the respective parties having no approximation to parity. The advantages to Jessulmer were immediate: and to use the phraseology of the treaty, were not only of "great magnitude," but were vitally important. From the instant the treaties were exchanged, her existence as a permanent state, which was not worth half a century's purchase, was secured. Her power had been gradually declining, and reign after reign was narrowing her possessions to the vicinity of the capital. One state, Bhawalpur, had been formed from her northern territory; while those of Sinde, Bikaner and Jodhpur, had been greatly aggrandized at her expense; and all were inclined, as occasion arose to encroach upon her feebleness. The faithless character of the minister, Salim Sing afforded abundant pretexts for quarrel, and the anarchy of her neighbours proved her only safeguard during the later years of her independent existence. Now, the British Government having pledged itself to exert its power for the protection of the principality, in the event of any "serious invasion," her fears either of Sindies, Daodpotras, or of Rahthores, are at rest. The full extent of this pledge may not have been contemplated when it was given; like all former alliances, it is the base of another step in advance. Instead of restricting the vast circle of our political connections, it at once carried us out of India, placing us in actual contact and possible collision with the rulers of Sinde and the people beyond the Indus. Marwar and Bikaner being already admitted to our alliance, the power of settling their feuds with the Bhattis is comparatively simple; but with Daodpotra we have no political connections, and with Sinde, only those of "perpetual friendship, and mutual intercourse:" but no stipulation ensuring respect to our remonstrances in case of the aggression of their subjects on our Bhatti ally. Are we then to push our troops through the desert to repel such acts, or must we furnish pecuniary subsidies (the cheapest mode), that she may entertain mercenaries for that object? We must view it, in this light, as an event, not only not improbable, but of very likely occurrence. Our alliance with Cutch involved us in this perplexity in 1819. Our armies were formed and moved to the frontier, and a declaration of war was avoided only by accepting a tardy *amende* in no way commensurate with the insult of invading, massacring, and pillaging our allies.* In this instance, our means of chastisement were facilitated by our maritime power of grappling with the enemy; but if the insult proceeds from the government of Upper Sinde (only nominally dependent on Hyderabad), or from Bhawalpur, how are we to cope with these enemies of our ally? Such wars might lead us into a *terra incognita* beyond the Indus, or both the spirit and letter of the treaty will be null.

* The attitude assumed by the energetic Governor of Bombay, Mr. Elphinstone, on that occasion, will for a long time remain a lesson to the triumvirate government of Sinde. To the Author it still appears a subject of regret, that, with the adequate preparation, the season, and every thing promising a certainty of success, the pacific tone of Lord Hastings' policy should have prevented the proper assertion of our dignity, by chastising an insult, aggravated in every shape. A treaty of amity and mutual intercourse was the result of this armament; but although twelve years have since elapsed, our intercourse has remained *in statu quo*; but this is no ground for quarrel.

What therefore, are the advantages we can hold out to ourselves for the volunteer of our amity and protection to this oasis of the desert? To have disregarded the appeal of Jessulmer for protection, to have made her the sole exception in all Rajpootana from our amicable relations, would have been to consign her to her numerous enemies, and to let loose the spirit of rapine and revenge, which it was the main object of all these treaties to suppress: the Bhattis would have become a nation of robbers, the Bedouins of the Indian desert. Jessulmer was the first link in a chain of free states, which formerly united the commerce of the Ganges with that of the Indus, but which interminable feuds had completely severed; the possibility of reunion depending upon a long continuance of tranquillity and confidence. This object alone would have warranted our alliance with Jessulmer. But if we look to futurity, to the possible invasion of India, which can be best effected through the maritime provinces of Persia, the valley of the Indus will be the base of the invader's operations. The possession of Jessulmer would then be of vital importance, by giving us the command of Upper Sinde, and enabling us to act against the enemy simultaneously with our armies east of the Delta, the most practicable point of advance into India. We may look upon invasion by the ancient routes pursued by Alexander, Mahmood, and Timoor, as utterly visionary, by an army encumbered with all the *material* necessary to success, and thus the valley of Sinde presents the only practicable route. But it would be a grand error, both in a political and military point of view, to possess ourselves of this valley, even if an opportunity were again to occur. It is true, the resources of that fertile region, so analogous to Egypt, would soon, under our management, maintain an army sufficient to defend it; and this would bring us at once into contact with the power (Persia) which clings to us for support, and will be adverse to us only when rendered subservient to Russia. It were well to view the possible degradation and loss of power to Russia, in Europe, as likely to afford a fresh stimulant to her ancient schemes of oriental aggrandisement. By some these schemes are looked upon as Quixotic, and I confess myself to be of the number. The better Russia is acquainted with the regions she would have to pass, the less desire will she evince for an undertaking, which, even if successful in the outset, would be useless; for if she conquered, she could not maintain India. But, to me, it still appears imperative that this power should formally renounce such designs; the state of perpetual preparation rendered necessary by her menacing position, being so injurious to our finances, is worse than the actual attempt, which would only entail upon her inevitable loss. We lost, through our unwise economy, a noble opportunity of maintaining an ascendancy at the court of Caubul, which would have been easily prevailed upon, for our pecuniary aid, to make over to us the sovereignty of Sinde (were this desirable), which is still considered a grand division of Caubul.

But setting the political question aside, and considering our possession of the valley of Sinde only in a military point of view, our occupation of it would be prejudicial to us. We should have a long line to defend, and rivers are no barriers in modern warfare. Whilst an impassable desert is between us, and we have the power, by means of our allies, of assailing an enemy at several points, though we are liable to attack but from one, an invader could not maintain himself a single season. On this ground, the maintenance of friendship with this remote nook of Rajpoot civilization is defensible, and we have the additional incitement of rescuing the most industrious and wealthy commercial communities in India from

the fangs of a harpy : to whom, and the enormities of his government, we return.

No language can adequately represent the abuse of power with which the treaty has armed the rapacious minister of Jessulmer, and it is one of the many instances of the inefficacy of our system of alliances to secure prosperity, or even tranquillity to these long-afflicted regions ; which although rescued from external assailants, are still the prey of discord and passion within. It will not be difficult, at the proper time and place to make this appear.* The Mehta felt the advantages which the treaty gave him, in respect to neighbouring states ; but he also felt that he had steeped himself too deeply in the blood of his master's family, and in that of his noblest chieftains, to hope that any repentance, real or affected, could restore to him the confidence of those he had so outraged. With commercial men, with the industrious husbandman or pastoral communities, he had so long forfeited all claim to credit, that his oath was not valued at a single grain of the sand of their own desert dominion.

The bardic annalist of Rajpootana, when compelled to record the acts of a tyrant, first announces his moral death ; then comes the metempsychosis,—the animating his frame with the spirit of a demon. In this manner is delineated the famed Visaldeo, the Chohan king of Ajmere. Whether the Bhatti minister will obtain such a posthumous apology for his misdeeds, a future historian will learn ; but assuredly he is never mentioned, either in poetry or prose, but as a vampire, draining the life-blood of a whole people. For a short time after the treaty was formed, he appeared to fall in with the march of universal reformation ; but whether it was that his crimes had outlawed him from the sympathies of all around, or that he could feel no enjoyment but in his habitual crimes, he soon gave ampler indulgence to his rapacious spirit. The cause of his temporary forbearance was attributed to his anxiety to have an article added to the treaty, guaranteeing the office of prime minister in his family, perhaps with a view to legalize his plunder ; but seeing no hope of fixing an hereditary race of vampires on the land, his outrages became past all endurance, and compelled the British agent, at length, to report, to his government (on the 17th December 1821), that he considered the alliance disgraceful to our reputation, by countenancing the idea that such acts can be tolerated under its protection. Representations to the minister were a nullity ; he protested against their fidelity ; asserted in specious language his love of justice and mercy ; and recommended his system of confiscations, and punishments, with redoubled severity. All Rajwarra felt an interest in these proceedings, as the bankers of Jessulmer, supported by the capital of that singular class, the Palliwals, are spread all over India. But this rich community, amounting to five thousand families, are nearly all in voluntary exile, and the bankers fear to return to their native land with the fruits of their industry, which they would renounce for ever, but that he retains their families as hostages. Agriculture is almost unknown, and commerce, internal or external, has ceased through want of security. The sole revenue arises from confiscation. It is asserted that the minister has amassed no less than two *crores*, which wealth is distributed in the various cities of Hindusthan, and has been obtained by pillage and the destruction

* It is my intention (if space is left) to give a concise statement of the effects of our alliances, individually and collectively, in the states of Rajwarra, with a few hints towards amending the system, at the conclusion of this volume.

of the most opulent families of his country during the last twenty years. He has also, it is said, possessed himself of all the crown-jewels and property of value, which he has sent out of the country. Applications were continually being made to the British agent for passports (*perwanas*), by commercial men, to withdraw their families from the country. But all have some ties which would be hazarded by their withdrawing, even if such a step were otherwise free from danger; for while the minister afforded passports, in obedience to the wish of the agent, he might cut them off in the desert. This makes many bear the ills they have.

We shall terminate our historical sketch of Jessulmer with the details of a border-feud, which called into operation the main condition of the British alliance,—the right of universal arbitration in the international quarrels of Rajpootana. The predatory habits of the Maldotes of Baroo originated rupture, which threatened to involve the two states in war, and produced an invasion of the Rahthores, sufficiently serious to warrant British interference. It will hardly be credited that this aggression, which drew down upon the Maldotes the vengeance of Bikaner, was covertly stimulated by the minister, for the express purpose of their extirpation, for reasons which will appear presently; yet he was the first to complain of the retaliation. To understand this matter, a slight sketch of the Maldote tribe is requisite.

The Maldotes, the Kailuns, the Birsungs, the Pohurs, and Tezmalotes, are all Bhatti tribes; but, from their lawless habits, these names have become, like those of Bedouin, Kuzzak, or Pindarri, synonymous with 'robber.' The first are descended from Rao Maldoo, and hold the fief (*putta*) of Baroo, consisting of eighteen villages, adjoining the tract called Khari-putta, wrested from the Bhattis by the Rahtlores of Bikaner, who to confess the truth, morally deserve the perpetual hostility of this Bhatti lord-marcher, inasmuch as they were the intruders, and have deprived them (the Bhattis) of much territory. But the Rahtlores, possessing the right of the strongest, about twenty-five years ago, exercised it in the most savage manner; for, having invaded Baroo, they put almost the entire community to the sword, without respect to age or sex, levelled the towns, filled up the wells, and carried off the herds and whatever was of value. The survivors took shelter in the recesses of the desert, and propagated a progeny, which, about the period of connection with the British re-occupied their deserted lands. The minister, it is asserted, beheld the revival of this infant colony with no more favourable eye than did their enemies of Bikaner, whom it is alleged, he invited once more to their destruction. The lawless habits of this tribe would have been assigned by the minister as his motive for desiring their extermination; but if we look back, we shall discover the real cause in his having incurred the last enmity of this clan for the foul assassination of their chief, who had been a party to the views of the heir-apparent, Rae Sing, to get rid of this incubus on their freedom. The opportunity afforded to take vengeance on the Maldotes arose out of a service indirectly done to the British Government. On the revolt of the Peshwa, he sent his agents to Jessulmer to purchase camels. One herd to the number of four hundred, had left the Bhatti frontiers and whilst passing through the Bikaner territory, were set upon by the Maldotes, who captured the whole, and conveyed them to Baroo. It is scarcely to be supposed that such an aggression on the independence of Bikaner would have prompted her extensive armament, or the rapidity with which her troops passed the Bhatti frontier to avenge the insult, without some private signal from the

minister, who was loud in his call for British interference; though not until Nokha and Baran, their principal towns, were levelled, the chief killed, the wells filled up, and the victorious army, following up its success by a rapid march on Beekumpur, in which the fiscal lands began to suffer. The minister then discovered he had overshot the mark, and claimed our interference,* which was rapid and effectual; and the Bikaner commander the more willingly complied with the requests to retire within his own frontier, having effected more than his object.

The tortuous policy, the never-ending and scarcely to be comprehended border-feuds of those regions, must, for a long while, generate such appeals. Since these associated bands attach no dishonour to their predatory profession, it will be some time before they acquire proper notions; but when they discover there is no retreat in which punishment may not reach them, they will learn the benefits of cultivating the arts of peace, of whose very name no trace exists in their history.

We have lost sight of the Rawul, the title of the prince of Jessulmer, in the prominent acts of his minister. Guj Sing, who occupies the *gadi* of Jessoh, to the prejudice of his elder brother, who are still in Bikaner, appears very well suited to the minister's purpose, and to have little desire beyond his horses, and vegetating in quiet. The physiognomists of Jessulmer, however, prognosticate, the development of moral worth in due season: a consummation devoutly to be wished, and the first symptom of which must be the riddance of his minister by whatever process. The artful Salim deemed that it would redound to his credit, and bolster up his interest, to seek a matrimonial alliance with the Rana's family of Mewar. The overture was accepted, and the coco-synbol transmitted to the Rawul, who put himself at the head of the Bhatti chivalry to wed and escort his bride through the desert. The Rahtore princes of Bikaner and Kishengurh, who were at the same time suitors for the hands of another daughter and a granddaughter of the Rana, simultaneously arrived at Oodipur with their respective *corteges*; and this triple alliance threw a degree of splendour over the capital of the Seesodias, to which he had long been a stranger. Guj Singh lives very happily with his wife, who has given him an heir to his desert domain. The influence of high rank is seen in the respect paid to the Ranawut-ji, (the title by which she is designated,) even by the minister, and she exerts this influence most humanely for the amelioration of her subjects.†

* The author has omitted to mention that he was Political Agent for Jessulmer; so that his control extended uninterruptedly, almost from Sinde to Sinde: *i.e.*, from the Indus, or great Sindh, to the *Chhota Sindh* or little river. There are streams designated Sindh, in Central India, a word purely Tartar or Scythic *Aba-Sin*, 'the Father-river,' is one of the many names of the Indus.

† I had the honour of receiving several letters from the queen of the desert, who looked to her father's house and his friends, the best object for support, whilst such a being as Salim was the master of her own and her husband's destiny.

CHAPTER VII.

THE country still dependent on the Rawul extends between $70^{\circ} 30'$ and $72^{\circ} 30'$ E. long., and between the parallels of $26^{\circ} 20'$ and $27^{\circ} 50'$ N. lat., though a small strip protrudes, in the N. E. angle, as high as $28^{\circ} 30'$. This irregular surface may be roughly estimated to contain fifteen thousand square miles. The number of towns, villages, and hamlets, scattered over this wide space, does not exceed two hundred and fifty; some estimate it at three hundred, and others depress it to two hundred: the mean cannot be wide of the truth. To enable the reader to arrive at a conclusion as to the population of this region, we subjoin a calculation, from data furnished by the best-informed natives, which was made in the year 1815; but we must add, that from the tyranny of the minister, the population of the capital (which is nearly half of the country has been greatly diminished.

Towns.	Fiscal and Feudal.	Number of houses.	Number of inhabitants.	REMARKS.
Jessulmer ...	Capital ...	7,000	35,000	
Beekumpur ...	Puttaet ...	500	2,000	The chief has the title of Rao, and twenty-four villages dependent, not included in this estimate.
Seeruroh ...	" ...	300	1,200	
Nachna ...	" ...	400	1,600	Rawulote chief.
Katori ...	Fiscal ...	300	1,200	
Kabab ...	" ...	300	1,200	Rawulote; first noble of Jessulmer.
Kooldurro ...	" ...	200	800	
Suttoh ...	Puttaet ...	300	1,200	
Jiminialli ...	" ...	300	1,200	
Devi-Kote ...	Fiscal ...	200	800	
Bhaup ...	" ...	200	800	
Balana ...	Puttaet ...	150	600	Maldote: has eighteen villages attached, not included in this.
Sutiasoh ...	" ...	100	400	
Baroo ...	" ...	200	800	All of the Rawulote clan.
Chaun ...	" ...	200	800	
Loharki ...	" ...	150	600	
Noantulloh ...	" ...	150	600	
Lahti ...	" ...	300	1,200	
Danguri ...	" ...	150	600	
Beejoraye ...	Fiscal ...	200	800	
Mundaye ...	" ...	200	800	
Ramgurh ...	" ...	200	800	
Birsilpur ...	Puttaet ...	200	800	
Girajsir ...	" ...	150	600	
Two hundred and twenty-five villages and hamlets from four to fifty houses each; say, each average twenty, at four inhabitants to each.			56,400	
			18,000	
TOTAL			74,400	

According to this census, we have a population not superior to one of the secondary cities of Great Britain, scattered over fifteen thousand square miles; nearly one-half, too, belonging to the capital, which being omitted, the result would give from two to three souls only for each square mile.

Face of the country.—The greater part of Jessulmer is *thul*, or *rooc*, both terms meaning 'a desert waste.' From Lower, on the Jodhpur frontier, to Kharra, the remote angle touching Sinde, the country may be described as a continuous tract of arid sand, frequently rising into lofty *teebas* (sand-hills), in some parts covered with low jungle. This line, which nearly bisects Jessulmer, is also the line of demarcation of positive sterility and comparative cultivation. To the north, is one uniform and naked waste; to the south, are ridges of rock termed *muggro*, *rooc*, and light soil.

The ridge of hills is a most important feature in the geology of this desert region. It is to be traced from Cutch Bhooj, strongly or faintly marked, according to the nature of the country. Sometimes it assumes, as at Chohtun, the character of a mountain; then dwindles into an insignificant ridge scarcely discernible, and often serves as a bulwark for the drifting sands, which cover and render it difficult to trace it at all. As it reaches the Jessulmer country it is more developed; and at the capital erected on a peak about two hundred and fifty feet high, its presence is more distinct, and its character defined. The capital of the Bhattis appear as the nucleus of a series of ridges, which diverge from it in all directions for the space of fifteen miles. One branch terminates at Ramghur, thirty-five miles north-west of Jessulmer; another branch extends easterly to Pokurn (in Jodhpur), and thence, in a north-east direction, to Filodi; from whence, at intervals, it is traceable to Gurriala, nearly fifty miles due north. It is a yellow-coloured sand-stone, in which ocilre is abundantly found with which the people daub their houses.

These barren ridges, and the lofty undulating *teebas* of sand, are the only objects which diversify the almost uniform sterility of these regions. No trees interpose their verdant foliage to relieve the eye, or shelter the exhausted frame of the traveller. It is nearly a boundless waste, varied only by a few stunted shrubs of the *acacia* or *mimosa* family, some succulent plants, or prickly grapes, as the *bhoorut* or burr, which clings to his garment and increases his miseries. Yet compared with the more northern portion, where "a sea of sand without a sign of vegetation"* forms the prospect, the vicinity of the capital is a paradise.

There is not a running stream throughout Jessulmer; but there are many temporary lakes or salt-marshes, termed *sirr*, formed by the collection of waters from the sand-hills, which are easily dammed in to prevent escape. They are ephemeral, seldom lasting but a few months; though after a very severe monsoon they have been known to remain throughout the year. One of these, called the Kanoad Sirr, extends from Kanoad to Mohungurh, covering a space of eighteen miles, and in which some water remains throughout the year. When it overflows, a small stream issues, from the Sirr, and pursues an easterly direction for thirty miles before it is absorbed: its existence depends on the parent lake. The salt which

*So Mr. Elphinstone describes the tract about Poogul, one of the earliest possessions of the Bhattis, and one of the *No-koti Maru-ca* or "nine castles of the desert," around whose sand-hills as brave a colony was reared and maintained as ever carried lance. Rao Raning was lord of Poogul, whose son originated that episode given in Vol. I. Even these sand-hills, which in November appeared to Mr. Elphinstone without a sign of vegetation, could be made to yield good crops of bajra.

it produces is the property of the crown, and adds something to the revenue.

Soil, husbandry, and products.—Notwithstanding the apparent poverty of this desert soil, nature has not denied it the powers of production; it is even favourable to some grains, especially the *bajra*, which prefers a light sand. In a favourable season, they grow sufficient for the consumption of two and even three years, and then they import only wheat from Sind. When those parts favourable for *bajra* have been saturated with two or three heavy showers, they commence sowing, and the crops spring up rapidly. The great danger is that of too much rain when the crops are advanced, for, having little tenacity, they are often washed away. The *bajra* of the sand-hills is deemed far superior to that of Hindusthan, and prejudice gives it a preference even to wheat, which does not bear a higher price, in times of scarcity. *Bajara*, in plentiful seasons, sells at one-and-a-half maund for a rupee;* but this does not often occur, as they calculate five bad seasons for a good one. *Fooar* is also grown, but only in the low flats. Cotton is produced in the same soil as the *bajra*. It is not generally known that this plant requires but a moderate supply of water; it is deteriorated in the plains of India from over-irrigation: at least such is the idea of the desert-farmer, who perhaps does not make sufficient allowance for the cooler substratum of his sand-hills, compared with the black loam of Malwa. A variety of pulses grows on the sheltered sides of the *teebas*, as *mong*, *moth*, etc.; also the oil plant (*til*) and abundance of the *gowar*, a diminutive melon, not larger than a hen's egg, which is sent hundreds of miles, as a rarity. Around the capital, and between the ridges where soil is deposited or formed, and where they dam-up the waters, are grown considerable quantities of wheat of very good quality, turmeric, and garden stuffs. Barley and *gram* are, in good seasons, reared in small quantities, but rice is entirely an article of import from the valley of Sind.

Implements of husbandry—Where the soil is light, it will be concluded that the implements are simple. They have two kinds of plough, for one or two oxen, or for the camel, which animal is most in requisition. They tread out the grain with oxen, as in all parts of India, and not unfrequently they yoke the cattle to their *hakerries*, or carts, and pass the whole over the grain.

Manufactures.—There is little scope for the ingenuity of the mechanic in this tract. They make coarse cotton cloths, but the raw material is almost all exported. Their grand article of manufacture is from the wool of the sheep pastured in the desert, which is fabricated into *looes*, or blankets, scarfs,† petti-coats, turbans, of every quality. Cups and platters are made from a mineral called *aboor*, a calcareous substance, of a dark chocolate ground, with light brown vermiculated stripes; female ornaments of elephants' teeth, and arms of an inferior quality. These comprehended the artificial productions of this desert capital.

Commerce.—Whatever celebrity Jessulmer possesses, as a commercial mart, arises from its position as a place of transit between the eastern countries, the valley of the Indus, and those beyond that stream, the *Kuttars* (the term for a caravan of camels) to and from Hydrabad, Kori-Bekher, Shikarpur and Ootch, from the Gangetic provinces, and the

* About a hundred-weight for two shillings.

† I brought home several pairs of these, with crimson borders, sufficiently fine to be worn as a winter shawl in this country.

Punjab, passing through it. The indigo of the Doab, the opium of Kotah and Malwa, the famed sugar-candy of Bikaner, iron implements from Jeypur, are exported to Shikarpur* and lower Sinde, whence elephants' teeth (from Africa), dates, coco-nuts, drugs, and chundus,† are imported, with pistachios and dried fruits from Bhawalpur.

Revenues and taxes.—The personal revenue of the princes of Jessulmer‡ is, or rather was, estimated at upwards of four lakhs of rupees, of which more than one lakh was from the land. The transit-duties were formerly the most certain and most prolific branch of the fiscal income; but the bad faith of the minister, the predatory habits of the Bhatti chiefs proceeding mainly from thence, and the general decrease of commerce, have conspired nearly to annihilate this source of income, said at one time to reach three lakhs of rupees. These imports are termed *dan*, and the collector *dannis*, who was stationed at convenient points of all the principal routes which diverge from the capital.

Land-tax.—From one-fifth to one-seventh of the gross produce of the land is set aside as the tax of the crown, never exceeding the first nor falling short of the last.§ It is paid in kind, which is purchased on the spot by the Palliwal Brahmins, or Baniyas, and the value remitted to the treasury.

Dhooa.—The third and now the most certain branch of revenue is the *dhooa*, literally 'smoke,' and which we may render 'chimney or hearth-tax,' though they have neither the one nor the other in these regions. It is also termed *thali*, which is the brass or silver platter out of which they eat, and is tantamount to a table-allowance. It never realizes above twenty thousand rupees annually, which, however, would be abundant for the simple fate of Jessulmer. No house is exempt from the payment of this task.

Dind.—There is an arbitrary tax levied throughout these regions universally known and detested under the name of *dind*, the make-weight of all their budgets of ways and means. It was first imposed in Jessulmer in S. 1830 (A. D. 1774), under the less odious appellation of "additional *dhooa* or *thali*," and the amount was only two thousand seven hundred rupees, to be levied from the monied interest of the capital. The Mahesris agreed to pay their share, but the Oswals (the two chief mercantile classes) holding out, were forcibly sent up to the castle, and suffered the ignominious punishment of the bastinado. They paid the demand, but immediately on their release entered into a compact on oath, never again to look on

* Shikarpoor, the great commercial mart of the valley of Sinde, west of Indus. † *Chundus* is a scented wood for *mallas*, or 'chaplets.'

‡ I have no correct data for estimating the revenues of the chieftains. They are generally almost double the land-revenue of the princes in the other states of Rajwarra; perhaps about two lakhs, which ought to bring into the field seven hundred horse.

§ This, if strictly true and followed, is according to ancient principles: Menu ordains the sixth, I could have wished Colonel Briggs to have known this fact, when he was occupied with his excellent work on "Land-tax of India;" but it had entirely escaped my recollection. In this most remote corner of Hindusthan, in spite of oppression, it is curious to observe the adherence to primitive custom. These notes on the sources of revenue in Jessulmer were communicated to me so far back as 1811 and I laid them before the Bengal Government in 1814-15.

the Rawul's (Moolraj's) face, which was religiously kept during their mutual lives. When he passed through the streets of this capital, the Oswals abandoned their shops and banking-houses, retiring to the interior of their habitations in order to avoid the sight of him. This was strenuously persevered in for many years, and had such an effect upon the prince, that he visited the principal persons of this class, and "spreading his scarf" (*pulla pussaona*),* entreated forgiveness, giving a writing on oath never again to impose *dind*, if they would make the *dhooa* a permanent tax. The Oswals accepted the repentance of their prince, and agreed to his terms. In S. 1841 and 1852, his necessities compelling him to raise money, he obtained by loan, in the first period, twenty-seven thousand, and in the latter, forty thousand rupees, which he faithfully repaid. When the father of the present minister came into power, he endeavoured to get back the bond of his sovereign abrogating the obnoxious *dind*, and offered, as a bait, to renounce the *dhooa*. The Oswals placed more value on the virtue of this instrument than it merited, for in spite of the bond, he in S. 1857 levied sixty thousand, and in 1863 eighty thousand rupees. A visit of the Rawul to the Ganges was seized upon as a fit opportunity by his subjects to get this oppression redressed, and fresh oaths were made by the prince, and broken by the minister, who has bequeathed his rapacious spirit to his son.

Since the accession of Guj Sing, only two years ago,† Salim Sing has extorted fourteen lakhs (£14,000). Burdbhan, a merchant of great wealth and respectability, and whose ancestors are known and respected throughout Rajwarra as *Sahoocars*, has been at various times stripped of all his riches by the minister and his father, who to use the phraseology of the sufferers, "will never be satisfied while a rupee remains in Jessulmer."

Establishments, Expenditure.—We subjoin a rough estimate of the household establishment, etc., of this desert king.

	Rs.
Burr‡	20,000
Rozgar Sirdar§	40,000
Sebundies or Mercenaries|| ... ..	75,000
Household horse, 10 elephants, 200 camels, and chariots	36,000
Carried over	1,71,000

* *Pulla pussaona*, or 'spreading the cloth or scarf,' is the figurative language of entreaty, arising from the act of spreading the garment, preparatory, to bowing the head thereon in token of perfect submission.

† This was written in 1821-22.

‡ The *Burr* includes the whole household or personal attendants, the guards, and slaves. They receive rations of food, and make up the rest of their subsistence by labour in the town. The *Burr* consists of about 1,000 people and is estimated to cost Rs. 20,000 annually.

§ *Rozgar-Sirdar* is an allowance termed *kansa*, or 'dinner,' to the feudal chieftains who attend the Presence. Formerly they had an order upon the *Dannis*, or collectors of the transit-duties; but being vexatious, Pansa Sah, minister to Rawul Chaitra, commuted it for a daily allowance, varying, with the rank of the person, from half a silver rupee to seven rupees each, daily. This disbursement is calculated at 40,000 rupees annually.

|| *Sebundies* are mercenary soldiers in the fort, of whom 1,000 are estimated to cost 75,000 rupees annually.

BROUGHT FORWARD				...	1,71,000
500 Bargeer horse	...	...	...	...	60,000
Rani's or queen's establishment	...	...	...	...	15,000
The wardrobe	...	...	...	...	5,000
Gifts	...	...	...	...	5,000
The kitchen	...	...	...	...	5,000
Guests in hospitality	...	...	...	...	5,000
Feasts, entertainments	...	...	...	...	5,000
Annual purchase of horses, camels, oxen, etc.	...	...	...	...	20,000
TOTAL				...	2,91,000

The ministers and officers of government receive assignments on the transit-duties, and some have lands. The whole of this state-expenditure was more than covered, in some years, by the transit-duties alone; which have, it is asserted, amounted to the almost incredible sum of three lakhs or £30,000.

Tribes.—We shall conclude our account of Jessulmer with a few remarks on the tribes peculiar to it; though we reserve the general enumeration for a sketch of the desert.

Of its Rajpoot population, the Bhattis, we have already given an outline in the general essay on the tribes. Those which occupy the present limits of Jessulmer retain their Hindu notions, though with some degree of laxity from their intercourse with the Mahomedans on the northern and western frontiers; while those which long occupied the north-east tracts, towards Phoolra and the Garah, on becoming proselytes to Islam ceased to have either interest in, or connection with, the parent state. The Bhatti has not, at present, the same martial reputation as the Rahthore, Chohan, or Seesodia, but he is deemed at least to equal if not surpass the Cuchwaha, or any of its kindred branches, Nirooka or Shekhavat. There are occasional instances of Bhatti intrepidity as daring as may be found amongst any other tribe; witness the feud between the chiefs of Poogul and Mundore. But this changes not the national characteristic as conventionally established: though were we to go back to the days of chivalry and Pirthiraj, we should select Achilesa Bhatti, one of the bravest of his champions, for the portrait of his race. The Bhatti Rajpoot, as to physical power, is not perhaps so athletic as the Rahthore, or so tall as the Cuchwaha, but generally fairer than either, and possessing those Jewish features which Mr. Elphinstone remarked as characteristic of the Bikaner Rajpoots. The Bhatti intermarries with all the families of Rajwarra, though seldom with the Ranas of Mewar. The late Juggut Sing of Jeypur had five wives of this stock, and his posthumous son, real or reputed, has a Bhattiani for his mother.

Dress.—The dress of the Bhattis consists of a *jamah*, or tunic of white cloth or chintz reaching to the knee; the *cumurbund*, or ceinture, tied so high as to present no appearance of waist; trowsers very loose, and in many folds, drawn tight at the ankle, and a turban, generally of a scarlet colour, rising conically full a foot from the head. A dagger is struck in the westband; a shield is suspended by a thong of deer-skin from the left shoulder, and the sword is girt by a belt of the same material. The dress of the common people is the *dhoti*, or loin-robe, generally of woollen stuff, with a piece of the same material as a turban. The dress of the Bhattianis which discriminates the sex, consists of a *ghagra*, or petticoat, extending to thirty feet in width, made generally of the finer woollen

dyed a brilliant red, with a scarf of the same material. The grand ornament of rich and poor, though varying in the materials, is the *chaori*, or rings of ivory or bone, with which they cover their arms from the shoulders to the wrist.* They are in value from sixteen to thirty-five rupees a set, and imported from Muska-Mandive, though they also manufacture them at Jessulmer. Silver *kurris* (massive rings or anklets) are worn by all classes, who deny themselves the necessities of life until they attain this ornament. The poorer Rajpootnis are very masculine, and assist in all the details of husbandry.

The Bhatti is to the full as addicted as any of his brethren to the immoderate use of opium. To the *umlpani*, or 'infusion,' succeeds the pipe, and they continue inhaling mechanically the smoke long after they are insensible to all that is passing around them; nay, it is said, you may scratch or pinch them while in this condition without exciting sensation. The *hooka* is the desert to the *umlpani*; the panacea for all the ills which can overtake a Rajpoot, and with which he can at any time enjoy a paradise of his own creation. To ask a Bhatti for a whiff of his pipe would be deemed a direct insult.

*Palliwal*s.—Next to the lordly Rajpoots, equalling them in numbers, and far surpassing them in wealth, are the Palliwals. They are Brahmins, and denominated *Palliwal* from having been temporal proprietors of *Palli*, and all its lands, long before the Rahthores colonized Marwar. Tradition is silent as to the manner in which they became possessed of this domain; but it is connected with the history of the *Palli*, or pastoral tribes, who from the town of *Palli* to *Palithana*, in Saurashtra have left traces of their existence; and I am much mistaken if it will not one day be demonstrated, that all the ramifications of the races figuratively denominated *Agnicula*, were *Pali* in origin: more especially the *Gujjars*, whose princes and chiefs for ages retained the distinctive affix of *pal*.

These Brahmins, the Palliwals, as appears by the Annals of Marwar, held the domain of *Palli* when *Seoji*, at the end of the twelfth century invaded that land from *Canouj*, and by an act of treachery first established his power. It is evident, however, that he did not extirpate them for the cause of their migration to the desert of Jessulmer is attributed to a period of a Mahomedan invasion of Marwar, when a general war-

* The *chaori* of ivory, bone or shell, is the most ancient ornament of the Indo-Scythic dames, and appears in old sculpture and painting. I was much struck with some ancient sculptures in a very old Gothic church at *Moissac*, in a *Languedoc*. The porch is the only part left of the most antique fane, attributed to the age of *Dagobert*. It represents the conversion of *Clôvis*, and when the subject was still a matter of novelty. But interesting as this, it is as nothing when compared to some sculptured figures below, of a totally distinct age; in execution as far superior as they are dissimilar in character, which is decidedly Asiatic: the scarf, the *champakulli* or necklace, representing the buds of the *jessamine* (*ahampa*) and *chaoris*, such as I have been describing. To whom but the Visigoths can we ascribe them?—and does not this supply the connecting link of this Asiatic race, destined to change the moral aspect of Europe? I recommend all travellers, who are interested in tracing such analogies to visit the church at *Moissac*, though it is not known as an object of curiosity in the neighbourhood.

contribution (*dind*) being imposed on the inhabitants, the Palliwal pleaded *caste*, and refused. This exasperated the Raja; for as their habits were almost exclusively mercantile, their stake was greater than that of the rest of the community, and he threw their principle men into prison. In order to avenge this, they had recourse to a 'grand *chandi*, of 'act of suicide;' but instead of gaining their object, he issued a manifesto of banishment to every Palliwal in his dominions. The greater part took refuge in Jessulmer, though many settled in Bikaner, Dhat, and the valley of Sind. At one time, their number in Jessulmer was calculated to equal that of the Rajpoots. Almost all the internal trade of the country passes through their hands, and it is chiefly with their capital that its merchants trade in foreign parts. They are the *Metayers* of the desert, advancing money to the cultivators, taking the security of the crop; and they buy up all the wool and *ghee* (clarified butter), which they transport to foreign parts. They also rear and keep flocks. The minister, Salim Sing, has contrived to diminish their wealth, and consequently to lose the main support of the country's prosperity. They are also subject to the visits of the Maldotes, Tejmolotes, and other plunderers; but they find it difficult to leave the country owing to the restrictive *cordon* of the Mehra. The Palliwal never marry out of their own tribe; and directly contrary to the laws of Menu, the bridegroom gives a sum of money to the father of the bride. It will be deemed a curious incident in the history of superstition that a tribe Brahmin by name, at least, should worship the bridle of horse. When to this is added the fact, that the most ancient coins discovered in these regions bear the Pali character and the effigies of the horse, it aids to prove the Scythic character of the early colonists of these regions, who, although nomadic (*Pali*), were equestrian. There is little doubt that the Palliwal Brahmins are the remains of the priests of the Pali race, who in their pastoral and commercial pursuits, have lost their spiritual power.

Pokurna Brahmins.—Another singular tribe, also Brahminical, is the Pokurna, of whom it is calculated there are fifteen hundred to two thousand families in Jessulmer. They are also numerous in Marwar and Bikaner, and are scattered over the desert and valley of the Indus. They follow agricultural and pastoral pursuits chiefly, having little or no concern in trade. The tradition of their origin is singular: it is said that they were *Bildars*, and excavated the sacred lake of Poshkur, for which act they obtained the favour of the deity and the grade of Brahmins, with the title of *Pokurna*. Their chief object of emblematic worship, the *khodula*, a kind of pick-axe used in digging, seems to favour this tradition.

Juts or Fits.—The Juts here, as elsewhere, form a great part of the agricultural population: there are also various other tribes, which will be better described in a general account of the desert.

Castle of Jessulmer.—The castle of this desert king is erected on an almost insulated peak, from two hundred and fifty feet in height, a strong wall running round the crest of the hill. It has four gates, but very few cannon mounted. The city is to the north, and is surrounded by a *seherpunna* or circumvallation, encompassing a space of nearly three miles, having three gates and two wickets. In the city are some good houses belonging to rich merchants, but the greater part consists of huts. The Raja's palace is said to possess some pretension to grandeur, perhaps comparative. Were he on good terms with his vassalage, he could collect for its defence five thousand infantry and one thousand horse, besides his camel-crops; but it may be doubted whether, under the

oppressive system of the monster who has so long continued to desolate that region, one-half of this force could be brought together.*

* It has been reported that the dagger has since rid the land of its tyrant. The means matter little, if the end is accomplished. Even assassination loses much of its odious character when resorted to for such a purpose.

ANNALS OF AMBER.

CHAPTER I.

By some conventional process, Europeans in India have adopted the habit of designating the principalities of Rajpootana by the names of their respective capitals, instead of those of the countries. Thus Marwar and Mewar are recognised under the titles of their chief cities, Jodhpur and Oodipur: Kotah and Boondi are denominations indiscriminately applied to Haravati, the general term of the region, which is rarely mentioned; and Dhoondar is hardly known by that denomination to Europeans, who refer to the state only by the names of its capitals, Amber or Jeipur, the last of which is now universally used to designate the region inhabited by the Cuchwahs.

The map defined the existing boundaries of this principality, to which I shall indiscriminately apply the terms (as is the practice of the natives) of Dhoondar, Amber and Jeipur.

Like all the other Rajpoot states, the country of the Cuchwahs is an assemblage of communities, the territories of which have been wrested from the aboriginal tribes, or from independent chieftains, at various periods; and therefore the term *Dhoondar*, which was only one of their earliest acquisitions, had scarcely a title to impose its name upon the aggregate. The etymology of Dhoondar is from a once celebrated sacrificial mount (*dhoond*) on the western frontier, near Kalik Jobnair.*

The Cuchwaha or Cuchwa race claims descent from Cush, the second son of Rama, King of Koshula, whose capital was Ayodia, the modern Oude. Cush, or some of his immediate offspring, is said to have migrated from the parental abode, and erected the celebrated castle of Rhotas, or Rohitas,† on the Soane, whence, in the lapse of several generations,

* The traditional history of the Chohans asserts, that this mount was the place of penance (*tapasya*) of their famed king Beesildeo of Ajmer, who, for his oppression of his subjects, was transformed into a *Rakhus*, or *Demon*, in which condition he continued the evil work of his former existence, 'devouring his subjects, (as literally expressed), until a grand-child offered himself as a victim to appease his insatiable appetite. The language of innocent affection made its way to the heart of the *Rakhus*, who recognized his offspring, and winged his flight to the Jumna. It might be worth while to excavate the *dhoond* of the transformed Chohan king, which I have some notion will prove to be his sepulchre.

† Were this celebrated abode searched (for inscriptions, they might throw light on the history of the descendants of Rama.

another distinguished scion, Raja Nal, migrated westward, and in S. 351, A. D. 295, founded the kingdom and city of Nurwar, or classically, Nishida.* Some of the traditional chronicles record intermediate places of domicile prior to the erection of this famed city: first, the town of Lahar, in the heart of a tract yet named Cuchwagar or region (*gar*) of the Cuchwahās; and secondly, that of Gwalior. Be this as it may, the descendants of Raja Nal adopted the affix of Pal (which appears to be the distinguishing epithet of all the early Rajpoot tribes), until Sora Sing (thirty-third in descent from Nal), whose son, Dhola Rae, was expelled the paternal abode, and in S. 1023, A. D. 967, laid the foundation of the state of Dhoondar.

A family, which traces its lineage from Rama of Koshula, Nala of Nishida, and Dhola the lover of Maroni, may be allowed 'the boast of heraldry:' and in remembrance of this descent, the Cushites of India celebrate with great solemnity 'the annual feast of the sun,' on which occasion a stately car, called the chariot of the sun (*Surya ratha*), drawn by eight horses, is brought from the temple, and the descendant of Ramesa, ascending therein, perambulates his capital.

A case of simple usurpation originated the Cuchwaha state of Amber; but it would be contrary to precedent if this event were untinged with romance. As the episode, while it does not violate probability, illustrates the condition of the aboriginal tribes, we do not exclude the tradition. On the death of Sora Sing, prince of Nurwar, his brother usurped the government, depriving the infant, Dhola Rae, of his inheritance. His mother, clothing herself in mean apparel, put the infant in a basket, which he placed on her head, and travelled westward until she reached the town of Khogong (within five miles of the modern Jeipur), then inhabited by the Meenas. Distressed with hunger and fatigue, she had placed her precious burthen on the ground, and was plucking some wild berries, when she observed a hooded serpent rearing its form over the basket. She uttered a shriek, which attracted an itinerant Brahmin, who told her to be under no alarm, but rather to rejoice at this certain indication of future greatness in the boy. But the emaciated parent of the founder of Amber replied, "What may be in futurity I heed not, while I am sinking with hunger;" on which the Brahmin put her in the way to Khogong, where

* Prefixed to a descriptive sketch of the city of Nurwar (which I may append), the year S. 351 is given for its foundation by Raja Nal, but whether obtained from an inscription or historical legend, I know not. It, however, corroborates, in a remarkable manner, the number of descents from Nal to Dhola Rae, *vis.*, thirty-three, which, calculated according to the best data at twenty-two years to a reign, will make 726 years, which subtracted from 1023, the era of Dhola Rae's migration, leaves 297, a difference of only fifty-four years between the computed and settled eras; and if we allowed only twenty-one years to a reign, instead of twenty-two, as proposed in all long lines above twenty-five generations, the difference would be trifling.

We may thus, without hesitation, adopt the date 351, or A. D. 295, for the period of Raja Nal, whose history is one of the grand sources of delight to the bards Rajpootana. The poem rehearsing his adventures under the title of Nal and Damyanti (*Jam. Nal-Dūmmun*), was translated into Persian at Akber's command, by Fiezi, brother of Ahulfazil, and has since been made known to the admirers of Sanskrit literature by Professor Bopp of Berlin.

he said her necessities would be relieved. Taking up the basket, she reached the town, which is encircled by hills, and accosting a female, who happened to be a slave of the Meena chieftain, begged any menial employment for food. By direction of the Meena Rani, she was entertained with the slaves. One day she was ordered to prepare dinner, of which Ralunsi, the Meena Raja, partook, and found it so superior to his usual fare, that he sent for the cook, who related her story. As soon as the Meena chief discovered the rank of the illustrious fugitive, he adopted her as his sister, and Dhola Rae as his nephew. When the boy had attained the age of Rajpoot manhood (fourteen), he was sent to Delhi,* with the tribute of Khogong, to attend instead of the Meena. The young Cuchwaha remained there five years, when he conceived the idea of usurping his benefactor's authority. Having consulted the Meena *dhadi*,† or bard, as to the best means of executing his plan, he recommended him to take advantage of the festival of the *Dewali*, when it is customary to perform the ablutions *en masse*, in a tank. Having brought a few of his Rajpoot brethren from Delhi, he accomplished his object, filling the reservoirs in which the Meenas bathed with their dead bodies. The treacherous bard did not escape; Dhola Rae put him to death with his own hand, observing, "he who had proved unfaithful to one master, could not be trusted by another." He then took possession of Khogong. Soon after, he repaired to Deosah,‡ a castle and district ruled by an independent chief of the Birgoojur tribe of Rajpoots, whose daughter he demanded in marriage. "How can this be," said the Birgoojur, "when we are both Suryavansi, and one hundred generations have not yet separated us?"§ But being convinced that the necessary number of descents had intervened, the nuptials took place, and as the Birgoojur had no male issue, he resigned his power to his son-in-law. With the additional means thus at his disposal, Dhola determined to subjugate the Seroh tribe of Meenas, whose chief, Rao Natto, dwelt at Mauch. Again he was victorious, and deeming his new conquest better adapted for a residence than Khogong, he transferred his infant government thither, changing the name of Mauch, in honour of his great ancestor to Ramgurh.

Dhola subsequently married the daughter of the prince of Ajmer, whose name was Maroni. Returning on one occasion with her from visiting the shrine of Jumwahi Mata, the whole force of the Meenas of that region assembled, to the number of eleven thousand, to oppose his passage through their country. Dhola gave them battle: but after slaying vast numbers of his foes, he was himself killed, and his followers fled. Maroni escaped, and bore a posthumous child, who was named Kankul.

* The Tuar tribe were then supreme lords of India.

† *Dhadi, dholi, dhom, Faaga*, are all terms for the bards or minstrels of the Meena tribes.

‡ Deosah (written Dewsah), on the Bangunga river about thirty miles east of Jeypur.

§ The Birgoojur tribe claims descent from Lava or Lao, the elder son of Rama. As they trace fifty-six descents from Rama to Vicrama, and thirty-three from Raja Nala to Dhola Rae, we have only to calculate the number of generations between Vicrama and Nal, to ascertain whether Dhola's genealogist went on good grounds. It was in S. 351 that Raja Nal erected Nurwar, which, at twenty-two years to a reign, gives sixteen to be added to fifty-six, and this added to thirty-three, is equal to one hundred and five generations from Rama to Dhola Rae.

and who conquered the country of Dhoondar. His son, Maidul Rao, made a conquest of Amber from the Soosawut Meenas, the residence of their chief, named Bhattu, who had the title of Rao, and was head of the Meena confederation. He also subdued the Nandla Meenas, and added the district of Gatoor-Gatti to his territory.

Hoondeo succeeded, and, like his predecessors, continued the warfare against the Meenas. He was succeeded by Koontul, whose sway extended over all the hill-tribes round his capital. Having determined to proceed to Bhutwar, where a Chohan prince resided, in order to marry his daughter, his Meena subjects, remembering the former fatality, collected from all quarters, demanding that, if he went beyond the borders, he should leave the standards and nakarras of sovereignty in their custody. Koontul refusing to submit, a battle ensued, in which the Meenas were defeated with great slaughter, which secured his rule throughout Dhoondar.

Koontul was succeeded by Pujoon, a name well known to the chivalrous Rajpoot, and immortalized by Chund, in the poetic history (*Rasa*) of the emperor Prithwi Raj. Before, however, we proceed further, it may be convenient to give a sketch of the power and numbers of the indigenous tribes at this period.

We have already had frequent occasion to observe the tendency of the aboriginal tribes to emerge from bondage and depression, which has been seen in Mewar, Kotah, and Boondi, and is now exemplified in the rise of the Cuchwahs in Dhoondar. The original, pure, unmixed race, of Meenas, Mynas, or Mainas, of Dhoondar, were styled Puchwarra, and sub-divided into five grand tribes. Their original home was in the range of mountains called *Kali-kho*, extending from Ajmer nearly to the Jumna, where they erected *Amber*, consecrated to *Amba*, the universal mother, or, as the Meenas style her, *Ghatta Rani*, "Queen of the pass." In this range was Khogong, Mauch, and many other large towns, the chief cities of communities. But even so late as Raja Baharmull Cuchwaha, the contemporary of Baber and Hemayoon, the Meenas had retained or regained great power, to the mortification of their Rajpoot superiors. One of these independent communities was at the ancient city of Naen, destroyed by Baharmull, no doubt with the aid of his Mogul connections. An old historical distich thus records the power of the Meena princes of Naen :

" *Bawn kote chapun durmaja* "

" *Myna murd. Naen ca Raja*

" *Booro raj Naen ko*

" *Jub bhoos myn bhutta mango.*"

That is, "There were fifty-two strong-holds,* and fifty-six gates belonging to the manly Myna, the Raja of Naen, whose sovereignty of Naen was extinct, when even of chaff (*bhoos*) he took a share." If this is not an exaggeration, it would appear that, during the distractions of the first Islamite dynasties of Delhi, the Meenas had attained their primitive importance. Certainly from Pujoon, the vassal chieftain of Pirthwi Raj, to Baharmull, the contemporary of Baber, the Cuchwahs had but little increased their

* *Kote* is 'a fortress;' but it may be applied simply to the number of *bastions* of Naen, which in the number of its gates might rival Thebes. Lowain, built on its ruins, contains three thousand houses, and has eighty-four townships dependent on it.

territory. When this latter prince destroyed the Meena sovereignty of Næen, he levelled its half-hundred gates and erected the town of Lowain (now the residence of the Rajawut chief) on its ruins.

A distinction is made in the orthography and pronunciation of the designation of this race: *Myna* or *Maina* meaning the *asal*, or 'unmixed class,' of which there is now but one, the *Oosarra*; while *Meena* is that applied to the mixed, of which they reckon *bara pal*,* of twelve communities, descended from Rajpoot blood, as Chohan, Tuar, Jadoon, Parihar, Cuchwaha, Solanki, Sankla, Ghelote, etc., and these are subdivided into less than five thousand two hundred distinct clans, of which it is the duty of the Jaega, Dholi, or Dhom, their genealogists to keep account. The unmixed Oosarra stock is now exceedingly rare, while mixed races, spread over all the hilly and intricate regions of central and western India, boast of their descent at the expense of legitimacy. These facts all tend strongly to prove that the Rajpoots were conquerors, and that the mountaineers, whether Kolis, Bhils, Mynas, Goands, Sairias, or Sarjas, are the indigenous inhabitants of India. This subject will be fully treated hereafter, in a separate chapter devoted to the Meena tribes, their religion, manners, and customs.

Let us return to Pujoon, the sixth in descent from the exile of Nurwar, who was deemed of sufficient consequence to obtain in marriage the sister of Pirthwi Raj, the Chohan Emperor of Delhi, an honour perhaps attributable to the splendour of Pujoon's descent, added to his great personal merit. The chivalrous Chohan, who had assembled around him one hundred and eight chiefs of the highest rank in India, assigned a conspicuous place to Pujoon, who commanded a division of the monarch's armies in many of his most important battles. Pujoon twice signalized himself in invasions from the north, in one of which, when he commanded on the frontier, he defeated Shabudin in the Khyber Pass, and pursued him towards Gazni. His valour mainly contributed to the conquest of Mahoba, the country of the Chundails, of which he was left governor; and he was one of the sixty-four chiefs who, with a chosen body of their retainers, enabled Pirthwi Raj to carry off the princess of Canouj. In this service, covering the retreat of his liege lord, Pujoon lost his life, on the first of the five days' continuous battle. Pujoon was conjoined with Govind Gehlote, a chief of the Mewar house;—both fell together. Chund the bard, thus describes the last hours of the Cuchwaha prince: "When Govind fell, the foe danced with joy: then did Pujoon thunder on the curtain of fight: with both hands he plied the *kharg* (sword) on the heads of the barbarian. Four hundred rushed upon him; but the five brothers in arms, Kehuri, Peepa, and Boho, with Nursing and Cuchra, supported him. Spears and daggers are plied—heads roll on the plain—blood flows in streams. Pujoon assailed Iimad; but as his head rolled at his feet, he received the Khan's lance in his breast; the Coormaf fell in the field, and the Apsaras disputed for the hero. Whole lines of the north-men

* *Pal* is the term for a community of any of the aboriginal mountain races; its import is a 'defile,' or 'valley,' fitted for cultivation and defence. It is probable that Poliger may be a corruption of Paliger, or the region (*gar*) of these *Pals*. Palita, Bhilita, Philita, are terms used by the learned for the Bhil tribes. Maina or Myna, Maira, Mairate all designate mountaineers, from *Mair* or *Mer*, a hill.

† *Coorma*, or *Cuchwa*, are synonymous terms, and indiscriminately applied to the Rajpoots of Ajmer; meaning 'tortoise.'

strew the plain : many a head did Mahadeo add to his chaplet.* When Pujoon and Govind fell, one watch of the day remained. To rescue his kin came Palhan, like a tiger loosed from his chain. The array of Canouj fell back ; the cloud like host of Jeichund turned its head. The brother of Pujoon, with his son, performed deeds like Carna ; but both fell in the field, and gained the secret of the sun, whose chariot advanced to conduct them to his mansion.

"Ganga shrunk with affright, the moon quivered, the Diggals howled at their posts ; checked was the advance of Canouj, and in the pause the Coorma performed the last rites to his sire (Pujoon), who broke in pieces the shields of Jeichund. Pujoon was a buckler to his lord, and numerous his gifts of the steel to the heroes of Canouj : not even by the bard can his deeds be described. He placed his feet on the head of *Shesnag*, he made a waste of the forest of men, nor dared the sons of the mighty approach him. As Pujoon fell, he exclaimed, 'one hundred years are the limit of man's life, of which fifty are lost in night, and half this in childhood ; but the Almighty taught me to wield the brand.' As he spoke, even in the arms of Yama, he beheld the arm of his boy playing the head of the foeman. His parting soul was satisfied : seven wounds from the sword had Malesi received, whose steed was covered with wounds : mighty were the deeds performed by the son of Pujoon."

This Malesi, in whose praise the bard of Pirthwiraj is so lavish succeeded (according to the chronicle) his father Pujoon in the Raj of Amber. There is little said of him in the transcript in my possession. There are, however, abundance of traditional couplets to prove that the successors of Pujoon were not wanting in the chief duties of the Rajpoot, the exercise of his sword. One of these mentions his having gained a victory at Rootrahi over the prince of Mandoo.†

We shall pass over the intermediate princes from Malesi to Pirthwi Raj the eleventh in descent, with a bare enumeration of their names : viz , Malesi, Beejul, Rajdeo, Keelun, Kontul, Joonsi, Oodikurn, Nursing Bunbeer, Oodharun, Chandrasen, Pirthwiraj.

* The chaplet of the god of war is of skulls ; his drinking cup a semi-cranium.

† I give this chiefly for the concluding couplet, to see how the Rajpoots applied the word *Khoten* to the lands beyond Cabul, where the great Raja Maun commanded as Akber's lieutenant :

"Palhun, Pujoon jeete,
 "Mahoba, Canouj lurri,
 "Mandoo Malesi jeete,
 "Raj Rootrahi ca
 "Raj Bhagwandas jeete,
 "Mowasi lur
 "Raja Maun Sing jeete,
 "KHOTEN fonz doobahi."

"Palhun and Pujoon were victorious ;
 "Fought at Mahoba and Canouj ;
 "Malesi conquered Mandoo ;
 "In the battle of Pootrahi,
 "Raja Bhagwandas vanquished,
 "In the Mowasi (fastnesses, probably, of Mewat).
 "Raj Maun Sing was victorious ;
 "Subjugating the army of KHOTEN."

Pirthwiraj had seventeen sons, twelve of whom reached man's state. To them and their successors in perpetuity he assigned appanages, styled the *bara kotri*, or 'twelve chambers' of the Cuchwaha house. The portion of each was necessarily very limited; some of the descendants of this hereditary aristocracy now hold estates equal in magnitude to the principality itself at that period. Previous, however, to this perpetual settlement of Cuchwaha fiefs, and indeed intermediately between Malesi and Pirthwiraj, a disjunction of the junior branches of the royal family took place, which led to the foundation of a power for a long time exceeding in magnitude the parent state. This was in the time of Oodikurn, whose son Baloji, left his father's house, and obtained the town and small district of Amrutsir, which in time devolved on his grandson Shekhji, and became the nucleus of an extensive and singular confederation, known by the name of the founder, Shekhavati, at this day covering an area of nearly ten thousand square miles. As this subject will be discussed in its proper place, we shall no longer dwell on it, but proceed with the posterity of Pirthwiraj, amongst the few incidents of whose life, is mentioned his meritorious pilgrimage to *Dewul*,* near the mouth of the Indus. But even this could not save him from foul assassination, and the assassin was his own son, Bheem, "whose countenance (says the chronicle) was that of a demon." The record is obscure, but it would appear that one parricide was punished by another, and that Aiskurn, the son of Bheem, was instigated by his brethren to put their father to death, and "to expiate the crime by pilgrimage."† In one list, both these monsters are enumerated amongst the "anointed of Amber," but they are generally omitted in the genealogical chain, doubtless from a feeling of disgust.

Baharmull was the first prince of Amber who paid homage to the Mahomedan power. He attended the fortunes of Baber, and received from Hemayoon (previous to the Pathan usurpation) the munsub of five thousand as Raja of Amber.

Bhagwandas, son of Baharmull, became still more intimately allied with the Mogul dynasty. He was the friend of Akber, who saw the full value of attaching such men to his throne. By what arts or influence he overcame the scruples of the Cuchwaha Rajpoot we know not, unless by appealing to his avarice or ambition; but the name of Bhagwandas is execrated as the first who sullied Rajpoot purity by matrimonial alliance with the Islamite. His daughter espoused Prince Selim, afterwards Jehangir, and the fruit of the marriage was the unfortunate Khoosroo.‡

* 'The temple; the Debeil of the Mahomedan tribes; the Rajpoot seat of power of the Rajas of Sind, when attacked by the caliphs of Bagdad.

† The chronicle says of this Aiskurn, that on his return, the king (Baber or Hemayoon), gave him the title of Raja of Nurwar. These states have continued occasionally to furnish representatives, on the extinction of the line of either. A very conspicuous instance of this occurred on the death of Raja Juggut Sing, the last prince of Amber, who dying without issue, an intrigue was set on foot, and a son of the exprince of Nurwar was placed on the *gadi* of Amber.

‡ It is pleasing to find almost all these outlines of Rajpoot history confirmed by Mahomedan writers. It was in A. H. 993 (A. D. 1586) that this marriage took place. Three generations of Cuchwahs, *vis.* Bhagwandas, his adopted son Raja Maun, and grandson, were all serving in the imperial army with great distinction at this time. Raja Maun,

Maun Sing, nephew* and successor of Bhagwandas, was the most brilliant character of Akber's court. As the Emperor's lieutenant, he was entrusted with the most arduous duties, and added conquests to the empire from Khoten to the ocean. Orissa was subjugated by him,† Assam humbled and made tributary, and Cabul maintained in her allegiance. He held in succession the governments of Behar,‡ the Dekhan and Cabul. Raja Maun soon proved to Akber that his policy of strengthening his throne by Rajpoot alliances was not without hazard; these alliances introducing a direct influence in the state, which frequently thwarted the views of the sovereign. So powerful was it, that even Akber, in the zenith of his power, saw no other method of diminishing its force, than the execrable but common expedient of Asiatic despots—poison; it has been already related how the Emperor's attempt recoiled upon him to his destruction.

Akber was on his death-bed when Raja Maun commenced an intrigue to alter the succession in favour of his nephew, Prince Khoosroo, and it was probably in this predicament that the monarch had recourse to the only safe policy, that of seeing the crown fixed on the head of Selim, afterwards Jehangir. The conspiracy for the time was quashed, and Raja Maun was sent to the Government of Bengal; but it broke out again, and ended in the perpetual imprisonment of Khoosroo,§ and a dreadful death to his adherents. Raja Maun was too wise to identify himself with the rebellion, though he stimulated his nephew and he was too powerful to be openly punished, being at the head of twenty thousand Rajpoots; but the native chronicle mentions that he was amerced by Jehangir in the incredible sum of *ten crores*, or millions sterling. According to the Mahomedan historian, Raja Maun died in Bengal,|| A. H. 1024 (A. D. 1615); while the chronicle says he was slain in an expedition against the Khilji tribe in the north, two years later.¶

though styled *Koonwar*, or heir-apparent, is made the most conspicuous. He quelled a rebellion headed by the Emperor's brother, and while Bhagwandas commanded under a prince of the blood against Cashmere, Maun Sing overcame an insurrection of the Afghans at Khyber; and his son was made viceroy of Cabul—See Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. ii.

* Bhagwandas had three brothers, Soorut Sing, Madoo Sing, and Juggut Sing; Maun Sing was son of the last.

† Ferishta confirms this, saying he sent one hundred and twenty elephants to the king on this occasion.—Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. ii.

‡ Ferishta confirms this likewise. According to this historian, it was while Maun was yet only *Koonwar*, or heir-apparent, that he was invested with the governments of "Behar, Hajipur, and Patna," the same year (A. D. 1589) that his uncle Bhagwandas died, and that following the birth of prince Khoosroo by the daughter of the Cuchwaha prince, an event celebrated (says Ferishta) with great rejoicings. See Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. II. p. 261. Colonel Briggs has allowed the similarity of the names *Khoosroo* and *Khoorum* to betray him into a slight error, in a note of the former prince. It was not Khoosroo, but Khoorum, who was succeeded by his father Jehangir, and was father to the monster Arungzeb. Khoosroo was put to death by Khoorum, afterwards Shah Jehan.

§ He was afterwards assassinated by order of Shah Jehan. See Dow's *Ferishta*, Vol. iii. Chap. i. p. 63.

|| Dow, Vol. iii. p. 46; the chronicle says in S. 1600, or A. D. 1613.

* An account of the life of Raja Maun would fill a volume; there are ample materials at Jeypur.

Rao Bhao Sing succeeded his father, and invested by the Emperor with the *Punj-hasari*, or dignity of a legionary chief of five thousand. He was of weak intellect, and ruled a few years without distinction. He died in A. H. 1030 of excessive drinking.

Maha succeeded, and in like manner died from dissipated habits. These unworthy successors of Raja Maun allowed the princes of Jodhpur to take the lead at the imperial court. At the instigation of the celebrated Joda Bae (daughter of Rae Sing of Bikaner), the Rajpootni wife of Jehangir, Jey Sing, grandson of Jaggut Sing (brother of Maun), was raised to the throne of Amber, to the no small jealousy, says the chronicle, of the favourite queen, Noor Jehan. It relates that the succession was settled by the Emperor and the Rajpootni in a conference at the balcony of the seraglio, where the Emperor saluted the youth below as Raja of Amber, and commended him to make his salaam to Joda Bae, as the source of this honour. But the customs of Rajwarra could not be broken: it was contrary to etiquette for a Rajpoot chief to salaam, and he replied: "I will do this to any lady of your majesty's family, but not to Joda Bae;" upon which she good-naturedly laughed, and called out, "It matters not; I give you the raj of Amber."

Jey Sing, the Mirza Raja, the title by which he is best known, restored by his conduct the renown of the Cuchwaha name, which had been tarnished by the two unworthy successors of Raja Maun. He performed great services to the empire during the reign of Arungzeb, who bestowed upon him the *munsab* of six thousand. He made prisoner the celebrated Sevaji, whom he conveyed to court, and afterwards, on finding that his pledge of safety was likely to be broken, was accessory to his liberation. But this instance of magnanimity was more than counterbalanced by his treachery to Dara, in the war of succession, which crushed the hopes of that brave prince. These acts, and their consequences, produced an unconquerable haughtiness of demeanour, which determined the tyrannical Arungzeb to destroy him. The chronicle says he had twenty-two thousand Rajpoot cavalry at his disposal, and twenty-two great vassal chiefs, who commanded under him; that he would sit with them in *darbar*, holding two glasses, one of which he called Delhi, the other Satarra, and dashing one to the ground, would exclaim "there goes Satarra; the fate of Delhi is in my right hand, and this with like facility I can cast away." These vaunts reaching the Emperor's ear he had recourse to the same diabolical expedient which ruined Marwar, of making a son the assassin of his father. He promised the succession to the *gadi* of Amber to Keerut Sing, younger son of the Raja, to the prejudice of his elder brother Ram Sing, if he effected the horrid deed. The wretch having perpetrated the crime by mixing poison in his father's opium, returned to claim the investiture: but the king only gave him the district of Kamah. From this period, says the chronicle, Amber declined.

Ram Sing, who succeeded, had the *munsab* of four thousand conferred upon him, and was sent against the Assamese. Upon his death, Bishen Sing, whose *munsab* was further reduced to the grade of three thousand, succeeded; but he enjoyed the dignity only a short period.

CHAPTER II.

Jey II, better known by the title of Sowae Jey Sing, in contradistinction to the first prince of this name, entitled the "Mirza Raja," succeeded in S. 1755 (A. D. 1699), in the forty-fourth year of Arungzeb's reign, and within six years of that monarch's death. He served with distinction in the Dekhan, and in the war of succession attached himself to the prince Beder Bukt, son of Azim Shah, declared successor of Arungzeb; and with these he fought the battle of Dholpur, which ended in their death and the elevation of Shah Alum Bahadoor Shah. For this opposition Amber was sequestered, and an imperial governor sent to take possession; but Jey Sing entered his states, sword in hand, drove out the king's garrisons, and formed a league with Ajit Sing of Marwar for their mutual preservation.

It would be tedious to pursue this celebrated Rajpoot through his desultory military career during the forty-four years he occupied the *gadi* of Amber; enough is already known of it from its combination with the Annals of Mewar and Boondi, of which house he was the implacable foe. Although Jey Sing mixed in all the troubles and warfare of this long period of anarchy, when the throne of Timoor was rapidly crumbling into dust, his reputation as a soldier would never have handed down his name with honour to posterity; on the contrary, his courage had none of the fire which is requisite to make a Rajpoot hero; though his talents for civil government and court intrigue, in which he was the Machiavelli of his day, were at that period far more notable auxiliaries.

As a statesman, legislator, and man of science, the character of Sowae Jey Sing is worthy of an ample delineation,* which would correct our opinion of the genius and capacity of the princes of Rajpootana, of whom we are apt to form too low an estimate. He was the founder of the new capital, named after him Jeipur, or Jeinuggur, which became the seat of science and art, and eclipsed the more ancient Amber, with which the fortifications of the modern city unite, although the extremity of the one is six miles from the other. Jeipur is the only city in India built upon a regular plan, with streets bisecting each other at right angles. The merit of the design and execution is assigned to Vedyadhar, a native of Bengal, one of the most eminent coadjutors of the prince in all his scientific pursuits, both astronomical and historical. Almost all the Rajpoot princes have a smattering astronomy, or other of its spurious relation, astrology; but Jey Sing went deep, not only into the theory, but the practice of the science, and was so esteemed for his knowledge, that he was entrusted by the Emperor Mahomed Shah with the reformation of the calender. He had erected observatories with instruments of his own

* For such a sketch, the materials of the Amber court are abundant; to instance only the *Calpadrooma*, a miscellaneous diary, in which every thing of note was written, and a collection entitled *Ek sah noh goon Jey Sing ka*, or 'the one hundred and nine actions of Jey Sing,' of which I have heard several narrated and noted. His voluminous correspondence with all the princes and chiefs of his time would alone repay the trouble of translation, and would throw a more perfect light on the manners and feelings of his countrymen than the most laborious lucubrations of any European. I possess an autograph letter of this prince, on one of the most important events of Indian history at this period, the deposal of Ferocious. It was addressed to the Rana.

invention at Delhi, Jeipur, Oojein, Benares, and Mathura, upon a scale of Asiatic grandeur; and their results were so correct as to astonish the most learned. He had previously used such instruments as those of Ulug Beg (the royal astronomer of Samarcand); which failed to answer his expectations. From the observations of seven years at the various observatories, he constructed a set of tables. While thus engaged, he learned through a Portuguese missionary, Padre Manuel, the progress which his favourite pursuit was making in Portugal, and he sent "several skilful persons along with him"* to the court of Emanuel. The king of Portugal despatched Xavier de Silva, who communicated to the Rajpoot prince the tables of De la Hire.† "On examining and comparing the calculations of these tables (says the Rajpoot prince) with actual observation, it appeared there was an error in the former, in assigning the moon's place, of half a degree; although the error in the other planets was not so great, yet the times of solar and lunar eclipses he‡ found to come out later or earlier than the truth by the fourth part of a *ghurry* or fifteen *puls* (six minutes of time)." In like manner, as he found fault with the instruments of brass used by the Toorki astronomer, and which he conjectures must have been such as were used by Hipparchus and Ptolemy, so he attributes the inaccuracies of De la Hire's tables to instruments of "inferior diameters." The Rajpoot prince might justly boast of his instruments. With that at Delhi, he, in A. D. 1729, determined the obliquity of the ecliptic to be, $23^{\circ} 28'$; within $28''$ of what it was determined to be, the year following, by Godin. His general accuracy was further put to the test in A. D. 1793 by our scientific countryman, Dr. W. Hunter, who compared a series of observations on the latitude of Oojein with that established by the Rajpoot prince. The difference was $24''$; and Dr. H. does not depend on his own observations within $15''$. Jey Sing made the latitude $23^{\circ} 10' N.$; Dr. Hunter, $23^{\circ} 10' 24'' N.$

From the results of his varied observations, Jey Sing drew up a set of tables, which he entitled *Zeij Mahomedshahi*, dedicated to that monarch; by these, all astronomical computations are yet made, and almanacs constructed. It would be wrong,—while considering these labours of a prince who caused Euclid's Elements, the treatises on plain and spherical trigonometry, '*Don Juan*', Napier on the construction and use of logarithms, to be translated into Sanskrit,—to omit noticing the high strain of devotion with which he views the wonders of the "Supreme Artificer;" recalling the line of one of our own best poets:

"An undevout astronomer is mad."

The Rajpoot prince thus opens his preface: "Praise be to God, such that the minutely discerning genius of the most profound geometers, in uttering the smallest particle of it, may open the mouth in confession of inability; and such adoration, that the study and accuracy of astronomers, who measure the heavens [may acknowledge their astonishment, and utter insufficiency! Let us devout ourselves at the altar of the King of Kings, hallowed be his name! in the book of the register of whose power the

* It would be worth ascertaining whether the archives of Lisbon refer to this circumstance.

† Second edition, published in A. D. 1702. Jey Sing finished his in A. D. 1728.

‡ Jey Sing always speaks of himself in the third person.

lofty orbs of heaven are only a few leaves; and the stars, and that heavenly courser the sun, small pieces of money, in the treasury of the empire of the Most High.

"From inability to comprehend the all-encompassing beneficence of his power, HIPPARCHUS is an ignorant clown, who wrings the hands of vexation; and in the contemplation of his exalted majesty, PROTEMY is a bat, who can never arrive at the sun of truth: the demonstrations of EUCLID are an imperfect sketch of the forms of his contrivance.

"But since the well-wisher of the works of creation, and admiring spectator of the works of infinite wisdom, SEVAL JAY SING, from the first dawning of reason in his mind, and during its progress towards maturity, was entirely devoted to the study of mathematical science, and the bent of his mind was constantly directed to the solution of its most difficult problems; by the aid of the Supreme Artificer, he obtained a thorough knowledge of its principles and rules," etc.*

Besides the construction of these objects of science, he erected, at his own expense, *caravanserais* for the free use of travellers in many of the provinces. How far vanity may have mingled with benevolence in this act (by no means uncommon in India), it were uncharitable to enquire. for the Hindu not only prays for all those "who travel by land or by water," but aids the traveller by *serais*, or inns, and wells dug at his own expense, and in most capitals and cities, under the ancient princes, there were public charities for necessitous travellers, at which they had their meals, and then passed on.

When we consider that Jay Sing carried on his favourite pursuits in the midst of perpetual wars and court intrigues, from whose debasing influence he escaped not untained; when amidst revolution, the destruction of the empire, and the meteoric rise of the Mahrattas, he not only steered through the dangers, but elevated Amber above all the principalities around, we must admit that he was an extraordinary man. Aware of the approaching downfall of the Mogul empire, and determined to aggrandise Amber from the wreck, he was, nevertheless, not unfaithful to his lord-paramount; for, on the conspiracy which deprived Ferochsher of empire

* See "account of the astronomical labours of Jey Sing, Raja of Amber," by Dr. W. Hunter; (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V. p. 177), to whom I refer the reader for the description of the instruments used by the Raja. The author has seen those at Delhi and Mathura. There is also an equinoctial dial constructed on the terrace of the palace of Oodipur, and various instruments at Kotah and Boondi, especially an armillary sphere, at the former, of about five feet diameter, all in brass, got up under the scholars of Jey Sing.

Dr. Hunter gives a most interesting account of a young pundit, whom he found at Oojein, the grandson of one of the coadjutors of Jey Sing, who held the office of *Jyotish-Rae*, or Astronomer-Royal, and an estate of five thousand rupees, annual rent, both of which (title and estate) descended to this young man; but science fled with Jey Sing, and the barbarian Mahrattas had rendered his estate desolate and unproductive. He possessed, says Dr. H., a thorough acquaintance with the Hindu astronomical science contained in the various *Siddhantas*, and that not confined to the mechanical practice of rules, but founded on a geometrical knowledge of their demonstration. This inheritor of mantle of Jey Sing died at Jeypur, soon after Dr. Hunter left Oojein, in A. D. 1793.

and of life, Jey Sing was one of the few princes who retained their fidelity, and would have stood by him to the last, if he had possessed a particle of the valour which belonged to the descendants of Timoor.*

Enough has been said of his public life, in that portion of the Annals of Mewar with which he was so closely connected, both by political and family ties. The Syeds who succeeded to power on the murder of their sovereign Ferochser, were too wise to raise enemies unnecessarily; and Jey Sing, when he left the unhappy monarch to his fate, retired to his hereditary dominions, devoting himself to his favourite pursuits, astronomy and history. He appears to have enjoyed three years of uninterrupted quiet, taking no part in the struggles, which terminated, in A. D. 1721, with Mahomed Shah's defeat of his rivals, and the destruction of the Syeds. At this period, Jey Sing was called from his philosophical pursuits, and appointed the king's lieutenant for the provinces of Agra and Malwa in succession; and it was during this interval of comparative repose, that he erected those monuments which irradiate this dark epoch of the history of India.† Nor was he blind to the interests of his nation or the honour of Amber, and his important office was made subservient to obtaining the repeal of that disgraceful edict, the *jessaya*, and authority to repress the infant power of the Jats, long a thorn in the side of Amber. But when, in A. D. 1732, the Raja once more lieutenant for Malwa, saw that it wast in vain to attempt to check the Maharatta invasion, or to prevent the partition of the empire, he deemed himself justified in consulting the welfare of his own house. We know not what terms Jey Sing entered into with the Mahratta leader, Bajirow, who, by his influence was appointed Soobadar of Malwa; we may, however, imagine it was from some more powerful stimulant than the native historian of this period assigns, namely, "a similarity of religion." By this conduct, Jey Sing is said emphatically, by his own countrymen, to have given the key of Hindustan to the Southern. The influence his character obtained, however, with the Mahrattas was even useful to his sovereign, for by it he retarded their excesses, which at length reached the capital. In a few years more (A. D. 1739), Nadir Shah's invasion took place, and the Rajpoots, wisely alive to their own interests, remained aloof from a cause which neither valour nor wisdom could longer serve. They respected the emperor, but the system of government had long alienated these gallant supporters of the throne. We may exemplify the trials to which Rajpoot fidelity was exposed, by one of "the hundred and nine deeds of Jey Sing," which will at the same time serve further to illustrate the position, that half the political and moral evils which have vexed the royal houses of Rajpootana, take their rise from polygamy.

Mahrāja Bishen Sing had two sons, Jey Sing, and Beejy Sing. The mother of Beejy Sing, doubtful of his safety, sent him to her own family in Keechiwarra. When he had attained man's estate, he was sent to court, and by bribes, chiefly of jewels presented by his mother, he obtained

* Scott, in his excellent history of the successors of Arungzeb, gives a full account of this tragical event, on which I have already touched in Vol. I. of this work; where I have given a literal translation of the autograph letter of Raja Jey Sing on the occasion.

† The Raja says he finished his tables in A. D. 1728, and that he had occupied himself seven years previously in the necessary observations; in fact, the first quiet years of Mahomed Shah's reign, or indeed that India had known for centuries.

the patronage of Kumurodin Khan, the vizier. At first his ambition was limited to the demand of Busswa, one of the most fertile districts of Amber, as an appanage; which being acceded to by his brother and sovereign, Jey Sing, he was stimulated by his mother to make still higher demands, and to offer the sum of five crores of rupees and a contingent of five thousand horse, if he might supplant his brother on the throne of Amber. The vizier mentioned it to the Emperor, who asked what security he had for the fulfilment of the contract; the vizier offered his own guarantee, and the *sunnuds* of Amber were actually preparing, which were thus to unseat Jey Sing, when his *pugri budul bhae*, Khandoran Khan, informed Kirparam, the Jeipur envoy at court, of what was going on. The intelligence produced consternation at Amber, since Kumurodin was all powerful. Jey Sing's dejection became manifest on reading the letter, and he handed it to the confidential Nazir, who remarked, "it was an affair in which *force* could not be used, in which *wealth* was useless, and which must be decided by *stratagem** alone; and that the conspiracy could be defeated only through the conspirator. At the Nazir's recommendation he convened his principal chiefs, Mohun Sing, chief of the Nathawuts;† Deep Sing, Khombani, of Bhansko; Zoorawur Sing, Seoburunpota; Himmat Sing, Narooka, Koosul Sing of Jhulaye; Bhojraj of Mozabad, and Futteh Sing of Maoi; and thus addressed them on the difficulties of his position: "You placed me on the *gadi* of Amber; and my brother, who would be satisfied with Busswa, has Amber forced upon him by the Nawab Kumurodin." They advised him to be of good cheer, and they would manage the affair, provided he was sincere in assigning Busswa to his brother. He made out the grant at the moment, ratified it with an oath, and presented it with full powers to the chiefs to act for him. The *Panch* (council) of Amber sent their ministers to Beejy Sing, provided with all the necessary arguments; but the prince replied, he had no confidence in the promises or protestations of his brother. For themselves, and in the name of the *barah kotri Amber ca* (the twelve great families), they gave their '*seeta-ram*,' or security; adding that if Jey Sing swerved from his engagements, they were his, and would themselves place him on the *gadi* of Amber.

He accepted their interposition and the grant, which being explained to his patron, he was by no means satisfied; nevertheless he ordered Khandoran and Kirparam to accompany him, to see him inducted in his new appanage of Busswa. The chiefs, anxious to reconcile the brothers, obtained Beejy Sing's assent to a meeting, and as he declined going to Amber, Chomoo was proposed and agreed to, but was afterwards changed to the town of Sanganair, six miles south-west of Jeipur, where Beejy Sing pitched his tents. As Jey Sing was quitting the durbar to give his brother the meeting, the Nazir entered with a message from the queen-mother to know, "which *her* eyes should not be blessed with witnessing

* The Nazir is here harping on *three* of the *four* predicaments, which (borrowed originally from Menu, and repeated by the great Rajpoot oracle, the bard Chund) govern all human events, *sham, dan, bhed, dind*, 'arguments, gifts, stratagem, force.'

† He is the hereditary premier noble of this house (as is Saloombra of Mewar, and the Ahwa chief of Marwar), and is familiarly called the '*Patel of Amber*.' His residence is Chomoo, which is the place of rendezvous of the feudality of Amber, whenever they league against the sovereign.

the meeting and reconciliation of the two *Laljis*.* The Raja referred the request to the chiefs, who said there could be no objection.

The Nazir prepared the *mahadole*, with three hundred chariots for the females; but instead of the royal litter containing the queen-mother, it was occupied by Oogur Sen, the Bhatti chief, and each covered chariot contained two chosen *Sillehposhians*, or men at arms. Not a soul but the Nazir and his master were aware of the treachery. The procession left the capital; money was scattered with profusion by the attendants of the supposed queen-mother, to the people who thronged the highways, rejoicing at the approaching conclusion of these fraternal feuds.

A messenger having brought the intelligence that the queen-mother had arrived at the palace of Sanganaïr, the Raja and his chiefs mounted to join her. The brothers first met and embraced, when Jey Sing presented the grant of Busswa, saying, with some warmth, that if his brother preferred ruling at Amber, he would abandon his birth-right and take Busswa. Beejy Sing, overcome with this kindness, replied, that "all his wants were satisfied." When the time to separate had arrived, the Nazir came into the court with a message from the queen-mother, to say, that if the chiefs would withdraw she would come and see her children, or that they might come to her apartment. Jey Sing referred his mother's wish to the chiefs, saying he had no will but theirs. Having advised the brothers to wait on the queen-mother, they proceeded hand-in-hand to the interior of the mahl. When arrived at the door, Jey Sing, taking his dagger from his girdle, delivered it to an eunuch, saying, "what occasion for this here?" and Beejy Sing, not to be outdone in confidence, followed his example. As the Nazir closed the door, Beejy Sing found himself, not in the embrace of the queen-mother, but in the iron gripe of the gigantic Bhatti, who instantly bound him hand and foot, and placing him in the *mahadole*, the mock female procession with their prisoner returned to Amber. In an hour, tidings were conveyed to Jey Sing of the prisoner being safely lodged in the castle, when he rejoined the conclave of his chiefs; who on seeing him enter alone, attended by some of the 'men at arms,' stared at each other, and asked "what had become of Beejy Sing?"—" *Humara pait myn*," 'in my belly!' was the reply. "We are both the sons of Bishen Sing, and I the eldest. If it is your wish that he should rule, then slay me and bring him forth. For you I have forfeited my faith, for should Beejy Sing have introduced, as assuredly he would, your enemies and mine, you must have perished." Hearing this, the chiefs were amazed; but there was no remedy, and they left the palace in silence. Outside were encamped six thousand imperial horse, furnished by the vizier as the escort of Beejy Sing, whose commander demanded what had become of their trust. Jey Sing replied, "It was no affair of theirs," and desired them to be gone, "or he would request their horses of them." They had no alternative but to retrace their steps and thus was Beejy Sing made prisoner.†

Whatever opinion the moralist may attach to this specimen of "the hundred and nine goon" of the royal astronomer of Amber, which might rather be styled *goona*‡; (vice) than *goon* (virtue), no one will deny that it

* *Lalji* is an epithet of endearment used by all classes of Hindus towards their children, from the Sanskrit *larla*.

† I have made a *verbatim* translation of this *goon*.

‡ This is a singular instance of making the privative an affix instead of prefix; *a-goon*, 'without virtue,' would be the common form.

was done in a most masterly manner, and where *chul* or *statagem* is a necessary expedient, did honour to the talents of Jey Sing and the Nazir, who alone, says the narrative, was accessory to the plot. In this instance, moreover, it was perfectly justifiable; for with the means and influence of the vizier to support him, Beejy Sing must, sooner or later, have supplanted his brother. The fate of Beejy Sing is not stated.

The Cuchwaha state, as well as its capital, owes every thing to Jey Sing: before his time, it had little political weight beyond that which it acquired from the personal character of its princes, and their estimation at the Mogul court. Yet, notwithstanding the intimate connection which existed between the Amber Rajas and the imperial family, from Baber to Arungzeb, their patrimonial estates had been very little enlarged since Pujoon, the contemporary of the last Rajpoot Emperor of Delhi. Nor was it till the troubles which ensued on the demise of Arungzeb, when the empire was eventually partitioned, that Amber was entitled to the name of a *raj*. During those troubles, Jey Sing's power, as the king's lieutenant in Agra, which embraced his hereditary domains, gave him ample opportunity to enlarge and consolidate his territory. The manner in which he possessed himself of the independent districts of Deoti and Rajore, affords an additional insight into the national character, and that of this prince.

At the accession of Jey Sing, the *raj* of Amber consisted only of the three *pergunnas* or districts of Amber, Deosah, and Bussao; the western tracts had been sequestered, and added to the royal domains attached to Ajmer. The Shekhavati confederation was superior to, and independent of, the parent state, whose boundaries were as follows. The royal *thanna* (garrison) of Chatsoo, to the south; those of Sambhur to the west, and Hastinah to the north-west; while to the east, Deosah and Bussao formed its frontier. The *kotribunds*, as they denominate the twelve great feudalities, possessed but very slender domains, and were held cheap by the great vassals of Mewar, of whom the Saloombra chief was esteemed, even by the first Peshwa, as the equal of the prince of the Cuchwahas.

Rajore was a city of great antiquity, the capital of a petty state called Deoti, ruled by a chief of the Birgoojurs tribe, descended, like the Cuchwahas, from Rama, but through Lao, the elder son. The Birgoojurs of Rajore had obtained celebrity amongst the most modern Rajpoots, by their invincible repugnance to matrimonial alliance with the Mahomedans; and while the Cuchwahas set the degrading example, and by so doing eventually raised themselves to affluence, the Birgoojur 'conquered renown in the song of the bard,' by performing the *saka* in defence of his honour. While, therefore, Sowae Jey Sing ruled as a viceroy over kingdoms, the Birgoojur was serving with his contingent with the *Byeese*, and at the period in question, in Anopsheher, on the Ganges. When absent on duty, the safety of Rajore depended on his younger brother. One day, while preparing for the chase of the wild boar, he became so impatient for his dinner, that his sister-in-law remarked, "one would suppose you were going to throw a lance at Jey Sing, you are in such a hurry." This was touching a tender subject, for it will be recollected that the first territory in the plains obtained by the Cuchwahas, on their migration from Nurwar, was Deosah, a Birgoojur possession. "By *Thakoor-ji* (the Lord), I shall do so, ere I eat from your hands again," was the fierce reply. With ten horsemen he left Rajore, and he took post under the *dhoolkote*, or 'mud walls,' of Amber. But weeks and

months fled ere he found an opportunity to execute his threat; he gradually sold all his horses, and was obliged to dismiss his attendants. Still he lingered, and sold his clothes, and all his arms, except his spear; he had been three days without food, when he sold half his turban for a meal. That day, Jey Sing left the castle by the road called *mora*, a circuitous path to avoid a hill. He was in his *sookhasun*;* as he passed, a spear was delivered, which lodged in the corner of the litter. A hundred swords flew out to slay the assassin; but the Raja called aloud to take him alive, and carry him to Amber. When brought before him and asked who he was, and the cause of such an act, he boldly replied, "I am the Deoti Birgoojur, and threw the spear at you merely for some words with my *Bhabe*; either kill or release me." He related how long he had lain in wait for him, and added, that "had he not been four days without food, the spear would have done its duty." Jey Sing, with politic magnanimity, freed him from restraint, gave him a horse and dress of honour (*khelat*), and sent him, escorted by fifty horse, in safety to Rajore." Having told his adventure to his sister-in-law, she replied, "yon have wounded the envenomed snake, and have *given wate*" to the state of Rajore." She knew that a pretext alone was wanting to Jey Sing, and this was now unhappily given. With the advice of the *elders*, the females and the children were sent to the Raja at Anopsheher,† and the castles of Deoti and Rajore were prepared for the storm.

On the third day after the occurrence, Jey Sing, in a full meeting of his chiefs, related the circumstance, and held out the *beera* against Deoti; but Mohun Sing of Chomoo warned his prince of the risk of such an attempt, as the Birgoojur chief was not only estimated at court, but then served with his contingent. This opinion of the chief noble of Amber alarmed the assembly, and none were eager to seek the dangerous distinction. A month passed, and war against Deoti was again proposed; but none of the *Kotribunds* seeming inclined to oppose the opinion of their ostensible head, Futteh Sing Bunbeerpota, the chieftain of one hundred and fifty vassals, accepted the *beera*, when five thousand horse were ordered to assemble under his command. Hearing that the Birgoojur had left Rajore to celebrate the festival of Gungore, he moved towards him, sending on some messengers with "the compliments of Futteh Sing Bunbeerpota, and that he was at hand." The young Birgoojur, who, little expecting any hostile visitation, was indulging during this festive season, put the heralds to death, and with his companions, completely taken by surprise, was in turn cut to pieces by the Jeypur troops. The Rani of Rajore was the sister of the Cuchwaha chief of Chomoo: she was about giving a pledge of affection to her absent lord, when Rajore was surprised and taken. Addressing the victor, Futteh Sing, she said, "Brother, give me the gift (*dan*) of my womb;" but suddenly recollecting that her own unwise speech had occasioned this loss of her child's inheritance, exclaiming, "Why should I preserve life to endanger feuds?" she sheathed a dagger in her bosom and expired. The heads of the vanquished Birgoojurs were tied up in handkerchiefs, and suspending them from their saddle-horses, the victors returned to their prince, who sent for that of his intended assassin, the young Birgoojur chieftain. As soon as Mohun Sing recognized the features of his kinsman, the tears poured down his face. Jey Sing, recollecting the advice of this, the first noble of his court, which delayed his revenge a whole month, called his

* A litter, literally 'seat (*asun*) of ease (*sooka*).'

† The descendants of this chieftain still occupy lands at Anopsheher.

grief treason, and upbraided him, saying, "when the spear was levelled for my destruction, no tear fell." He sequestered Chomoo, and banished him from Dhoondar : the chief found refuge with the Rana at Oodipur. "Thus (says the manuscript) did Jey Sing dispossess the Birgoojur of Deoti and Rajore, which were added to his dominions : they embraced all the tract now called Macherri."*

Amongst the foibles of Jey Sing's character was his partiality to "strong drink." What this beverage was, whether the juice of the *madhu* (mead), or the essence (*arac*) of rice, the traditional chronicles of Amber do not declare, though they mention frequent appeals from Jey Sing drunk, to Jey Sing sober : one anecdote has already been related.†

In spite of his many defects, Jey Sing's name is destined to descend to posterity as one of the most remarkable men of his age and nation.

Until Jey Sing's time, the palace of Amber, built by the great Raja Maun, inferior to many private houses in the new city, was the chief royal residence. The Mirza Raja made several additions to it, but these were trifles compared with the edifice added by‡ Sowae Jey Sing, which has made the residence of the Cuchwaha princes as celebrated as those of Boondi or Oodipur, or, to borrow a more appropriate comparison, the Kremlin at Moscow. It was in S. 1784 (A. D. 1728) that he laid the foundation of Jeypur. Raja Mull was the *mosaheb*, Kirparam the stationary vakeel at Delhi, and Boodh Sing Khombani, with the *oordoo*, or royal camp, in the Dekhan : all eminent men. The position he chose for the new capital enabled him to connect it with the ancient castle of Amber, situated upon a peak at the apex of the re-entering angle of the range called *Khali-kho* ; a strong circumvallation enclosed the gorge of the mountain, and was carried over the crest of the hills, on either side, to unite with the castle, whilst all the adjoining passes were strongly fortified.

The sumptuary laws which he endeavoured to establish throughout Rajpootana for the regulation of marriages, in order to check those lavish expenses that led to infanticide and *satis*, will be again called forth when the time is ripe for the abolition of all such unhallowed acts. For this end, search should be made for the historical legends called the 'hundred and nine acts,' in the archives of Jeypur, to which ready access could be obtained, and which should be ransacked for all the traces of this great man's mind.§ Like all Hindus, he was tolerant ;¶ and a Brahmin, a

* Rajore is esteemed a place of great antiquity, and the chief seat of the Birgoojur tribe for ages, a tribe mentioned with high respect in the works of the bard Chund, and celebrated in the wars of Pirthwiraj. I sent a party to Rajore in 1813.

† Annals of Marwar.

‡ The manuscript says, "On the spot where the first Jey Sing erected the three *mahls*, and excavated the tank called the *Talkutora*, he erected other edifices." As Hindu princes never throw down the works of their predecessors, this means that he added greatly to the old palace.

§ By such researches we should in all probability recover those sketches of ancient history of the various dynasties of Rajpootana, which he is said to have collected with great pains and labour, and the genealogies of the old races, under the titles of *Rajavali* and *Raj Tarangini* : besides, the astronomical works, either original or translations, such as were collected by Jey Sing, would be a real gift to science.

Mahomedan, or a Jain, were alike certain of patronage. The Jains enjoyed his peculiar estimation, from the superiority of their knowledge, and he is said to have been thoroughly conversant both in^d their doctrines and their histories. Vidhyadhur, one of his chief co-adjutor in his astronomical pursuits, and whose genius planned the city of Jeypur, was a Jain, and claimed spiritual descent from the celebrated Hemacharya, of Nehrwalla, minister and spiritual guide of his namesake, the great Sidraj Jey Sing.*

Amongst the vanities of the founder of Amber, it is said that he intended to get up the ceremony of the *aswamedha yuga*, or 'sacrifice of the horse,' a rite which his research into the traditions of his nation must have informed him had entailed destruction on all who had attempted it, from the days of Janmeja the Pandu, to Jeychund, the last Rajpoot monarch of Canouj. It was a virtual assumption of universal supremacy; and although, perhaps, in virtue of his office, as the satrap of Delhi, the horse dedicated to the sun might have wandered unmolested on the banks of the Ganges, he would most assuredly have found his way into a Rahtore stable had he roamed in the direction of the desert: at the risk both of *jeeva* and *gadi* (life and throne), the Hara would have seized him, had he fancied the pastures of the Chumbul. He erected a sacrificial hall of much beauty and splendour, whose columns and ceilings were covered with plates of silver; nor is it improbable that the steed, emblematic of *Surya*, may have been led round the hall, and afterwards sacrificed to the solar divinity. The *Yugsala* of Jey Sing, one of the great ornaments of the city, was, however, stripped of its rich decoration by his profligate descendant, the late Juggut Sing, who had not the grace even of Rehoboam to replace them with inferior ornaments; and the noble treasures of learning which Jey Sing had collected from every quarter, the accumulated results of his own research and that of his predecessors, were divided into two portions, and one-half was given to a common prostitute, the favourite of the day. The most remarkable MSS. were till lately, hawk-ing about Jeypur.

Sowae Jey Sing died in S. 1799 (A. D. 1743), having ruled forty-four years. Three of his wives and several concubines ascended his funeral pyre, on which science expired with him.

CHAPTER III.

THE league formed at this time by the three chief powers of Rajpootana has already been noticed in the Annals of Mewar. It was one of self-preservation; and while the Rahtores added to Marwar from Guzzerat, Cuchwahs consolidated all the districts in their neighbourhood under Amber. The Shekhayati federation was compelled to become tributary, and but for the rise of the Jats, the state of Jeypur would have extended from the lake of Sambhur to the Jumna.

Eesuri Sing succeeded to a well-defined territory, heaps of treasure, an efficient ministry, and a good army; but the seeds of destruction lurked in the social edifice so lately raised, and polygamy was again the immediate agent. Eesuri Sing was the successor of Jey Sing, according

He ruled from S. 1150 to S. 1201, A. D. 1094-1145.

to the fixed laws of primogeniture; but Madhu Sing a younger son, born of a princess of Mewar, possessed conventional rights which vitiated those of birth. These have already been discussed, as well as their disastrous issue to the unfortunate Esuri Sing, who was not calculated for the times, being totally deficient in that nervous energy of character, without which a Rajpoot prince can enforce no respect. His conduct on the Abdalli invasion admitted the construction of cowardice, though his retreat from the field of battle, when the commander-in-chief, Kumurodin Khan, was killed, might have been ascribed to political motives, were it not recorded that his own wife received him with gibes and reproaches. There is every appearance of Jey Sing having repented of his engagement on obtaining the hand of the Seesodia princess, namely, that her issue should succeed, as he had in his life-time given an appanage unusually large to Madhu Sing, *vis.*, the four pergunnahs of Tonk, Rampura, Phaggi, and Malpura. The Rana also, who supported his nephew's claims, assigned to him the rich fief of Rampura Bhanpura in Mewar, which as well as Tonk Rampura, constituting a petty sovereignty, were, with eighty-four lakhs (£840,000 sterling), eventually made over to Holcar for supporting his claims to the 'cushion' of Jeypur. The consequence of this barbarous intervention in the international quarrels of the Rajpoots annihilated the certain prospect they had of national independence, on the breaking up of the empire, and subjected them to a thralldom still more degrading, from which a chance of redemption is now offered to them.

Madhu Sing, on his accession, displayed great vigour of mind, and though faithful to his engagements, he soon shewed the Mahrattas he would admit of no protracted interference in his affairs; and had not the rising power of the Jats, distracted his attention and divided his resources, he would, had his life been prolonged, in conjunction with the Rakhthores, have completely humbled their power. But this near enemy embarrassed all his plans. Although the history of the Jats is now well known, it may not be impertinent shortly to commemorate the rise of a power, which, from a rustic condition, in little more than half a century was able to baffle the armies of Britain, led by the most popular commander it ever had in the East; for till the siege of Bhurtpur the name of Lake was always coupled with victory.

The Jats* are a branch of the great Getic race, of which enough has been said in various parts of this work. Though reduced from the rank they once had amongst the 'thirty-six royal races,' they appear never to have renounced the love of independence, which they contested with Cyrus in their original haunts in Sogdiana. The name of the Cincinnatus of the Jats, who abandoned his plough to lead his countrymen against their tyrants, was Chooramun. Taking advantage of the sanguinary civil wars amongst the successors of Arungzebe, they erected petty castles in the villages (whose lands they cultivated) of Thoon and Sinsini, and soon obtained the distinction of *kussaks*, or 'robbers,' a title which they were not slow to merit, by their inroads as far as the royal abode of Ferokhsar. The Syeds, then in power, commanded Jey Sing of Amber to attack them in their strong-holds, and Thoon and Sinsini were simultaneously invested. But the Jats, in the

* It has been seen how the Yadu-Bhatti princes, when they fell from their rank of Rajpoots, assumed that of Jits, or Jats, who are assuredly a mixture of the Rajpoot and Yuti, Jit, or Gete races.

very infancy of their power, evinced the same obstinate skill in defending mud walls, which in later times gained them so much celebrity. The royal astronomer of Amber was foiled, and after twelve months of toil, was ingloriously compelled to raise both sieges.

Not long after this event, Buddun Sing, the younger brother of Chooramun, and a joint proprietor of the land, was for some misconduct placed in restraint, and had remained so for some years, when, through the intercession of Jey Sing and the guarantee of the other Bhomia Jats, he was liberated. His first act was to fly to Amber and to bring its prince, at the head of an army, to invest Thoon, which, after a gallant defence of six months, surrendered and was razed to the ground. Chooramun and his son, Mohkun Sing, effected their escape, and Buddun Sing was proclaimed chief of the Jats, and installed, as Raja, by Jey Sing, in the town of Deeg, destined also in after times to have its share of fame.

Buddun Sing had a numerous progeny, and four of his sons obtained notoriety, *viz.*, Soorajmull, Subharam, Pratap Sing, and Beernarain. Buddun Sing subjected several of the royal districts to his authority. He abdicated his power in favour of his elder son, Soorajmull, having in the first instance assigned the district of Wayer, on which he had constructed a fort, to his son Partap.

Soorajmull inherited all the turbulence and energy requisite to carry on the plans of his predecessors. His first act was to dispossess a relative, named Kaima, of the castle of Bhurtpur, afterwards the celebrated capital of the Jats. In the year S. 1820 (A.D. 1764), Soorajmull carried his audacity so far as to make an attempt upon the imperial city; but here his career was cut short by a party of Baloch horse, who slew him while enjoying the chase. He had five sons, *viz.*, Jowahir Sing, Ruttun Sing, Newul Sing, Nahur Sing, Runjeet Sing, and also an adopted son, named Hurdeo Buksh, picked up while hunting. Of these five sons, the first two were by a wife of the *Koormi** tribe; the third was by a wife of the *Malin*, or horticultural class; while the others were by *Fatmi*'s, or women of his own race.

Jowahir Sing, who succeeded, was the contemporary of Raja Madhu Sing, whose reign in Jeypur we have just reached; and to the Jat's determination to measure swords with him were owing, not only the frustration of his schemes for humbling the Mahratta, but the dismemberment of the country by the defection of the chief of Macherri. Jowahir Sing, in A.H. 1182, having in vain solicited the district of Kamona, manifested his resentment by instantly marching through the Jeypur territories to the sacred lake of Poshkur, without any previous intimation. He there met Raja Beejy Sing of Marwar, who, in spite of his Jat origin, condescended to "exchange turbans," the sign of friendship and fraternal adoption. At this period, Madhu Sing's health was on the decline, and his counsels were guided by two brothers, named Hursae and Goorsae, who represented the insulting conduct of the Jat and required instructions. They were commanded to address him a letter warning him not to return through the territories of Amber, and the chiefs were desired to assemble their retainers in order to punish a repetition of the insult. But the Jat, who had determined to abide the consequences, paid no regard to the letter, and returned homewards by the same route. This was a justifiable ground

* The Koormi (the Koolmbi of the Dekhan) is perhaps the most numerous, next to the Jats, of all the agricultural classes.

of quarrel, and the united *Kotribunds* marched to the encounter, to maintain the pretensions of their equestrian order against the plebeian Jat. A desperate conflict ensued, which, though it terminated in favour of the Cuchwahas, and in the flight of the leader of the Jats, proved destructive to Amber, in the loss of almost every chieftain of note.*

This battle was the indirect cause of the formation of Macherri into an independent state, which a few words will explain. Pratap Sing, of the Narōoka clan held the fief of Macherri; for some fault he was banished from the country by Madhu Sing, and fled to Jowahir Sing, from whom he obtained *sirna* (sanctuary), and lands for his maintenance. The ex-chieftain of Macherri had, as conductors of his household affairs and his agents at court, two celebrated men, Khooshialiram† and Nundram, who now shared his exile amongst the Jats. Though enjoying protection and hospitality at Bhurtpur, they did not the less feel the national insult, in that the Jat should dare thus unceremoniously to traverse their country. Whether the chief saw in this juncture an opening for reconciliation with his liege lord, or that a pure spirit of patriotism alone influenced him, abandoned the place of refuge, and ranged himself at his old post, under the standard of Amber, on the eve of the battle, to the gaining of which he contributed not a little. For this opportune act of loyalty his past errors were forgiven, and Madhu Sing, who only survived that battle four days, restored him to his favour and his fief of Macherri.

Madhu Sing died of a dysentery, after a rule of seventeen years. Had he been spared, in all human probability he would have repaired the injurious effects of the contest which gave him the *gadz* of Amber; but a minority, and its accustomed anarchy, made his death the point from which the Cuchwaha power declined. He built several cities, of which that called after him Madhupur, near the celebrated fortress of Rinthumbor, the most secure of the commercial cities of Rajwarra is the most remarkable. He inherited no small portion of his father's love of science, which continued to make Jeypur the resort of learned men, so as to eclipse even the sacred Benares.

Prithi Sing II., a minor, succeeded, under the guardianship of the mother of his younger brother, Pratap. The queen-regent, a Chonda-

* Having given a slight sketch of the origin of the Jats, I may here conclude it.

Ruttun Sing, the brother of Jowahir, succeeded him. He was assassinated by a Gosen Brahmin from Bindrabund, who had undertaken to teach the Jat prince the transmutation of metals, and had obtained considerable sums on pretence of preparing the process. Finding the day arrive on which he was to commence operations, and which would reveal his imposture, he had no way of escape but by applying the knife to his dupe. Kesuri Sing an infant succeeded, under the guardianship of his uncle, Newel Sing. Runjeet Sing succeeded him, a name renowned for the defence of Bhurtpur against Lord Lake. He died A. D. 1815, and was succeeded by the eldest of four sons, *viz.*, Rundheer Sing, Baldeo Sing, Hurdeo Sing, and Luchmun Sing. The infant son of Rundheer succeeded, under the tutelage of his uncle; to remove whom the British army destroyed Bhurtpur, which plundered it of its wealth, both public and private.

† Father of two men scarcely less celebrated than himself, Chuttur-bhoj and Duolut Ram.

wutni, was of an ambitious and resolute character, but degraded by her paramour, Feeroz, a *Feelban*, or 'elephant-driver,' whom she made member of her council, which disgusted the chiefs, who alienated themselves from court and remained at their estates. Determined, however, to dispense with their aid, she entertained a mercenary army under the celebrated Umbaji, with which she enforced the collection of the revenue. Arut Ram was at this period the Dewan, or prime minister, and Khooshialiram Bora, a name afterwards conspicuous in the politics of this court, was associated in the ministry. But though these men were of the highest order of talent, their influence was neutralized by that of the *Feelban*, who controlled both the regent Rani and the state. Matters remained in this humiliating posture during nine years, when Prithi Sing died through a fall from his horse, though not without suspicions that a dose of poison accelerated the vacancy of the *gadi*, which the Rani desired to see occupied by her own son. The scandalous chronicle of that day is by no means tender of the reputation of Madhu Sing's widow. Having a direct interest in the death of Prithi Sing, the laws of common sense were violated in appointing her guardian, notwithstanding her claims as *Pat-Rani*, or chief queen of the deceased. Prithi Sing, though he never emerged from the trammels of minority and the tutelage of the Chondawatni, yet contracted two marriages, one with Bikaner, the other with Kishengurh. By the latter he had a son, Maun Sing. Every court in Rajpootana has its pretender, and young Maun was long the bugbear to the court of Amber. He was removed secretly, on his father's death to the maternal roof at Kishengurh; but as this did not offer sufficient security, he was sent to Sindia's camp, and has ever since lived on the bounty of the Mahratta chief at Gwalior.*

Pratap Sing was immediately placed upon the *gadi* by the queen regent, his mother, and her council, consisting of the *Feelban*, and Khooshialiram, who had now received the title of Raja, and the rank of prime minister. He employed the power thus obtained to supplant his rival Feeroz, and the means he adopted established the independence of his old master, the chief of Macherri. This chief was the only one of note who absented himself from the ceremony of the installation of his sovereign. He was countenanced by the minister, whose plan to get rid of his rival was to create as much confusion as possible. In order that distress might reach the court, he gave private instructions that the Zemindars should withhold their payments; but these minor stratagems would have been unavailing, had he not associated in his schemes the last remnants of power about the Mogul throne. Nujif Khan was at this time the imperial commander, who, aided by the Mahrattas, proceeded to expel the Jats from the city of Agra. He then attacked them in their strong-hold of Bhurtpoor. Newul Sing was then the chief of the Jats. The Macherri chief saw in the last act of expiring vigour of the imperialists an opening for the furtherance of his views, and he united his troops

* Two or three times he had a chance of being placed on the *gadi* (vide letter of Resident with Sindia to Government, 27th March, 1812), which assuredly ought to be his: once, about 1810, when the nobles of Jeypur were disgusted with the libertine Juggut Sing; and again, upon the death of this dissolute prince, in 1820. The last occasion presented a fit occasion for his accession; but the British Government were then the arbitrators, [and I doubt much if his claims were disclosed to it, or understood by those who had the decision of the question, which nearly terminated in a civil war.]

to those of Nujif Khan. This timely succour, and his subsequent aid in defeating the Juts, obtained for him the title of Rao Raja, and a *sunnud* for Macherri, to hold direct of the crown. Khooshialiram, who, it is said, chalked out this course, made his old master's success the basis of his own operations to supplant the Feelban. Affecting the same zeal that he recommended to the chief of Macherri, he volunteered to join the imperial standard with all the forces of Amber. The queen regent did not oppose the Bhora's plan, but determined out of it still higher to exalt her favourite; she put him at the head of the force, which post the minister had intended for himself. This exaltation proved his ruin. Feeroz, in command of the Amber army, met the Rao Raja of Macherri on equal terms in the tent of the imperial commander. Foiled in these schemes of attaining the sole control of affairs, through the measure adopted, the Macherri chief, at the instigation of his associate, resolved to accomplish his objects by less justifiable means. He sought the friendship of the Feelban, and so successfully ingratiated himself in his confidence as to administer a dose of poison to him, and in conjunction with the Bhora, succeeded to the charge of the government of Amber. The regent queen soon followed the Feelban, and Raja Pratap was yet too young to guide the state vessel without aid. The Rao Raja and the Bhora, alike ambitious, soon quarrelled, and a division of the imperialists, under the celebrated Hamadan Khan, was called in by the Bhora. Then followed those interminable broils which brought in the Mahrattas. Leagues were formed with them against the imperialists one day, and dissolved the next; and this went on until the majority of Pratap, who determined to extricate himself from bondage, and formed that league, elsewhere mentioned, which ended in the glorious victory of Tonga, and for a time the expulsion of all their enemies, whether imperial or Mahrattas.

To give a full narrative of the events of this reign, would be to recount the history of the empire in its expiring moments. Throughout the twenty-five years' rule of Pratap, he and his country underwent many vicissitudes. He was a gallant prince, and not deficient in judgment; but neither gallantry nor prudence could successfully apply the resources of his petty state against its numerous predatory foes and its internal dissensions. The defection of Macherri was a serious blow to Jeypur, and the necessary subsidies soon lightened the hoards accumulated by his predecessors. Two payments to the Mahrattas took away eighty lakhs of rupees (£800,000); yet such was the mass of treasure notwithstanding the enormous sums lavished by Madhu Sing for the support of his claims, besides those of the regency, that Pratap expended in charity alone, on the victory of Tonga, A.D. 1789, the sum of twenty-four lakhs, or a quarter of a million sterling.

In A.D. 1791, after the subsequent defects at Patun, and the disruption of the alliance with the Rakhthores, Tukaji Holkar invaded Jeypur, and extorted an annual tribute, which was afterwards transferred to Ameer Khan, and continues a permanent incumbrance on the resources of Jeypur. From this period to A.D. 1803, the year of Pratap's death, his country was alternately desolated by India's armies, under De Boigne or Perrot, and the other hordes of robbers, who frequently contested with each other the possession of the spoils.

Juggut Sing succeeded in A.D. 1803, and ruled for seventeen years, with the disgraceful distinction of being the most dissolute prince of his race or of his age. The events with which his reign is crowded would fill volumes were they worthy of being recorded. Foreign invasions, cities

besieged, capitulations and war-contributions, occasional acts of heroism, when the invader forgot the point of honour, court intrigues, diversified, not unfrequently, by an appeal to the sword or dragger, even in the precincts of the court. Sometimes the daily journals (*akbars*) disseminated the scandal of the *rawula* (female apartments), the follies of the libertine prince with his concubine *Ras-caphoor*, or even less worthy objects, who excluded from the nuptial couch his lawful mates of the noble blood of Joda, or Jessa, the Ralhthores and Bhattis of the desert. We shall not disgrace these annals with the history of a life which discloses not one redeeming virtue amidst a cluster of effeminate vices, including the rankest, in the opinion of a Rajpoot—cowardice. The black transaction respecting the princess of Oodipur has already been related, which covered him with disgrace, and inflicted a greater loss, in his estimation, even than that of character—a million sterling. The treasures of the *Jey-Mindra* were rapidly dissipated, to the grief of those faithful hereditary guardians, the Meenas of Kalikho, some of whom committed suicide rather than see these sacred deposits squandered on their prince's unworthy pursuits. The lofty walls which surrounded the beautiful city of Jey Sing were insulted by every marauder; commerce was interrupted and agriculture rapidly declined, partly from insecurity, but still more from the perpetual exactions of his minions. One day a tailor* ruled the councils, the next a Baniah, who might be succeeded by a Brahmin, and each had in turn the honour of elevation to the *donjon keep* of Nahrghurh, the castle where criminals are confined, overlooking the city. The feudal chiefs held both his authority and his person in utter contempt, and the pranks he played with the 'Essence of Camphor' (*ras-caphoor*),† at one time led to serious thoughts of deposing him; which project, when near maturity, was defeated by transferring "this queen of half of Amber," to the prison of Nahrghurh. In the height of his passion for this Islamite concubine, he formally installed her as queen of half his dominions and actually conveyed to her in gift a moiety of the personality of the crown, even to the invaluable library of the illustrious Jey Sing, which was despoiled, and its treasures distributed amongst her base relations. The Raja even struck coin in her name, and not only rode with her on the same elephant, but demanded from his chieftains those forms of reverence towards her, which were paid only to his legitimate queens. This their pride could not brook, and though the Dewan, or prime minister, Misser Sheonarain, albeit a Brahmin, called her "daughter," the brave Chand Sing of Doonee indignantly refused to take part in any ceremony at which she was present. This contumacy was punished by a mulct of £20,000, nearly four years' revenue of the fief of Doonee!

Menu allows that sovereigns may be desposed, and the aristocracy of Amber had ample justification for such an act. But unfortunately the design became known, and some judicious friend, as a salvo to the Raja's dignity, propagated a report injurious to the fair fame of his Aspasia, which he affected to believe; a mandate issued for the sequestration of her property, and her incarceration in the castle allotted to criminals. There

* Rorji *Khawas* was a tailor by birth, and, I believe, had in early life exercised the trade. He was, however, amongst the *Moosahebs*, or privy councillors of Juggut Sing, and (I think) one of the ambassadors sent to treat with Lord Lake.

† *Ras-caphoor*, I am aware means 'corrosive sublimate,' but it may also be interpreted 'essence of camphor.'

she was lost sight of, and Juggut continued to dishonour the *gadi* of Jey Sing until his death, on a day held especially sacred by the Rajpoot, the 21st of December, 1818, the winter solstice; when, to use their own metaphorical language, "the door of heaven is reopened."

Raja Juggut Sing left no issue, legitimate or illegitimate, and no provision had been made for a successor during his life. But as the laws of Rajpootana, political or religious, admit of no *interregnum*, and the funeral pyre must be lit by an adopted child, if there be no natural issue, it was necessary at once to inaugurate a successor; and the choice fell on Mohun Sing, son of the ex-prince of Nurwar. As this selection, in opposition to the established rules of succession, would, but for a posthumous birth, have led to a civil war, it may be proper to touch briefly upon the subject of heirs-presumptive in Rajpootana, more especially those of Jeypur: the want of exact knowledge respecting this point, in those to whom its political relations with us were at that time entrusted, might have had the most injurious effects on the British character. To set this in its proper light, we shall explain the principles of the alliance which rendered Jeypur a tributary of Britain.

CHAPTER IV.

JEYPUR was the last of the principalities of Rajpootana to accept the protection tendered by the government of British India. To the latest moment, she delayed her sanction to a system which was to banish for ever the enemies of order. Our overtures and expostulations were rejected, until the predatory powers of India had been, one after another, laid prostrate at our feet. The Pindarries were annihilated; the Peshwa was exiled from Poona to the Ganges; the Boonsla was humbled; Sindia palsied by his fears; and Holcar, who had extensive lands assigned him, besides a regular tribute from Jeypur, had received a death-blow to his power in the field of Mehidpur.

Procrastination is the favourite expedient of all Asiatics; and the Rajpoot, though a fatalist, often, by protracting the irresistible *honhar* (destiny), works out his deliverance. Ameer Khan, the lieutenant of Holcar, who held the lands and tribute of Jeypur in *jaodad*, or assignment for his troops, was the sole enemy of social order left to operate on the fears of Jeypur, and to urge her to take refuge in our alliance; and even he was upon the point of becoming one of the illustrious allies, who were to enjoy the "perpetual friendship" of Great Britain. The Khan was at that very moment battering Madhurajpura, a town almost within the sound of cannon-shot of Jeypur, and we were compelled to make an indirect use of this incident to hasten the decision of the Cuchwaha prince. The motives of his backwardness will appear from the following details.

Various considerations combined to check the ardour with which we naturally expected our offer of protection would be embraced. The Jeypur court retained a lively, but no grateful remembrance, of the solemn obligations we contracted with her in 1803, and the facility with which we extricated ourselves from them when expediency demanded whilst we vainly attempted to throw the blame of violating the treaty upon our ally.

To use the words of one who has been mixed up with all the political transactions of that eventful period, with reference to the letter delivered by the envoy at the Jeypur court from our viceroy in the East, notifying, the dissolution of the alliance; "the justice of these grounds was warmly disputed by the court, which, under a lively sense of that imminent danger to which it had become exposed from this measure, almost forgot for a moment the temper and respect which it owed to the English nation." But the native envoy from Jeypur, attending the camp of the gallant Lake, took a still higher tone, and with a manly indignation observed, that "this was the first time, since the English government was established in India, that it had been known to make its faith subservient to its convenience:" a reproach the more bitter and unpalatable from its truth.*

The enlarged and prophetic views of Marquis of Wellesley, which suggested the policy of uniting all these regular governments in a league against the predatory powers, were counteracted by the timid, temporising policy of Lord Cornwallis, who could discover nothing but weakness in this extension of our influence. What misery would not these states have been spared, had those engagements, executed through the noble Lake (a name never mentioned in India, by European or native, without reverence), been maintained; for the fifteen years which intervened between the two periods produced more mischief to Rajwarra than the preceding half century, and half a century more will not repair it!

A circumstance that tended to increase this distrust was our tearing Vizier Alli from his sanctuary at Jeypur, which has cast an indelible stain upon the Cuchwaha name. We have elsewhere explained the privileges of *sirna*, or 'sanctuary,' which, when claimed by the unfortunate or criminal, is sacred in the eye of the Rajpoot. This trust we forced the Jeypur state to violate, though she was then independent of us. It was no excuse for the act that the fugitive was a foul assassin: we had no right to demand his surrender.†

There were other objections to the proffered treaty of no small weight. The Jeypur court justly deemed one-fifth (*eight-lakhs*) of the gross revenues of the crown, a high rate of insurance for protection; but when we further stipulated for a prospective increase‡ of nearly *one-third* of all surplus revenue beyond *forty lakhs*, they saw, instead of the generous

* *Vide Malcolm's Political History of India.*

† A better commentary on the opinions held by the natives upon this subject could not be given than the speech of Holcar's envoy to the agent of the Governor-General of India, then with Lord Lake: "Holcar's vakeel demanded, with no slight degree of pertinacity, the cession of the Jeypur and Boondi tributes; and one of them, speaking of the former, stated, that he no doubt would continue to enjoy the friendship of the English, as he had disgraced himself to please that nation, by giving up Vizier Alli (who had sought his protection to their vengeance. The vakeel was severely rebuked by the agent (Colonel, now Sir John Malcolm) for this insolent reflection on the conduct of an ally of the British Government, who had delivered up a murderer whom it would have been infamy to shelter;" though the author of the "Political History of India" might have added—but whom it was still greater infamy, according to their code, to surrender. See Malcolm's *Political History of India*, p. 432.

‡ See Article 6 of the Treaty, Appendix, No. 5.

Briton, a sordid trafficker of mercenary protection, whose rapacity transcended that of the Mahratta.

Independent of these state objections, there were abundance of private and individual motives arrayed in hostility to the British offer. For example : the ministers dreaded the *surveillance* of a resident-agent, as obnoxious to their authority and influence ; and the chieftains, whom rank and ancient usage kept at court as the counsellors of their prince, saw in prospect the surrender of crown-lands, which fraud, favour, or force had obtained for them. Such were the principal causes which impeded the alliance between Amber and the Governor-General of British India ; but it would have marred the uniformity of Lord Hastings' plan to have left a gap in the general protective system by the omission of Jeypur. The events rapidly happening around them—the presence of Meer Khan—the expulsion of the orange flag of the Mahratta, and the substitution of the British banner on the battlements of Ajmere—at length produced a tardy and ungracious assent, and, on the 2nd of April, 1818, a treaty of ten articles was concluded which made the Cuchwaha princes the friends and tributaries in perpetuity of Great Britain.

On the 21st of December of the same year, Juggut Sing died, and the choice of a successor speedily evinced to the ministers the impracticability of their exercising, as in days of yore, that "absolute power over their country and dependents," guaranteed to them by the treaty.* Our office of arbitrating the difference between the Raja and his vassals, on the subject of the usurpations from the crown-lands, was easy, and left no unpleasant feeling ; but when we intermeddled with the intrigues respecting the succession, our ignorance of established rights and usage rendered the interference offensive, and made the Jeypur chiefs repent the alliance which temporary policy had induced their prince to accept.

It may be of use in future negotiations, to explain the usages which govern the different states of Rajpootana in respect to succession. The law of primogeniture prevails in all Rajpoot sovereignties ; the rare instances in which it has been set aside, are only exceptions to the rule. The inconclusive dicta of Menu, on this as on many other points, are never appealed to by the Rajputs of modern days. Custom and precedent fix the right of succession, whether to the *gadi* of the state, or to a fief, in the eldest son, who is styled *Rajkomar*, *Pat-komar*, or simply *Komarji*, 'the prince ;' while his brothers have their proper names affixed, as *Komar Jowan Sing*, 'Prince Jowan.' Seniority is, in fact, a distinction pervading all ranks of life, whether in royal families or those of chieftains ; all have their *Pat-komar* and *Pat-rani*, or 'head child,' and 'head queen.' The privileges of the *Pat-rani* are very considerable. In minorities, she is the guardian, by custom as well as nature, of her child ; and in Mewar (the oldest sovereignty in India), she is publicly enthroned with the Rana. Seniority in marriage bestows the title of *Pat-rani*, but as soon as an heir is given to the state, the queen-mother assumes this title, or that of *Mahji*, simply 'the mother.†' In the duties of guardian, she is assisted by the chiefs of certain families, who with certain officers of the household enjoy this as an established hereditary distinction.

* See Article 8 of the Treaty.

† In Mewar simply *Mahji* ; at Jeypur, where they have long used the language and manners of Delhi, they affix the Persian word *Sahebeh*, or 'lady-mother.'

On the demise of a prince without lawful issue of his body, or that of near kindred, brothers or cousins, there are certain families in every principality (*raj*) of Rajwarra, in whom is vested the right of presumptive heirship to the *gadi*. In order to restrict the circle of claimants, laws have been established in every state limiting this right to the issue of a certain family in each principality. Thus, in Mewar, the elder of the Ranawut clans, styled '*Babas*, or 'the infants,' possesses the latent right of heir-presumptive. In Marwar, the independent house of Eedur, of the family of Joda; in Boondi, the house of Doogari; in Kotah, the Apjis of Polaitoh; in Bikaner, the family of Mahajin; and in Jeypur, the branch Rajawut (according to seniority), of the stock of Raja Maun. Even in this stock there is a distinction between those prior, and those posterior, to Raja Madhu Sing; the former are styled simply *Rajawut*, or occasionally conjoined, *Mansingote*; the other *Madhani*. The Rajawuts constitute a numerous *frerage*, of which the Jhulary house takes the lead; and in which, provided there are no mental or physical disabilities, the right of furnishing heirs to the *gadi* of Jeypur is a long-established, incontrovertible, and inalienable privilege.

We have been thus minute, because, notwithstanding the expressed wish of the government not to prejudge the question, the first exercise of its authority as lord-paramount was to justify a proceeding by which these established usages were infringed, in spite of the eighth article of the treaty: "The Maharaja and his successors shall remain absolute rulers of their country and dependents according to long established usage," etc., "*C'est le premier pas qui coute*;" and this first step, being a wrong one, has involved an interference never contemplated, and fully justifying that weariness on the part of Jeypur, which made her hesitate to link her destiny with ours.

Both the sixth and seventh articles contain the seeds of disunion, whenever it might suit the chicanery or bad faith of the protected, or the avarice of the protector. The former has already been called into operation, and the 'absolute rulers' of Jeypur have been compelled to unfold to the resident-agent the whole of their financial and territorial arrangements, to prove that the revenues did not exceed the sum of forty lakhs. as, of the sum in excess (besides the stipulated tributary *fifth*), our share was to be *three-sixteenths*.*

* Mewar was subjected to the same *premium* on her reviving prosperity. The author unsuccessfully endeavoured to have a limit fixed to the demand; but he has heard with joy that some important modifications have since been made in the tributary engagements both with Mewar and Amber: they cannot be made too light. Discontent in Rajpootana will not be appeased by a few lakhs of extra-expenditure. I gave my opinions fearlessly when I had everything at stake; I will not suppress them now, when I have nothing either to hope or to fear but for the perpetuity of the British power in these regions, and the revival of the happiness and independence of those, who have sought our protection. He will prove the greatest enemy to his country, who, in ignorance of the true position of the Rajpoots, may aim at further trenching upon their independence. Read the thirty years' war between Arungzeb and the Ralhthores! where is the dynasty of their tyrant? Look at the map: a desert at their back, the Aravalli in front; no enemies to harass or disturb them! How different would a Rajpoot foe prove from a contemptible Mahratta, or the mercenary array of traitorous Nawabs, whom we have always found easy conquest! Cherish the native army: conciliate the Rajpoots; then, laugh at foes!

While, therefore, we deem ourselves justified in interfering in the two chief branches of government, the succession and finances, how is it possible to avoid being implicated in the acts of the government-functionaries, and involved in the party views and intrigues of a court, stigmatized even by the rest of Rajwarra with the epithet of *jootha durbar*, the 'living court?' While there is a resident-agent at Jeypur, whatever his resolves, he will find it next to impossible to keep aloof from the vortex of intrigue. The purest intentions, the highest talents, will scarcely avail to counteract this systematic vice, and with one party at least, but eventually with all, the reputation of his government will be compromised.

This brings us back to the topic which suggested these remarks, the installation of a youth upon the *gadi* of Jeypur. We shall expose the operation of this transaction by a literal translation of an authentic document, every word of which was thoroughly substantiated. As it presents a curious picture of manners, and is valuable as a precedent, we shall give it entire in the Appendix, and shall here enter no further into details than is necessary to unravel the intrigue which violated the established laws of succession.

The youth, named Mohun Sing, who was installed on the *gadi* of Jeypur, on the morning succeeding Juggut Sing's decease, was the son of Monohur Sing, the ex-Raja of Nurwar, who was chased from his throne and country by Sindia. We have stated that the Jeipur family, sprung from that of Nurwar eight centuries ago; but the parent state being left without direct lineage, they applied to Amber and adopted a son of Prithi Raj I., from whom the boy now brought forward was fourteen generations in descent. This course of proceeding was in direct contravention of usage, which had fixed, as already stated, the heirs-presumptive, on failure of lineal issue, to the *gadi* of Amber, in the descendants of Raja Maun, and the branch Madhani, generally styled *Rajawut*, of whom the first claimant was the chief of Jhulaye, and supposing his incompetency, Kiamah, and a dozen other houses of the 'infants' of Jeypur.

The causes of departure from the recognized rule, in this respect were the following. At the death of Juggut Sing, the reins of power were, and had been for sometime, in the hands of the chief eunuch of the *rawala* (*saraglio*), whose name was Mohun Nazir,* a man of considerable vigour of understanding, and not without the reputation of good intention in his administration of affairs, although the system of chicanery and force,† by which he attempted to carry his object, savoured more of self-interest than of loyalty. The youth was but nine years of age and a long minority, with the exclusive possession of power, suggested the true motives of the Nazir. His principal co-adjutor, amongst the great vassals of the state, was Megh Sing of Diggee, a chief who had contrived by fraud and force to double his hereditary fief by usurpations from the crown-lands, to retain which he supported the views of the Nazir with all the influence of his clan (the Khangarote), the most powerful of the twelve

* *Nazir* is the official name, a Mahomedan one, denoting his capacity, as emasculated guardian of the *saraglio*. Jeypur and Boondi are the only two of the Rajpoot principalities who, adopting the Mooslem custom, have contaminated the palaces of their queens with the presence of these creatures.

† See "Summary of Transactions," Appendix, No. 5.

great families of Amber.* The personal servants of the crown, such as the *Purohīts*, *Dhabhaes* (domestic chaplains and foster-brothers), and all the subordinate officers of the household, considered the Nazir's cause as their own; a minority and his favour guaranteed their places, which might be risked by the election of a prince who could judge for himself, and had friends to provide for.

A reference to the "Summary of Transactions" (in the Appendix) will shew there was no previous consultation or concert amongst the military vassals, or the queens; on the contrary, acting entirely on his own responsibility, the Nazir, on the morning succeeding the death of his master, placed young Mohun in "the car of the sun," to lead the funeral procession, and light the pyre of his adopted sire. Scarcely were the ablutions and necessary purifications from this rite concluded, when he received the congratulations of all present as lord of the Cuchwahas, under the revived name of Maun Sing the Second. The transactions which followed, as related in the diary, until the final *aneouement*, distinctly shew, that having committed himself, the Nazir was anxious to obtain through the resident-agents of the chieftains at court, their acquiescence in the measure under their signs-manual. It will be seen that the communications were received and replied to in that cautious, yet courteous, manner, which pledged the writer to nothing, and gained him time for the formation of a deliberate opinion: the decision was thus suspended; all eyes were directed to the paramount power; and the Nazir, whose first desire was to propitiate this, entreated the British functionary at Delhi to send his confidential moonshee to Jeypur without delay. This agent reached Jeypur from Delhi six days after the death of Juggut. He was the bearer of instructions, "requiring a full account of the reasons for placing the son of the Nurwar Raja on the musnud; of his family, lineage, right of succession, and by whose councils the measure was adopted." On the 11th of January this requisition was reiterated; and it was further asked, whether the measure had the assent of the queens and chiefs, and a declaration to this effect, under their signatures, was required to be forwarded. Nothing could be more explicit, or more judicious, than the tenor of these instructions.

The replies of the Nazir and confidential moonshee were such, that on the 7th of February the receipt of letters of congratulation from the British agent, accompanied by one from the supreme authority, was formerly announced, which letters being read in full court, "the *nobut* (kettledrum) again sounded, and young Maun Sing was conducted to the Pratap Mahl, and seated on the musnud." On this formal recognition by the British Government, the agents of the chieftains at their sovereign's court, in reply to the Nazir's demand, "to know the opinions of the chiefs," answered, that "if he called them, they were ready to obey;" but at the same time they rested their adhesion on that of the chief queen, sister of the Raja of Jodhpur, who breathed nothing but open defiance of the Nazir and his *junta*. Early in March, public discontent became more manifest: and the Rajawut chief of Jhulaye determined to appeal to arms in support of his rights as heir-presumptive, and was soon joined

* The Khangarote clan enumerates twenty-two fiefs, whose united rent-rolls amount to 4,09,806 rupees annually, and their united quotas for the service of the state, six hundred and forty-three horse. Megh Sing, by his turbulence and intelligence, though only the sixth or seventh in the scale of rank of this body, had taken the lead, and became the organ of his clan at court.

by the chiefs of Sirwar and Eesurda, junior, but powerful, branches of the same stock.

Another party seemed inclined, on this emergency, to revive the right of that posthumous son of Prithi Sing, whom we have already described as living in exile at Gwalior, on the bounty of Sindia; and nothing but unfavourable report of his intellect and debased habits prevented the elder branch of the sons of Madhu Sing recovering their lost honours.

While the paramount authority was thus deluded, and the chieftains were wavering amidst so many conflicting opinions, the queen continued resolute, and the Rajawuts were arming—and the Nazir, in this dilemma, determined, as a last resource, to make Raja Maun of Jodhpur the umpire, hoping by this appeal to his vanity, to obtain his influence over his sister to an acquiescence in the irremediable step, which had been taken "in obedience (as he pretended) to the will of the deceased prince." Raja Maun's reply is important: "that there could be no occasion for his, or his sister's, signature to the required declaration on the right of succession to the musnud of Jeypur, which depended upon, and vested in, the elders of the twelve tribes of Cuchwahs; that if they approved and signed the declaration, the queen his sister, and afterwards himself, would sign it, if requisite."

The Nazir and his faction, though aided by the interposition of the moonshee, were now in despair, and in these desperate circumstances, he attempted to get up a marriage between the puppet he had enthroned and the grand-daughter of the Rana of Mewar. It was contrived, and not ill-received by the Rana; but there was an influence at his court which at once extinguished the plot, though supported at Delhi by the Rana's most influential agent. It was proposed that, at the same time, the Rana should consummate his nuptials with the Jeypur Raja's sister, the preliminaries of which had been settled a dozen years back. Money in abundance was offered, and the Rana's passion for pageantry and the profusion would have prevented any objection to his proceeding to the Jeypur capital. To receive the chief of the universal Hindu race with due honour, the whole nobility of Amber would have left their estates which would have been construed into, and accepted, as a voluntary acquiescence in the rights of the Nazir's choice, which the marriage would have completely cemented. Foiled in this promising design, the knot, which the precipitate and persevering conduct of the Nazir had rendered too indissoluble even for his skill to undo, was cut by the announcement of the advanced pregnancy of the Bhattiani queen.

This timely interposition of *Mata Januvi* (the Juno Lucina of Rajwarra) might well be regarded as miraculous; and though the sequel of this event was conducted with such publicity as almost to choke the voice of slander, it still found utterance.* It was deemed a short of prodigy, that an event, which would have caused a jubilee throughout Dhoondar, should have been kept secret until three months after the Raja's death.†

* The publicity, on this occasion, is precisely of the same character as marked the accouchement of the Dutchess de Berri, who, it is said, not only had the usual witnesses to silence the voice of doubt, but absolutely insisted on the *Marechaux* as well as the *Marechaux* of France being in the room at the moment of parturition.

† Raja Juggut Sing died on the 21st December, 1818, and the announcement of the Bhattiani being in "the eighth month of her pregnancy," was on the 24th March, 1819.

The mysteries of the *rawuls* of Rajpoot princes find their way to the public out of doors; and in Oodipur, more especially, are the common topics of conversation. The variety of character within its walls, the like variety of communicants without, the conflicting interests, the diversified objects of contention of these little worlds, render it utterly impossible that any secret can long be maintained, far less one of such magnitude as the pregnancy of the queen of a prince without issue. That this event should be revealed to the Nazir, the superintendent of the queen's palace, with all the formality of a new discovery, *three months* after Juggut Sing's death, must excite surprise; since to have been the bearer of such joyful intelligence to his master, to whom he was much attached, must have rivetted his influence.

At three o'clock on the 1st of April, a council of sixteen queens, the widows of the late prince, and the wives of all the great vassals of the state, "assembled to ascertain the fact of pregnancy," whilst all the great barons awaited in the antichambers of the *Zenana Deori* the important response of this council of matrons. When it announced that the Bhattiani queen was pregnant beyond a doubt, they consulted until seven, when they sent in a written declaration, avowing their unanimous belief of the fact; and that "should a son be born, they would acknowledge him as their lord, and to none else pledge allegiance." A transcript of this was given to the Nazir, who was recommended to forward an attested copy to the British agent at Delhi. From this deliberations, from which there was no appeal, the Nazir was excluded by express desire of the Rahtore queen. He made an ineffectual effort to obtain from the chiefs a declaration, that the adoption of the Nurwar youth was in conformity to the desire of the deceased prince, their master; but this attempt to obtain indemnity for his illegal acts was defeated immediately on the ground of its untruth.*

By this lawful and energetic exertion of the powers directly vested in the queen-mother and the great council of the chiefs, the tongue of faction was rendered mute; but had it been otherwise, another queen was pronounced to be in the same joyful condition.† On the morning of the 25th April, four months and four days after Juggut Sing's death, a son was ushered into the world with the usual demonstrations of joy and received as the Autocrat of the Cuchwahas; while the infant interloper was removed from the *gadi*, and thrust back to his original obscurity. Thus terminated an affair which involved all Rajwarra in discussion, and at one time threatened a very serious result. That it was disposed of in this manner was fortunate for all parties, and not least for the protecting power.

Having thus given a connected, though imperfect, sketch of the history of the Jeipur state, from its foundation to the present time, before proceeding with any account of its resources, or the details of its internal administration, we shall delineate the rise, progress, and existing condition of the Shekhavati federation, which has risen out of, and almost to an equality with, the parent state.

* Deeming a record of these transactions useful, not only as descriptive of manners, but as a *precedent* inasmuch as they shew the powers and position of the different authorities composing a Rajpoot state in case of succession, I have inserted it in the Appendix.

† No notice, that I am aware of, was ever taken of this second annunciation.

CHAPTER V.

We proceed to sketch the history of the Shekhawut confederation, which, springing from the redundant feudality of Amber, through the influence of age and circumstances, has attained a power and consideration almost equalling that of the parent state, and although it possesses neither written laws, a permanent congress, nor any visible or recognized head, subsists by a sense of common interest. It must not be supposed, however, that no system of policy is to be found in this confederation, because the sprigs are not always visible or in action; the moment any common or individual interest is menaced, the grand council of the Barons of Shekhavati assembles at Oodipur to decide the course of action to be pursued.

The Shekhawut chieftains are descended from Baloji, the third son of Raja Qodikurn, who succeeded to the throne of Amber in S. 1445; A. D. 1389. At this period, if we look back to the political state of society, we find that nearly the whole of the tracts, which now obey the Shekhavati federation, were parcelled out amongst numerous chieftains of the Chohan or Tuar tribes,* the descendants of the ancient Hindu emperors of Delhi, who evinced no more submission than the sword and their Islamite successors exacted from them.

Baloji, who was the actual founder of the numerous families now designated by the more distinguished name of Shekhji, his grandson, obtained as an appanage the district of Amratsir, but whether by his own prowess or by other means, is not mentioned. He had three sons; Mokulji, Khemarji, and Kharud. The first succeeded to the patrimony of Amratsir; the second had a numerous issue styled *Balapota*, one of whom was adopted into the twelve chambers (*bara kotri*) of Cuchwahas. The third had a son called Kumun, whose descendants were styled Kumawut, but are now nearly extinct.

* The lovers of antiquity have only to make the search to find an abundant harvest, throughout all these countries, of ancient capitals and cities, whose names are hardly known even to the modern inhabitants. Of the ancient *Rajore* I have already spoken, and I now draw the attention of my countrymen to *Abhanair*, which boasts a very remote antiquity; and from an old stanza, we might imagine that its princes were connected with the *Kaian* dynasty of Persia. I copied it, some twenty years ago, from an itinerant bard, who had an imperfect knowledge of it himself, and I have doubtless made it more so, but it is still sufficiently intelligible to point at a remarkable coincidence:

" *Raja Chund ca Abhanair,*
 " *Bean Sanjog, ayo Girnair (Girnar)*
 " *Dek'h bharat. leo bulae*
 " *Kao bidut, mun bagtas,*
 " *Beao Sanjog, Permala burra*
 " *Kao sat'h so, mun chit d'harrs,*
 " *Tu beti Kaicum ce*
 " *Nam Permala(a) ho*
 " *Lekha hoqa kurtar ho*
 " *Eso jana sarb ho.*"

(a) *Peri-mala*, means Fairy garland.

Mokul had a son who was named Shekji, in compliment to a miracle-working Islamite saint, to whose prayers the childless chief was indebted for a son destined to be the patriarch of a numerous race, occupying under the term Shekhawut, an important portion of the surface of Rajpootana. Shekh Boothan was the name of this saint, whose shrine (still existing) was about six miles from Achrole, and fourteen from the residence of Mokul. As the period of time was shortly after Timoor's invasion, it is not unlikely he was a pious missionary, who remained behind for the conversion of the warlike but tolerant Rajpoot, with whom, even if he should fail in his purpose, he was certain of protection and hospitality. The Shekh in one of his peregrinations had reached the confines of Amratsir, and was passing over an extensive meadow, in which was Mo kulji. The *Mangta* (mendicant) approached with the usual salutation "have you any thing for me?" "Whatever you please to have, *Babaji* (sire)," was the courteous reply. The request was limited to a draught of milk, and if our faith were equal to the Shekhawut's, we should believe that Shekh Boorhan drew a copious stream from the exhausted udder of a female buffalo. This was sufficient to convince the old chief that the Shekh could work other miracles; and he prayed that, through his means, he might no longer be childless. In due time he had an heir, who, according to the injunctions of Boorhan, was styled, after his own tribe, Shekh. He directed

This is a fragment of a long poem relative to the rivalry of Raja Chund of Abhanair, and Raja Soorsen of Indrapoori, who was betrothed to Permala, daughter of Kaicum, and had gone to Girnair, or Girnar, to espouse her, when the Abhanair prince abducted her. Raja Soorsen of Indrapoori (Delhi), if the ancestor of the Suraseni, and founder of Soorpoori, existed probably twelve hundred years before Christ. That sun-worshippers had established themselves in the peninsula of Saurashtra, (whose capital was Jutagurh-Girnar, its appellation, in the days of the Greeks of Bactria, as now, proves; (see Strabo, Justin, etc.,) but whether Kaicum, the father of Permala, is the Caicumaras of Ferdoosi, we shall not stop to inquire. The connection between this peninsula and Persia was intimate in later times, so as even to give rise to the assertion that the Ranas of Mewar were descended from the Sassanian kings. It was my good fortune to discover Soorpoori, on the Jumna, the residence of the rival of Chund of Abhanair, which city I leave to some one imbued with similar taste to visit, and merely add, he will find there an inscription in a *coond* or fountain dedicated to the Sun. The distance, however, seven hundred coss (*kos sat'h so*), whether from Indrapoori or Abhanair, to Girnar, even admitting them to be *gao coss*, would be too much. I believe this would make it eight hundred miles, and certainly, as the crow flies, it is not seven hundred. Interwoven with the story there is much about Raja Chambha, prince of Jainuggur, a city of great antiquity in Orissa, and containing some of the finest specimens of sculpture I ever saw. There is also mention of a Raja Saer (*qu.*, Sahir or Sehris of Arore) of Perman. In 1804, I passed through Jainuggur, after the conquest of the province of Cuttack, with my regiment. At Jainuggur, my earliest friend, the late Captain Bellet Sealy, employed his pencil for several days with the sculptured remains. These drawings were sent to the authorities at Calcutta: perhaps this notice may rescue from oblivion the remains of Jainuggur, and of my deceased friend's talent, for Captain Bellet Sealy was an ornament equally to private life and to his profession. He fell a victim to the fever contracted in the Nepal war. The ruins of Abhanair are on the Bangunga, three coss east of Lalant.

that he should wear the *buddea*,* which, when laid aside, was to be suspended at the saint's *durgah*; and further, that he should assume the blue tunic and cap, abstain from hog's flesh, and eat no meat "in which the blood remained." He also ordained that at the birth of every Shekhawut male infant a goat should be sacrificed, the *Kulma* (Islamite creed) read, and the child sprinkled with the blood. Although four centuries have passed away since these obligations were contracted by Mokul, they are still religiously maintained by the little nation of his descendants, occupying a space of ten thousand square miles. The wild hog, which, according to immemorial usage, should be eaten once a year by every Rajpoot, is rarely even hunted by a Shekhawut; and though they have relaxed in that ordinance, which commanded the suspension of the *buddeas* at the shrine of Boorhan, still each infant wears them, as well as the blue tunic and cap, for two years after his birth; and a still greater mark of respect to the memory of the saint is evinced in the blue pennon which surmounts the yellow banner, or national flag, of the Shekhawuts. It is even gravely asserted, that those who, from indolence, distance, or less justifiable motives, have neglected the least important injunction, that of depositing the initiatory strings or *buddeas*, have never prospered. But a still stronger proof is furnished of the credulity, the toleration, and yet immobility of the Rajpoot character, in the fact, that, although, Amratsir,† and the lands around the *durgah*, are annexed to the fise of Amber, yet the shrine of Shekh Boorhan continues a *sirna* (sanctuary), while lands are assigned to almost a hundred families, the descendants of the saint, who reside in the adjacent town of Talla.

Shekhji, when he attained man's estate, greatly augmented the territory left by his father, and had consolidated three hundred and sixty villages under his sway, by conquest from his neighbours, when his reputation and power attracted the jealous notice of the lord paramount of Amber. He was attacked; but by the aid of the Punnee Pathans‡ he successfully withstood the reiterated assaults of his suzerain. Up to this period, they had acknowledged the Amber princes as feige lords, and in token of alliance paid as tribute all the colts reared on the original estates.§ A dispute on this point was the ostensible cause (though subordinates to their rapid prosperity), which occasioned a total separation of the Shekhawut colonies from the parent state, until the reign of Sowae Jey Sing, who, with his means as lieutenant of the empire, compelled homage,

* Strings, or threads, worn crossways by Mahomedan children.

† The town of Amratsir and forty-five villages are still left to the Mundhuppur branch.

‡ The Punnees are a tribe of Dardanees, regarding whom Mr. Elphinstone's account of Cabul may be consulted. In aftertimes, there was a chieftain of this tribe so celebrated for his generosity and hospitality, that his name has become proverbial.

Bunne, to; bunne

Nuhyn, Daod Khan Punne;

that is, if they failed elsewhere, there was always Daod Khan in reserve. His gallant bearing, and death in Ferochser's reign, are related in Scott's excellent History of the Dekhan.

§ This will recall to the reader's recollection a similar custom in the ancient Persian empire, where the tribute of the distant Satrapies was of the same kind. Armenia, according to Herodotus, alone gave an annual tribute of twenty thousand colts.

submission, and pecuniary relief from them. Shekhji left a well-established authority to his son, *Raemull*, of whom nothing is recorded. Raemul was followed by *Sooja*, who had three sons, *vis.*, Noonkurn, Raesil, and Gopal. The elder succeeded to the patrimony of Amrutsir and its three hundred and sixty townships, while to his brothers, the fiefs of Lambi and Jharli were respectively assigned. With the second brother, Raesil, the fortunes of the Shekhawuts made a rapid-stride, from an occurrence in which the Rajpoot appears in the position we desire to see him occupy.

Noonkurn, the chief of the Shekhawuts, had a minister named Devidas, of the *benya* or mercantile caste, and, like thousands of that caste, energetic, shrewd, and intelligent. He one day held an argument with his lord (which the result proves he maintained with independence), that "genius with good fortune was the first gift of heaven, and to be far more prized than a man's mere inheritance." Noonkurn warmly disputed the point, which ended by his telling the minister he might go to Lambi and make experiment of the truth of his argument on his brother Raesil. Devidas lost no time, on this polite dismissal from his office, in proceeding with his family and property to Lambi. He was received with the usual hospitality; but soon discovered that Raesil's means were too confined to bear an additional burthen, and that the field was too restricted to enable him to demonstrate the truth of the argument which lost him his place. He made known his determination to proceed to the imperial city, and advised Raesil to accompany him, and try his luck at court. Raesil, who was valiant and not without ambition, could only equip twenty horse, with which he arrived at Delhi just as an army was forming to oppose one of those Afghan invasions, so common at that period. In the action which ensued, Raesil had the good fortune to distinguish himself by cutting down a leader of the enemy, in the presence of the imperial general, which had a decided influence on the event of the day. Enquiries were made for the brave unknown, who had performed this heroic deed; but as, for reasons which will be perceived, he kept aloof from the quarters of his countrymen, the argument of Devidas would never have been illustrated, had not the imperial commander determined to seek out and reward merit. He ordered a grand *seafut* or 'entertainment' to be prepared for the chiefs of every grade in the army, who were commanded afterwards to pay their respects to the general. As soon as Raesil appeared, he was recognized as the individual of whom they were in search. His name and family being disclosed, his brother, Noonkurn, who was serving with his quota, was called, whose anger was peremptorily expressed at his presuming to appear at court without his permission; but this ebullition of jealousy was of little avail. Raesil was at once introduced to the great Akber, who bestowed upon him the title of *Raesil Durbari*,* and a more substantial mark of royal favour, in a grant of the districts of Rewasso and Kasulli, then belonging to the Chundaila Rajpoots. This was but the opening of Raesil's career, for scarcely had he settled his new possessions, when he was recalled to court to take part in an expedition against Bhutnair. Fresh services obtained new favours, and he received a grant of Khundaila and Oodipur, then

* It is always agreeable to find the truth of these simple annals corroborated in the historical remains of the conquerors of the Rajpoots. The name of Raesil Durbari will be found, in the Ayeen Akberi, amongst the *munsuddars* of twelve hundred and fifty horse; a rank of high importance, being equivalent to that conferred on the sons of potent Rajas.

belonging to the Nurbhan Rajpoots, who disdained to pay allegiance to the empire, and gave themselves up to unlicensed rapine.

Raesil finding it would be a work of difficulty to expel the brave Nurbhans from their ancient *bapota* (patrimony), had recourse to stratagem to effect his object. Previous to the expedition to Bhutnair, Raesil had espoused the daughter of the chief of Khundaila, and it is related that a casual expression, dropped on that occasion, suggested his desire to obtain it for himself. Being dissatisfied with the dower (*daaja*) given with his bride, he, with no commendable taste, pertinaciously insisted upon an increase; upon which the Nurbhan chief, losing patience, hastily replied, "we have nothing else to give, unless you take the stones of the hill." The attendant *Sooguni* (augur), immediately turning to Raesil, said, in an under-tone, "tie a knot on the skirt of your garment in remembrance of this." An expression like this from a prophetic tongue, gave birth to the wish to be the lord of Khundaila; while his services to the king, and the imbecility of its Nurbhan possessor, conspired to fulfil it. Watching his opportunity, he marched against the place, and being in all probability supported by his liege lord, it was abandoned without defence, and the inhabitants tendered their submission to him. Henceforth, Khundaila was esteemed the principle city of the Shekhawut confederation; and the descendants of Raesil, using his name as a patronymic, are styled Raesilote, occupying all southern Shekhavati; while another branch of later origin, called *Sadhani*, holds the northern tracts. Immediately after the occupation of Khundaila, Raesil obtained possession of Oodipur, formerly called *Kasoombi*, also belonging to the Nurbhans.*

Raesil accompanied his proper liege lord, the great Raja Maun of Amber against the heroic Rana Pratap of Mewar. He was also in the expedition to Cabul, against the Afghans of Cohistan, in all of which enterprizes he obtained fresh distinctions. Regarding his death, there is no record; but his history is another illustration of the Rajpoot character, whilst it confirms the position of the *Banya*, that "genius and good fortune are far superior to inheritance."

Raesil, at his death, had a compact and well-managed territory, one of which he assigned appanages to his seven sons, from whom are descended the various families, who, with relative distinctive patronymics Bhojanis, Sadhanis, Larkhanis, Taj-khanis, Pursrampotas, Hur-rampotas, are recognized throughout Rajwarra by the generic name of Shekhawut.

1. Girdhur	...	... had Khundaila and Rewasso.
2. Larkhan	...	... Kachriawas.
3. Bhojraj	...	... Oodipur.
4. Tirmul Rao	...	... Kasulli and eighty-four villages.
5. Pursram	...	... Bae.
6. Hur-ramji	...	... Moondurri, ¹
7. Taj-khan	...	... No appanage.

* The Nurbhan is a *sach'ha*, or ramification of the Chohan race. They had long held possession of these regions, of which *Kais*, or *Kasoombi*, now Oodipur, was the capital, the city where the grand council of the confederation always meets on great occasions. This may throw light on the *Cusoombee* mentioned on the triumphal pillar at Delhi; the Nurbhan capital is more likely to be the town alluded to, than *Cusoombee* on the Ganges.

We shall not break the thread of the narrative of the elder branch of Khundaila, "chief of the sons of Shekhji," to treat of the junior line, though the issue of Bhojraj have eclipsed, both in population and property, the senior descendants of Raesil.

Girdhur-ji succeeded to the prowess, the energy, and the estates of his father, and for a gallant action obtained from the emperor the title of Raja of Khundaila. At this period, the empire was in a most disordered state, and the mountainous region, called Mewat, was inhabited by a daring and ferocious banditti, called Mewohs, who pillaged in gangs even to the gates of the capital. The task of taking, dead or alive, the leader of this banditti, was assigned to the chief of Khundaila, who performed it with signal gallantry and success. Aware that, by the display of superior force, his enemy would remain in his lurking places, Girdhur put himself on terms of equality with his foe, and with a small but select band hunted the Mewatti leader down, and in the end slew him in single combat. The career of Girdhur, short as it was brilliant, was terminated by assassination, while bathing in the Jumna. The anecdote is descriptive of the difference of manners between the rustic Rajpoot and the debauched retainer of the court.

One of the Khundaila chief's men was waiting, in a blacksmith's shop, while his sword was repaired and sharpened. A Mooslem, passing by, thought he might have his jest with the unpolished Rajpoot, and after asking some impertinent questions, and laughing at the unintelligible replies in the *Bakha* of Rajwarra, slipped a heated cinder in the turban of the soldier: the insult was borne with great coolness, which increased the mirth of the Mussulman, and at length the turban took fire. The sword was then ready and the *Thukoor*, after feeling the edge with one blow laid the jester's head at his feet. He belonged to one of the chief nobles of the court, who immediately led his retainers to the Khundaila chief's quarters, and thence to where he was performing his religious ablutions in the Jumna, and whilst engaged in this act, unarmed and almost unattended, basely murdered him. Girdhur left several children.

Dwarca-das, his eldest son, succeeded, and soon after his accession nearly fell a victim to the jealousy of the Munohurpur chief, the representative of the elder branch of the family, being the lineal descendant of Noonkurn. The emperor had caught a lion in the toils, and gave out a grand hunt, when the Munohurpur chief observed that his relative, the Raesilote, who was a votary of *Nahr-Singh*, was the proper person to engage the king of the forest. Dwarca-das saw through his relative's treachery, but cheerfully accepted the proposal. Having bathed and prayed, to the astonishment of the king and court, he entered the arena unarmed, with a brazen platter containing the various articles used in *pooja* (worship), as grains of rice, curds, and sandal ointment, and going directly up to the monoster, made the *tilac* on his forehead, put a chaplet round his neck, and prostrated himself in the usual attitude of adoration before the lion: when, to the amazement of the spectators, the noble beast came gently up, and with his tongue repeatedly licked his face, permitting him to retire without the least indication of anger. The emperor, who concluded that his subject must "wear a charmed life," desired the Khundaila chief to make any request, with the assurance of compliance; when he received a delicate reproof, in the desire "that his majesty would never place another person in the same predicament from which he had happily escaped."

Dwarca-das was slain by the greatest hero of the age in which he lived, the celebrated Khan Jehan Lodi, who according to the legends of the Shekhawuts, also fell by the hand of their lord; and they throw an air of romance upon the transaction, which would grace the annals of chivalry in any age or country. Khan Jehan and the chieftain of Khundaila were sworn friends, and when nothing but the life of the gallant Lodi would satisfy the king, Dwarca gave timely notice to his friend of the hateful task imposed upon him, advising either submission or flight. His fate, which forms one of the most interesting episodes in Ferishta's history, involved that of the Shekhawut chief.

He was succeeded by his son, Birsingdeo, who served with his contingent in the conquest of the Dekhan, and was made governor of Pernalla, which he had materially assisted in reducing. The Khundaila annalist is desirous to make it appear that his service was independent of his liege lord of Amber; but the probability is that he was under the immediate command of the Mirza Raja Jey Sing, at that period the most distinguished general of his nation or of the court.

Birsingdeo had seven sons, of whom the heir-apparent, Bahadur Sing, remained at Khundaila; while estates were assigned to his brothers, *viz.*, Amur Sing, Siam Sing, Jugdeo, Bhopal Sing, Mokri Sing, and Piam Sing, who all increased the stock of Raesilotes. While the Raja was performing his duties in the Dekhan, intelligence reached him that his son at home had usurped his title and authority; upon which, with only four horsemen, he left the army for his capital. When within two coss of Khundaila he alighted at the house of a Jatni, of whom he requested refreshment, and begged especial care of his wearied steed, lest he should be stolen; to which she sharply replied, "Is not Bahadur Sing ruler here? You may leave gold in the highway, and no one dare touch it." The old chieftain was so delighted with this testimony to his son's discharge of a prince's duties, that, without disclosing himself or his suspicions, he immediately returned to the Dekhan, where he died.

Bahadur Sing succeeded, and on his father's death repaired to the armies in the south, commanded by Aurangzeb in person. Being insulted by a Mooslem chief, bearing the same name with himself, and obtaining no redress from the bigoted prince, he left the army in disgust, upon which his name was erased from the list of munsudars. It was at this time the tyrant issued his mandate for the capitation-tax on all his Hindu subjects, and for the destruction of their temples.*

* The numerous ruined shrines and mutilated statues in every town and village, still attest the zeal with which the bigot's orders were obeyed; nor is there an image of antiquity with an entire set of features (except in spots impervious to his myrmidons), from Lahore to Cape Comorin. Omkarji, whose temple is on a small island of the Nerbudda, alone, it is said, supported his dignity in the indiscriminate attack on the deities of Hind. "If they are gods (said the tyrannical but witty iconoclast), let them evince their power, and by some miracle resist my commands." Omkarji received the first blow on his head, as if imbued with mortal feeling, for the blood gushed from his nose and mouth, which prevented a repetition of the injury! This sensibility, though without the power of avenging himself, made Omkar's shrine doubly respected, and it continues to be one of the best frequented and most venerate in these regions.

To the personal enemy of the Shekhawut was intrusted the twofold duty of exacting tribute, and the demolition of the temple, the ornament of Khundaila, whose chief, degrading the name of Bahadoor (warrior), abandoned his capital; and the royal army had arrived within two coss without the appearance of opposition. The news spread over the lands of the confederacy, that Bahadoor had fled from Khundaila and that the Toork was bent on the destruction of its shrines. It reached the ear of Shujaun Sing, the chieftain of Chapowlee, a descendant of Bhojraj, the second son of Raesil. Imbued with all the spirit of this hero, the brave Bhojani resolved to devote himself to the protection of the temple, or perish in its defence. At the moment the tidings reached him, he was solemnizing his nuptials on the Marwar frontier. Hastening home with his bride, he left her with his mother, and bade both a solemn farewell. In vain his kindred, collecting round him, dissuaded him from his design, urging that it was Bahadoor Sing's affair, not his. "Am not I," he said, "also of Raesil's stock, and can I allow the Toork to destroy the dwelling of the *Thakoor* (lord), and not attempt to save it? Would this be acting the part of a Rajpoot?" As their entreaties were vain, they, to the number of sixty, resolved to accompany him, and share his fate. They were joined by a party of Bahadoor's adherents, and succeeded in entering Khundaila. The imperial commander, to whom this unlooked-for opposition was reported, well aware of what a Rajpoot is capable when excited to action, and perhaps moved by a generous feeling at seeing a handful of men oppose an army, requested that two of their number might be deputed to his camp to confer with him. He told them, that notwithstanding it was the king's command that he should raze the temple to the ground, he would be satisfied (if accompanied by proper submission) with taking off the *kullus*, or golden ball which surmounted its pinnacle. They endeavoured to dissuade him; offered money to the utmost possible amount of their means; but the answer was, "the *kullus* must come down." One of these noble delegates, no longer able to contain himself, exclaimed, "Break down the *kullus*!" as with some moist clay at his feet he moulded a ball, which he placed on a little mound before him; and drawing his sword, repeated, "Break down the *kullus*! I dare you even to break this ball of clay!" The intrepidity of this action gained the applause even of the foe, and they had safe conduct to rejoin their brethren, and prepare them for the worst.

At this time, Khundaila had no fortifications; there was, however, a gateway half way up the hill in the route of ascent, which led to the place of residence of its chieftains, adjoining which was the temple. One party was stationed in the gateway while Shujaun reserved for himself the defence of the temple, in which he took post with his kinsmen. When the mercenaries of the tyrant advanced, the defenders of the gateway, after dealing many a distant death, marched upon them sword in hand, and perished. When they pushed on to the chief object of attack, the band issued forth in small detached parties, having first made their obeisances to the image, and carried destruction along with them. Shujaun was the last who fell. The temple was levelled to the earth, the idol broken in pieces, and the fragments thrown into the foundation of a mosque erected on its ruins. There is hardly a town of note in Rajwarra that has not to relate a similar tale of desperate valour in the defence of their household gods against the iniquitous and impolitic Arungzeb. Khundaila received a royal garrison; but the old officers, both territorial and financial, were retained by the conqueror.

Bahadoor Sing continued to reside in an adjacent township, and

through his Dewan, obtained a certain share of the crops and transit duties, *vis.*, a seer out of every maund of the former, and one piece in every rupee of the latter. In process of time, the family residence and gardens were given up to him, and when the Syeds obtained power he regained his country, though a garrison of the royal troops was retained, whose expenses he paid. He left three sons, *vis.*, Kesuri Sing, Futteh Sing, and Oodi Sing.

Kesuri, solicitous to hold his lands on the same terms as his ancestors, namely, service to the lord-paramount, assembled his adherents, and with his second brother, Futteh Sing, departed for the imperial camp, to proffer his service. The Munohurpur chief, the elder branch of the family, was in the royal camp, and having regained his lost consequence by the depression of Khundaila, was by no means willing again to part with it. He intrigued with the second brother, Futteh Sing, to whom he proposed a division of the lands; the latter lent himself to the intrigue, and the Dewan, seeing that a family quarrel would involve the destruction of them all, repaired to Khundaila, and through the mother, a Gor Rajpootni, he advocated the partition. A census was accordingly made of the population, and a measurement of the lands, of which two portions were assigned to Futteh Sing, and the three remaining to the Raja. The town itself was partitioned in the same manner. Henceforth the brothers held no intercourse with each other, and Kesuri preferred Kaotah as his residence, though whenever he came to Khundaila, Futteh Sing withdrew. Things remained in this state until the Dewan prompted his master to get rid of the agreement which had secured the ascendancy of Munohurpur in the Shekhawut federation, by destroying his brother. The Dewan arranged a friendly meeting at Kaotah for the avowed purpose of reconciliation, when Futteh Sing fell a victim to assassination; but the instigator to the crime met his proper reward, for a splinter of the sword which slew Futteh Sing entered his neck, and was the occasion of his death.

Kesuri Sing, having thus recovered all his lost authority, from the contentions at court conceived he might refuse the tribute of Rewasso, hitherto paid to the Ajmere treasury, while that of Khundaila went to Narnol. Syed Abdoolla, then Vizier, found leisure to resent this insult, and sent a force against Khundaila. Every Raesilote in the country assembled to resist the Toork, and even his foe of Munohurpur sent his quota, led by the *dhabhae* (foster-brother), to aid the national cause. Thus strengthened, Kesuri determined to oppose the royal forces hand to hand in the plain, and the rival armies encountered at the border town of Deolee. While victory manifested a wish to side with the confederated Shekhawuts, the old jealousies of Munohurpur revived, and he withdrew his quota from the field, at the same moment that the Kasulli chief, on whom much depended, was slain. To crown these misfortunes, the Lark-hini chief of Danta, basely deeming this an opportunity to consult his own interest, abandoned the field, to take possession of Rewasso. The 'lion' of Khundaila (Kesuri), observing these defections, when the shouts of "*Jy ! jy !*" (victory, victory), already rang in his ears, could not help exclaiming, in the bitterness of despair, "Had Futteh Sing been here, he would not have deserted me." He disdained, however, to give way, and prepared to meet his fate like a true Raesilote. Sending to where the battle yet raged for his youngest brother, Oodey Sing, he urged him to save himself; but the young Rajpoot scorned obedience to such a behest, until Kesuri made known his determination not to quit the field, adding that if he also were slain, there would be an end of his line. Others joined

their persuasions, and even attempted to turn Kesuri from his purpose. "No," replied the chief, "I have no desire for life; two black deeds press upon me; the murder of my brother, and the curse of the Charuns of Bikaner, whom I neglected at the distribution of the nuptial gifts. I will not add a third by dastardly flight." As Oodey Sing reluctantly obeyed while the sword rung around him, Kesuri made a hasty sacrifice to *Awini-mata* (mother earth), of which flesh, blood, and earth are the ingredients. He cut pieces from his own body, but as scarcely any blood flowed, his own uncle, Mokum Sing of Allodha, parted with some of his, for so grand an obligation as the retention of Khundaila. Mixing his own flesh, and his uncle's blood, with a portion of his own sandy soil, he formed small balls in *dan* (gift), for the maintenance of the land to his posterity. *D'homb* (bard), who repeated the incantations, pronounced the sacrifice accepted, and that seven generations of his line should rule in Khundaila.* The brave Kesuri was slain, the town taken, and Oodey Sing carried to Ajmere, where he remained three years in captivity. At this time, the chiefs of Oodipur and Kasulli determined to cut off the royal garrison in Khundaila; but apprehensive of the danger it might occasion to their chief, they sent a special messenger to Ajmere, to acquaint the viceroy of their scheme, previous to its execution, to prevent his being implicated. Khundaila was surprised, and Deonath and three hundred Toorks put to the sword. The viceroy, desirous to recover the place, consulted his prisoner, who offered to reinstate him if he granted him liberty. The Nawab demanded a hostage, but the young Rajpoot said he knew of none but his own mother, who willingly became the pledge for her son. He fulfilled his agreement, and the viceroy was so pleased with his frank and loyal conduct, that on paying a large *nuzzerana*, he restored him to his capital.

Oodey Sing's first act was to assemble his brethren, in order to punish Munohurpur, whose treachery had caused them so much misery. The foster brother, who commanded on that occasion, was again entrusted with the command; but he fled after a sharp encounter, and Munohurpur was invested. Seeing he had no chance of salvation, he had again recourse to *chul* (stratagem). There were two feudatories of Noonkurn's line, joint-holders of Khajrolli, who had long been at variance with Deep Sing of Kasulli, the principal adviser of the young Raja of Khundaila. They were gained over to the purpose of the Munohurpur chief, who sent them with a private message to Deep Sing, that no sooner should Munohurpur fall than he would be deprived of Kasulli. These treacherous proceedings were but too common amongst "the sons of Shekhji." Deep Sing fell into the snare, and at break of day, when the trumpets sounded for the assault, the drums of the Kasulli chief were heard in full march to his estate. Oodey Sing, thus deprived of his revenge, followed Deep Sing, who, aware of his inability to cope with his immediate chief, fled for succour to Jeypur, and Kasulli fell a sacrifice to the artifices which preserved Munohurpur. The great Jey Sing then ruled Amber; he received the suppliant chief, and promised him ample redress, on his swearing to become his vassal and tributary. Deep Sing swore allegiance to the *hadi* of Jey Sing, and signed a tributary engagement of four thousand bupees annually!

* The fifth, as will be seen hereafter, has been expelled, and authority usurped by the Kasulli branch of the family, and unless some fortunate change should occur, the devotion of Kesuri was useless, and the prophecy must fall to the ground.

Thus recommenced the supremacy of Amber over the confederated Shekhawuts, which had been thrown off ever since the dispute regarding the colts of Amratsir, the ancient mark of homage, when the sons of Shekhji" consisted only of a few hundred armed men. Shortly after this transaction, Jey Sing proceeded to the Ganges to fulfill certain rites upon an eclipse, and while performing his ablutions in the sacred stream, and the gifts for distribution to the priests being collected on the bank, he inquired "who was present to receive *dan* that day?" The Kasulli chief, spreading out the skirt of his garment, replied, he was an applicant. Such *dan* (gifts) being only given to *mangtas*, or mendicants, in which class they put priests, poets, and the poor, the Raja asked, laughing, "what is your desire, Thakoor?" To which Deep Sing replied, that through his intercession the son of Futteh Sing might obtain his father's share of Khundaila; which request was complied with.

This occurrence was in A.D. 1716, when the Jats were rising into power and when all the minor Rajas served with their contingents under the great Jey Sing, as lieutenant of the Emperor. Along with the princes of Kerowli, Bhadorea, Sheopur, and many others of the third rank, was Oodey Sing of Khundaila. During the siege of Thoon, the Shekhawut chief was reprimanded for neglect of duty, and although he owed a double allegiance to Jey Sing, as his natural liege lord and lieutenant of the king, he would not brook the censure from one of his own race, and indignantly withdrew from the siege. Chooramun the Jat, having contrived to make his peace with the Syed vizier, when Thoon was upon the eve of surrender, and Oodey Sing being implicated in this intrigue, Jey Sing, who was mortified at an occurrence which prevented gratification of a long-cherished resentment against the upstart Jats, determined that the Khundaila chief should suffer for his audacity. Attended by the imperialists under Bazeed Khan, and all his home clans, he laid siege to the citadel called Oodigurh. Oodey Sing held out a month in this castle he had constructed and called by his own name, when his resources failing, he fled to Nuroo in Marwar, and his son, Sowae Sing, presented the keys, throwing himself on the clemency of the conqueror. He was well received, and pardoned, on condition of becoming tributary to Amber.* He followed the example of the Kasulli chief, and signed an engagement to pay annually one lakh of rupees. From this a deduction of fifteen thousand was subsequently made, and in time being reduced twenty thousand more, sixty-five thousand continued to be the tribute of Khundaila, until the decay of both the parent state and its scion, when the weakness of the former, and the merciless outrages of the predatory powers, Pathan and Mahratta, rendered its amount uncertain and difficult to realize. Moreover, recalling his promise to Deep Sing, he restored the division of the lands as existing prior to the murder of Futteh Sing, *vis.*, three shares to Sowae Sing, with the title of chief of the Shekhawuts, and two to Dheer Sing, son of Futteh Sing. The young cousin chieftains, now joint-holders of Khundaila attended their liege lord with their contingent; and Oodey Sing, taking advantage of their absence, with the aid of a band of outlawed Larkhanis, surprised and took Khundaila. Attended by the Jeypur troops, the son performed the dutiful task of expelling his father from his inheritance, who again fled to Nuroo, where he resided upon a pension of five rupees a day, given by his son, until his death. He, however, outlived Sowae Sing, who left three sons, Bindrabun, who succeeded to Khundaila; Simbha, who had the appanage of Ranolli; and Koosul, having that of Piperolli.

CHAPTER VI.

BINDRABUN DAS steadfastly adhered to Madhu Sing in the civil wars which ensued for the *gadi* of Amber, and the latter, when success attended his cause, wished to reward the important services of his feudatory. At his request, he consented that the partition of the lands which had caused so much bloodshed should be annulled, and that Bindrabun should rule as the sole lord of Khundaila. Five thousand men were placed under his command for the expulsion of the minor, Indur Sing, grandson of Deo Sing, who made a stout resistance for many months; but at length his little castle was no longer tenable, and he fled to Parasoli, where he again defended himself, and was again on the point of surrender, when an unexpected accident not only saved him from exile, but restored him to his rights.

The mercenaries were supported at the sole charge of Bindrabun, and as his ancestors left no treasury, he was compelled to resort to the contribution called *dind* from his subjects, not even exempting the hierarchy. Piqued at this unusual demand, some of the wealthiest Brahmins expostulated with the Raja on this indignity to the order. But their appeals were disregarded by their chief, whose existence depended on supplies. The loss of influence as well as wealth being the fruit of this disregard of their remonstrance, they had recourse to that singular species of revenge termed *chandi*, or self-immolation and poignarded themselves in his presence, pouring maledictions on his head with their last breath. The blood of Brahmins now rested on the head of Bindrabun; even amongst his personal friends he laboured under a species of excommunication, and his liege lord, Madhu Sing of Amber, in order to expiate his indirect share in the guilt, recalled his troops, and distributed twenty thousand rupees to the Brahmins of his own capital. Indur Sing had thus time to breathe, and having collected all his retainers, wisely joined the Jeypur army assembling under the command of the celebrated Khoshialiram Bhora to chastise the Rao of Macherri, who was expelled and obliged to seek refuge with the Jats. In this service Indur Sing so much distinguished himself, that, on the payment of a *nusserana* of fifty thousand rupees, he recovered his lost share of Khundaila, by a regular *putta*, or grant of the Raja.

Perpetual feuds, however, raged between these two kings of Khundaila, each of whom had his castle, or fortified palace. Each day "there was war even in the gates" of Khundaila, and at the hazard of prolixity we shall state how it was conducted, challenging the records of any civil war to produce an instance in which all the ties of blood and kindred were more disregarded than in this *bellum plusquam civile*.

Indur Sing had popularity on his side to balance the other's superior power, and he was briskly pushing an attack on Oodigurh, the castle of his opponent, when he was joined by Raghunath Sing, the youngest son of his foeman. The youth, who had the township of Koochore in appanage, helped himself to three more, to retain which he sided with his father's foe. Bindrabun, in order to create a diversion, sallied out to attack Koochore; to oppose which, his son, together with his nephew, Prithi Sing of Ranolli and his retainers, withdrew from the batteries to defend it. But the attack on Koochore had already failed, and Bindrabun was on his retreat to regain Khundaila, when he was intercepted. The battle took place outside the city, whose gates were shut against friend and foe, to prevent a pell-mell entry. A

the same time, the siege of Oodigurh was not slackened; it was defended by Govind Sing, the eldest son of Bindrabun, while the batteries against it were commanded by another near kinsman, Nahr Sing of Cherana. For several days daily combats ensued, in which were to be seen father and son, uncles and nephews, and cousins within every degree of affinity, destroying each other. At length, both parties were exhausted and a compromise ensued, in which Indur Sing obtained the rights he had so manfully vindicated.

At this time, a dying and desultory effort to regain his lost power was made by Nujul Kooli Khan, at the head of the Imperialists, who, conducted by the traitorous Macherri Rao, led the royal army into the lands of the confederacy to raise contributions, for which he was cordially and laudably detested. Nowul Sing of Nowulgurh, Bagh Sing of Keytri, Soorajmul of Bussao, all chieftains of the Sadhanis, unable to comply with the requisitions, were carried off, and retained captive till ransomed for many lakhs of rupees; all eventually raised upon the impoverished husbandman and industrious merchant.

The din of civil war having ended, the ministers of religion never ceased pouring into the ears of Bindrabun, the necessity of expiation and oblations for the murder of their brethren, and he was daily sacrificing the birthright of his children, in grants of the best lands of Khundaila, to these drones of society, when Govind, the heir-apparent, remonstrated, which was followed by the abdication of Bindrabun, who, appropriating five townships and the impost duties of Khundaila for his support, left the cares of government to his son.*

Govind Sing did not long enjoy the honours of the chief of the Raesilotes. The year of his elevation having produced an unfavourable harvest, at the request of his vassal of Ranolli he proceeded to inspect the crops preparatory to a reduction in the assessment. Less superstitious than his father, he preserved in spite of the predictions of the astrology, who told him, "to beware the ides (*amavus*) of Pausl," and not to go abroad that day. In the course of the excursion, one of his personal attendants, a Rajpoot of Kajrolli, had lost some valuable article entrusted to his charge, and the impetuous chief broadly taxed him with theft. His protestations of innocence were unavailing, and considering himself dishonoured by the imputation, which might possibly be followed by some disgraceful punishment, he determined to anticipate his chief, and murdered him that night. Govind left five sons Nursing, Soorajmul (who had Dodea), Bagh Sing, Jowan Sing, and Runjeet, all of whom had families.

Nursing-Das, his eldest son, succeeded. In spite of internal dissensions, occasional chastisement, and pecuniary exactions from the imperial armies, or those of their immediate liege lord of Amber, the confederated *fringe* of Shekhavati had increased their territory and population. Only the shadow of a name now remained to the empire of the Great Moghul; and their own lord-paramount, satisfied with a certain degree of homage, tribute, and service on emergencies, was little inclined to trench further upon their national independence. But a new enemy had now arisen, and though of their own faith, far more destructive than even the intolerant Islamite. Happy were the inhabitants of the desert, who had an ocean of sand between them and this scourge of India, the insatiable Mahratta. After the fatal day of Mairta, where the evil genius of

* His second son, Raghunath, had Koochore in appanage.

Rajpootana enabled De Boigne to give the last blow to her independence, the desultory hordes roved in bands through the lands of the confederation, plundering, murdering, and carrying off captive the principal chiefs or their children, as hostages for contributions they could not realize. These were dragged about after their armies, until the hardships and indignities they underwent made them sell every article of value, or until the charge of keeping or the trouble of guarding them, rendered their prolonged captivity burdensome to the wandering Southrons.

Let us follow the path of barbarians, and trace only one day's acts of outrage. When the Mahrattas entered the lands of the federation, soon after the battle of Mairta, they first attacked Bae. The inhabitants, knowing that they had no hope of mercy from these marauders, fled, carrying away all the effects they could to the larger towns, while a garrison of eighty Rajpoots took post in the little castle, to defend the point of honour against this new assailant. Bae was stormed; not one Rajpoot would accept of quarter, and all were put to the sword. The enemy proceeded to Khundaila, the route marked by similar tracks of blood. When within two *coss* of the town, the horde halted at Hodegong, and a *Pundit** was sent to Rao Indur Sing to settle the contribution, which was fixed at twenty thousand rupees, besides three thousand in *ghoos*† (bribe), or the Brahmin negotiator. The two chiefs who negotiated on the part of the joint Rajas of Khundaila, proceeded with Pundit to the enemy's camp; their names were Nowal and Duleel. As it was out of their power to realize so large a sum, they were accompanied by the joint revenue officers of Khundaila as *ole*, or hostage, when to their dismay, the Southron commander demurred, and said they themselves must remain. One of the chieftains with the *sang froid* which a Rajpoot never loses, coolly replied, that should not be, and taking his *hooka* from his attendant, began unceremoniously to smoke, when a rude *Dekhany* knocked the pipe from his hand. The Thakoor's sword was unsheathed in an instant; but ere he had time to use it a pistol-ball passed through his brain. Duleel Sing's party, attempting to avenge their companion, were cut off to a man; and Indur Sing, who had left Khundaila to learn how the negotiations sped, arrived just in time to see his clansmen butchered. He was advised to regain Khundaila: "No," replied the intrepid Raesilote; "better that I should fall before the gates of Khundaila than enter them after such disgrace, without avenging my kinsmen." Dismounting from his horse, he turned him loose, his adherents following his example; and sword in hand they rushed on the host of assassins and met their fate. Indur Sing was stretched beside his vassals, and, strange to say, Duleel was the only survivor: though covered with wounds, he was taken up alive, and carried to the hostile camp.

Such was the opening scene of the lengthened tragedy enacted in Shekhavati, when Mahratta actors succeeded to Pathans and Moguls: heirs

* The ministers of religion were the only *plebeians* amongst this race of depredators, and they were not behind the most illiterate in cupidity, and to say the truth, courage, when required; and as for skill in negotiation, a Mahratta Brahmin stands alone: keen, skillful, and imperturbable, he would have baffled Machiavelli himself.

† *Ghoos* is literally a 'bribe'; and no treaty or transaction was ever carried on without this stipulation. So sacred was the *ghoos* held, from tyrant usage, that the Peshwa ministers, when they ruled the destinies of their nation, stipulated that the *ghoos* should go to the privy purse!

to their worst feelings, without one particle of their magnanimity or courtesy. But the territory of the confederacy was far too narrow a stage; even the entire plain of India appeared at one time too restricted for the hydra-headed banditti, nor is there a principality, district, or even township, from the Sutlej to the sea, where similar massacres have not been known, and but for our interposition, such scenes would have continued to the present hour.

Partap Sing, who succeeded his brave father in his share of the patrimony, was at this crisis with his mother at Sikrae, a strong fort in the hills, ten miles from Khundaila. To save the town, the principal men dug up the grain-pits, selling their property to release their minor chief from further trouble. Having obtained all they could, the enemy proceeded to the lands of the Sadhanis. Oodipur was the first assaulted, taken, and sacked; the walls were knocked down, and the floors dug up in search of treasure. After four days' havoc, they left it a ruin, and marched against the northern chieftains of Singhana, Jhoonjoonoo, and Keytri. On the departure of the foe, young Pratap and his kinsmen, Nursing, took up their abode in Khundaila; but scarcely had they recovered from the effects of Dekhani incursion, before demands were made by their liege lord of Amber for the tribute. Pratap made his peace by assigning a fourth of the harvest; but Nursing, in the procrastinating and haughty spirit of his ancestors, despised an arrangement which, he said (and with justice), would reduce him to the level of a common *Bhomia* landholder.

At this period, a remote branch of the Khundaila Shekhawuts began to disclose a spirit that afterwards gained him distinction. Devi Sing, chieftain of Seekur, a descendant of Rao Tirmul of Kasulli, had added to his patrimony by the usurpation of no less than twenty-five large townships, as Lohagurra, Kho, etc.; and he deemed this a good opportunity, his chief being embroiled with the court, to make an attack on Rewasso; but death put a stop to the ambitious views of the Seekur chieftain. Having no issue, he had adopted Luchmun Sing, son of the Shalpora Thakoor; but the Jeypur court, which had taken great umbrage at these most unjustifiable assaults of the Seekur chief on his weaker brethren, commanded Nundram Huldia (brother of the prime minister Doulet Ram), collector of the Shekhawut tribute to attack and humble him. No sooner were the orders of the court promulgated, than all the *Barwuttias** gathered round the standard of the collector, to aid in the redemption of their patrimonies wrested from them by Seekur. Besides the Khundaila chief in person, there were the *Puttawuts* of Kasulli, Bilara and others of Tirmul's stock: and even the Sadhanis, who little inferred in the affairs of the Raesilotes, repaired with joy with their tribute and their retainers to the camp of the Jeypur commander, to depress the Seekur chief, who was rapidly rising over them all. Nearly the whole troops of the confederacy were thus assembled. Devi Sing, it may be imagined, was no common character, to have excited such universal hatred; and his first care had been to make strong friends at court, in order to retain what he had acquired. He had especially cultivated the minister's friendship, which was now turned to account. A deputation consisting of a Chondawnt chief, the Dewan of Seekur, and that important character of *Dhabhae*, repaired to the Huldia, and implored him in the name of the deceased,

* *Barwuttia*, is 'one expatriated,' from *bar*, 'out of,' and *uttan*, 'a country,' and it means either an exile, or an outlaw, according to the measure of crime which caused his banishment from his country.

not to give up his infant son to hungry and revengeful *Barwuttias*. The Huldia said there was but one way by which he could avoid the fulfilment of his court's command, which was for them, as he approached the place, to congregate a force so formidable from its numbers, as to exonerate him from all suspicion of collusion. With the treasury of Devi Sing, overflowing from the spoliation of the Kaimkhani of Futtehpur, it was easy to afford such indemnity to the Huldia, at whose approach to Seekur ten thousand men appeared to oppose him. Having made a shew of investing Seekur, and expended a good deal of ammunition, he addressed his court, where his brother was minister, stating he could make nothing of Seekur without great loss, both of time, men, and money, and advising an acceptance of the proffered submission. Without waiting a reply, he took two lakhs as a fine for his sovereign, and a present of one for himself. The siege was broken up, and Seekur was permitted to prosecute his schemes; in which he was not a little aided by the continued feuds of the co-partner chiefs of Khundaila. Pratap took advantage of Nursing's non-compliance with the court's requisition, and his consequent disgrace, to settle the feud of their fathers and unite both shares in his own person; and stipulated in return to be responsible for the whole tribute, be ready with his contingent to serve the court, and pay besides a handsome *nusserana* or investiture. The Huldia was about to comply, when Rawul Indur Sing of Samote, chief of the Nathawut clan interceded for Nursing, and inviting him on his own responsibility to the camp, acquainted him with the procedure of his rival, in whose name the patent for Khundaila was actually made out; "but even now," said this noble chief, "I will stay it if you comply with the terms of the court." But Nursing either would not, or could not, and the Samote chief urged his immediate departure; adding that as he came under his guarantee, he was desirous to see him safe back, for "such were the crooked ways of the Amber house," that he prolonged his stay, he might be involved in ruin in his desire to protect him. Accordingly, at dusk, with sixty of his own retainers, he escorted him to Nowulgurh, and the next morning he was in his castle of Govindgurh. The precautions of the Samote chief were not vain, and he was reproached and threatened with the court's displeasure, for permitting Nursing's departure; but he nobly replied, "he had performed the duty of a Rajpoot, and would abide the consequence." As the sequel will further exemplify the corruptions of courts, and the base passions of kindred, under a system of feudal government, we shall trespass on the reader's patience by recording the result.

Samote and Chomoo are the chief houses of the Nathawut clan; the elder branch enjoying the title of Rawul, with supremacy over the numerous vassalage. But these two families had often contested the lead, and their feuds had caused much bloodshed. On the disgrace of Indur Sing as already related, his rival of Chomoo repaired to court, and offered so large a *nusserana* as to be invested with rights of seniority. Avarice and revenge were good advocates; a warrant was made out and transmitted to Indur Sing (still serving with the collector of the tribute) for the sequestration of Samote. Placing, like a dutiful subject, the warrant to his forehead, he instantly departed for Samote, and commanded the removal of his family, his goods and chattels, from the seat of his ancestors and went into exile in Marwar. In after times, his Rawi had a grant of the village of Peeplye, to which the magnanimous, patriotic, and loyal Indur Sing, when he found the hand of death upon him, repaired, that he might die in the lands of the Cuchwahs, and have his ashes buried amongst his fathers. This man, who was naturally brave, acted upon the

abstract principle of *swamdherma*, or 'fealty,' which is not even now exploded, in the midst of corruption and demoralization. Indur Sing would have been fully justified, according to all the principles which govern these states, in resisting the iniquitous mandate. Such an act might have been deemed rebellion, by those who look only at the surface of things; but let the present lords-paramount go deeper, when they have to decide between a Raja and his feudatories, and look to the origin and condition of both, and the ties which alone can hold such associations together.

To return : Pratap Sing, having thus obtained the whole of Khundaila, commenced the demolition of a fortified gate, whence during the feuds his antagonist used to play some swivels against his castle. While the work of destruction was advancing, an omen occurred, foreboding evil to Pratap. An image of Ganesa, the god of wisdom and protector of the arts, (more especially of architecture), was fixed in the wall of this gate, which an ill-fated and unintentional blow knocked from its elevated position to the earth, and being of *terracotta*, his fragments lay dishonoured and scattered on the pavement. Notwithstanding this, the demolition was completed, and the long obnoxious gateway levelled with the earth. Pratap having adjusted affairs in the capital, proceeded against Rewasso, which he reduced, and then laid sieze to Govindgurh, aided by a detachment of the Huldia. Having encamped at Goorah, two coss from it, and twice that distance from Ranolli, its chief, who still espoused the cause of his immediate head, the unfortunate Nursing, sent his minister to the Huldia, offering not only to be responsible for all arrears due by Nursing, but also a handsome *douceur*, restore him to his rights. He repaired to Khundaila, stationed a party in the fortified palace of Nursing, and consented that they should be expelled, as if by force of his adherents from Govindgurh. Accordingly, Soorajmul and Bagh Sing, the brothers of Nursing, in the dead of night, with one hundred and fifty followers, made a mock attack on the Huldia's followers, expelled them, and made good a lodgment in their ancient dwelling. Pratap was highly exasperated; and to render the acquisition useless, he ordered the possession of a point which commanded the *mahl*; but here he was anticipated by his opponent, whose party now poured into Khundaila. He then cut off their supplies of water, by fortifying the reservoirs and wells, and this brought matters to a crisis. An action ensued, in which many were killed on each side, when the traitorous Huldia interposed the five-coloured banner, and caused the combat to cease. Nursing, at this juncture, joined the combatants in person, from his castle of Govindgurh, and a treaty was forthwith set on foot, which left the district of Rewasso to Pratap, and restored to Nursing his share of Khundaila.

These domestic broils continued, however, and occasions were perpetually recurring to bring the rivals in collision. The first was on the festival of the *Gaugurs* :* the next on the Ranolli chief placing in durance a vassal of Pratap, which produced a general gathering of the clans: both ended in an appeal to the lord-paramount, who soon merged the office of arbitrator in that of dictator.

The Sadaganis, or chieftains of northern Shekhavath, began to feel the bad effects of these feuds of the Rassilotas, and to express dissatisfaction at the progressive advances of the Jeypoor court for the establishment

* See Vol. I. for an account of this festival.

of its supremacy. Until this period they had escaped any tributary engagements, and only recognized their connection with Amber by marks of homage and fealty on lapses, which belonged more to kindred than political superiority. But as the armies of the court were now perpetually on the frontiers, and might soon pass over, they deemed it necessary to take measures for their safety. The township of Tooe, appertaining to Nowulgurh, had already been seized, and Ranolli was battered for the restoration of the subject of Pratap. These were grievances, which affected all the Sadhani, who, perceiving they could no longer preserve their neutrality, determined to abandon their internal dissensions, and form a system of general defence. Accordingly, a general assembly of the Sadhani lords, and as many of the Raesilotes as chose to attend, was announced at the ancient place of rendezvous, Oodipur. To increase the solemnity of the occasion, and to banish all suspicion of treachery, as well as to extinguish ancient feuds, and reconcile chiefs who had never met but in hostility, it was unanimously agreed that the most sacred pledge of good faith, the *Noon-dab*,* or dipping the hand in the salt, should take place.

The entire body of the Sadhani lords, with all their retainers, met at the appointed time, as did nearly all the Raesilotes, excepting the joint chieftains of Khundalia, too deeply tainted with mutual distrust to take part in this august and national congress of all "the children of Shekhji." It was decided in this grand council, that all internal strife should cease; and that for the future, whenever it might occur, there should be no appeals to the attribution of Jeypur; but that on all such occasions, or where the general interests were endangered, a meeting should take place at "the Pass of Oodipur," to deliberate and decide, but above all to repel by force of arms, if necessary, the further encroachments of the court. This unusual measure alarmed the court of Amber, and when oppression had generated determined resistance, it disapproved and disowned the proceedings of its lieutenant, who was superseded by Rora Ram with orders to secure the person of his predecessor. His flight preserved him from captivity in the dungeons of Amber, but his estates, as well as those of the minister his brother, were resumed, and all their property was confiscated.

The new commander, who was a tailor by caste, was ordered to follow the Huldia to the last extremity; for, in these regions, displaced ministers and rebels are identical. It was expected, if they did not lose their heads, to see them in opposition to the orders of their sovereign lord, whose slaves they had so lately proclaimed themselves: in fact, a rebel minister in Rajwarra, is like an ex-Troy or ex-Whig elsewhere, nor does restoration to the councils of his sovereign, perhaps in a few short months after he carried arms against him, plundered his subjects, and carried conflagration in his towns, excite more than transient emotion. The new commander was eager to obtain the services of the assembled Shekhawuts against the Huldias, but experience had given them wisdom: and they not only exacted stipulations befitting their position, as the price of this aid, but, what was of more consequence, negotiated the conditions of their future connection with the lord-paramount.

The first article was the immediate restoration of the townships which the Huldia had ceased upon, as Tooe, Gwala, etc.

* *Noon* or *loon* 'salt,' and *dabna* 'to dip, bespatter, or sprinkle.'

The *second*, that the court should disavow all pretensions to exact tribute beyond what they had voluntarily stipulated, and which they would remit to the capital.

Third, that on no account should the armies of the court enter the lands of the confederation, the consequences of which had been so strongly marked in the atrocities at Khundalia.

Fourth, that the confederacy would furnish a contingent for the service of the court, which should be paid by the court while so employed.

The treaty being ratified through the intervention of the new commander, and having received in advance 10,000 rupees for their expenses, the chief with their retainers repaired to the capital, and after paying homage to their leige lord, zealously set to work to execute its orders on the Huldia faction, who were dispossessed of their estates. But, as observed in the annals of the parent state, Jeypur had obtained the distinction of the *jhoota durbar*, or 'lying court,' of the justness of which epithet it afforded an illustration in its conduct to the confederated chiefs who soon discovered the difference between promises and performances. They had done their duty, but they obtained not one of the advantages for which they agreed to serve the court; and they had the mortification to see they had merely displaced the garrisons of the Huldia for those of Rora Ram. After a short consultation, they determined to seek themselves the justice that was denied them; accordingly, they assaulted in succession the towns occupied by Rora Ram's myrmidons, drove them out, and made them over to their original proprietors.

At the same time, the court having demanded the usual tribute from Nursing Das, which was always in arrear, he had the imprudence to stone the agent, who was a relation of the minister. He hastened to the Presence, "threw his turban at the Raja's feet," saying, he was dishonoured for ever. A mandate was instantaneously issued for the sequestration of Khundalia and the capture of Narsing, who bade his liege lord defiance from his castle of Govindgurh; but his co-partner Pratap Sing, having no just cause of apprehension, remained in Khundaila, which was envired by the Jeypur troops under Assaram. His security was his ruin; but the wily Banyan (Assaram), who wished to seize at once the joint holders of the estate, offered no molestation to Pratap, while he laid a plot for the other. He invited his return, on the *buchun*, or 'pledge of safety,' of the Munohurpur chief. Nursing did not hesitate, for rank as was the character of his countrymen in these degenerate days, no Rajpoot had ever incurred the epithet of *Buchun-chook* tenfold more odious than that of murderer and which no future action, however brilliant, could obliterate, even from his descendants to the latest posterity. On the faith of this *buchun*, Nursing came and a mock negotiation was carried on for the arrears of tribute, and a time fixed for payment. Nursing returned to Khundaila, and Assaram broke up his camp and moved away. The crafty Banyan, having thus successfully thrown him off his guard, on the third day rapidly retraced his steps, and at midnight surrounded Nursing in his abode, who was ordered to proceed forthwith to the camp. Burning with indignation, he attempted self-destruction, but was withheld; and accompanied by a few Rajpoots who swore to protect or die with him, he joined Assaram to see the issue.

A simple plan was adopted to secure Pratap, and he fearlessly obeyed the summons. Both parties remained in camp; the one was amused with a negotiation for his liberation on the payment of a fine; the other

had higher hopes; and in the indulgence of both their vassals relaxed in vigilance. While they were at dinner, a party planted in ambuscade rushed out, and before they could seize their arms, made captive both the chiefs. They were pinioned like felons, put into a covered carriage, despatched under the guard of five hundred men to the capital, and found apartments ready for them in the state-prison of Amber. It is an axiom with these people, that the end sanctifies the means; and the prince and his minister congratulated each other on the complete success of the scheme. Khundaila was declared *khalisa* (fiscal), and garrisoned by five hundred men from the camp, while the inferior feudatories, holding estates detached from the capital, were received on terms, and even allowed to hold their fiefs on the promise that they did not disturb the sequestered lands.

CHAPTER VII.

DHENARAM BOHRA was now (A.D. 1798-9, prime minister of Jeypur), and he sooner heard of the success of Assaram, than he proceeded to join him in person, for the purpose of collecting the tribute due by the Sadhani chief. Having formed a junction with Assaram at Oodipur, they marched to Pursarampur, a town in the heart of the Sadhanis, whence they issued commands for the tribute to be brought; to expedite which, the ministers sent *dhoos** to all the townships of the confederacy. The insulting process irritated the Sadhanis to such a degree that they wrote to Deenaram to withdraw his parties instantly, and retrace his steps to Jhoonjoonoo, or abide the consequences; declaring, if he did so, that the collective tribute, of which ten thousand was then ready, would be forthcoming. All had assented to this arrangement but Bagh Sing, brother of the captive prince of Khundaila, who was so incensed at the faithless conduct of the court, after the great service they had so recently performed, that he determined to oppose by force of arms this infraction of their charter, which declared the inviolability of the territory of the confederation so long as the tribute was paid. He was joined by five hundred men of Keytri, with which having levied contributions at Singhana and Futtehpur from the traitorous lord of Seekur, he invited to their aid the celebrated George Thomas, then carving out his fortunes amongst these discordant political elements. Nearly the whole of the Jeypur mercenary and feudal army was embodied on this occasion, and although far superior in numbers to the confederation, yet the presence of Thomas and his regulars more than counterpoised their numerical inferiority. The attack of Thomas was irresistible; the Jeypur lines led by Rora Ram gave way, and lost several pieces of artillery. To redeem what the cowardice and ill conduct of the general in chief had lost, the chieftain of Chomoo formed a *gola* or dense band of the feudal chivalry, which he led in person against Thomas's brigade, charging to the mouths of his guns. His object, the recovery of the guns, was attained with great slaughter on each side. The Chomoo chief (Runjeet Sing) was desperately wounded,

* *Dhoos* is an expedient to hasten the compliance of a demand from a dependent. A party of horse proceeds to the township, and are commanded to receive so much per day till the exaction is complied with. If the *dhoos* is refused, it is considered tantamount to an appeal to arms.

and Bulhadur Sing, Pahar Sing, chiefs of the Khangarote clans, with many others, were slain by discharges of grape; the guns were retrieved and Thomas and his auxiliaries were deprived of a victory, and ultimately compelled to retreat.*

The captive chiefs of Khundaila deemed this revolt and union of their countrymen favourable to their emancipation, and addressed them to this effect. A communication was made to the discomfited Rora Ram, who promised his influence, provided an efficient body of Raesilotes joined his camp, and by their services seconded their requests. Bagh Sing was selected; a man held in high esteem by both parties, and even the court manager of Khundaila found it necessary to retain his services, as it was by his influence only over his unruly brethren that he was enabled to make any thing of the new fiscal lands. For this purpose, and to preserve the point of honour, the manager permitted Bagh Sing to remain in the fortified palace of Khundaila, with a small party of his brethren; but on being selected to lead the quotas of his countrymen with the court commander, he left his younger brother, Luchman Sing, as his deputy.

No sooner did it reach the ears of Hunwunt Sing of Sillede, son of the captive Pratap, that Bagh Sing had joined the army, than in the true spirit of these relentless feuds, he determined to attempt the castle. As soon as the darkness of night favoured his design, he hastened its accomplishment, escalated it, and put the unprepared garrison to the sword. Intelligence of this event reached Bagh Sing at Ranolli, who instantly countermarched, and commenced the assault, into which even the towns people entered heartily, inspired as they were with indignation at the atrocious murder of the young chief. The day was extremely hot; the defendants fought for their existence, for their leader could not hope for mercy. The assailants were served with the best food; such was the enthusiasm, that even the women forgot their fears, and cheered them on as the ladders were planted against the last point of defence. Then the white flag was displayed, and the gate opened, but the murderer had fled.

Manji Das succeeded Deenaram as minister of Jeypur; and Rora Ram, notwithstanding his disgraceful defeat and the lampoons of the bards, continued to be collector of the Shekhawut tribute, and farmed the fiscal lands of Khundaila to a Brahmin for twenty thousand rupees annually. This Brahmin, in conjunction with another speculative brother, had taken a lease of the *Mapa Rahdari*, or town and transit duties at Jeypur, which having been profitable, they now agreed to take on lease the sequestered lands of Khundaila. Having not only fulfilled their contract the first year, but put money in their pocket, they renewed it for two more. Aided by a party of the *Sillehposhians* of the court, the minister of religion shewed he was no messenger of peace, and determined to make the most of his ephemeral power, he not only levied contributions on the yet independent feudatories, but attacked those who resisted, and carried several of their castles sword in hand. The brave "sons of Raesil" could not bear this new mark of contumely and bad

* Franklin, in his life of George Thomas, describes this battle circumstantially; but makes it appear an affair of the Jeypur court, with Thomas and the Mahrattas, in which the Shekhawuts are not mentioned. Thomas gives the Rajpoot chivalry full praise for their gallant bearing.—*Memoir of George Thomas*, p. 109.

faith of the court,—“to be made the sport of a tailor and a Brahmin,”—and having received intimation from the captive chiefs that there was no hope of their liberty, they at once threw away the scabbard, and commenced a scene of indiscriminate vengeance which the Rajpoot often has recourse to when urged to despair. They at once assailed Khundaila, and in spite of the resistance of seven thousand *Dadoo-puntis*, dispossessed the Purohit, and sacked it. Then advancing within the Jeypur domains, they spread terror and destruction, pillaging even the estates of the queen. Fresh troops were sent against them, and after many actions the confederacy was broken up. The Ranolli chief and others of the elder branches made their peace, but the younger branches fled the country, and obtained *sirna* (sanctuary) and subsistence in Marwar and Bikaner. Singram Sing of Soojawas (cousin to Pratap) sought the former, Singh Sing and Sooruj Sing the latter, whose prince gave them lands. There they abode in tranquillity for a time, looking to that justice from the prince which tributary collectors knew not; but when apathy and neglect mistook the motive of this patient suffering, he was roused from his indifference to the fate of the brave *Barwutteas*, by the tramp of their horses' feet even at the gates of his capital.

Singram Sing headed the band of exiles, which spread fear and desolation over a great portion of Dhoondar. In many districts they established *rek:alli*;* and wherever they succeeded in surprising a *thanna* (garrison) of their liege lord, they cut it up without mercy. They sacked the town of Kho, within a few miles of the city of Jeypur, from under whose walls they carried off horses to mount their gang. Animated by successful revenge, and the excitement of a life so suited to the Rajpoot, Singram became the leader of a band of several hundred horse, bold enough to attempt any thing. Complaints for redress poured in upon the court from all quarters, to which a deaf ear might have been turned, had they not been accompanied with applications for reduction of rent. The court at length, alarmed at this daring desperado, made overtures to him through Shiam Sing, Sadhani, the chief of Bussao, on whose *bachuan* (pledge) Singram consented to appear before his liege lord. As soon as he arrived under the walls of the city his cavalcade was surrounded by all classes, but particularly the Sikh mercenaries, all of whom recognized their property, some a horse, some a camel, others arms, etc.; but none durst advance a claim to their own, so daring was their attitude and so guarded their conduct. The object of the minister was to secure the person of Singram, regardless of the infamy which would attach to the chief, who, at his desire, had pledged himself for his safety. But Shiam Sing, who had heard of the plot, gave Singram warning. In forty-eight hours, intelligence reached the court that Singram was in Tuarvati, and that joined by the Tuars and Larkhanis, he was at the head of one thousand horse. He now assailed the large fiscal towns of his prince; contributions were demanded, and if they could not be complied with, he carried off in *ole* (hostage) the chief citizens, who were afterwards ransomed. If a delay occurred in furnishing either, the place was instantly given over to pillage, which was placed upon a body of camels. The career of this determined *Burwuttia* was at length closed. He had surrounded the town of Madhupur the estate of one of the queens, when a ball struck him in the head. His body was carried to Ranolli and burnt, and he had his cenotaph amongst the *Joojars* (those slain in battle) of his fathers.

* The *salvamenta*, or back-mail of our own feudal system.

The son of Singram succeeded to the command, and the revenge of his father, and he continued the same daring course, until the court restored his patrimony of Soojawas. Such were the tumultuous proceedings in Shekhavati, when an event of such magnitude occurred as to prove an epoch in the history of Rajpootana, and which not only was like oil effused upon their afflictions, but made them prominent to their own benefit in the transaction.

That grand international war, ostensibly for the hand of the Helen of Rajwarra, was on the point of bursting forth. The opening scene was in Shekhavati, and the actors chiefly Sadhanis. It will be recollected, that though this was but the underplot of a tragedy, chiefly got up for the deposal of Raja Maun of Jodhpur, in favour of Dhonkul Sing, Rae Chund was then Dewan, or prime minister, of Jeypur; and to forward his master's views for the hand of Kishna, supported the cause of the Pretender.

The minister sent his nephew, Kirparam, to obtain the aid of the Shekhawuts, who appointed Kishen Sing as interpreter, of their wishes, while the *Kher* assembled at the "Pass of Oodipur." There a new treaty was formed, then the main article of which was the liberation of their chieftains, the joint Rajas of Khundaila, and the renewal of the ancient stipulations regarding the non-interference of the court in their internal arrangements, so long as they paid the regulated tribute. Kishen Sing, the organ of the confederation, together with Kirparam, left the assembly for the capital, where they soon returned with the ratification of their wishes. On these conditions ten thousand of the sons of Shekhji were embodied, and ready to accompany their lord-paramount whenever he might lead them, receiving *paati*, or subsistence, while out of their own lands.

These preliminaries settled, Shiam Sing Champawut (nephew of the Pokurn chief) with Kirparam repaired to Keytri, whence they conveyed the young Pretender, Dhonkul Sing, to the camp of the confederates. They were met by a deputation headed by the princess Annundi Kowur (daughter of the late Raja Pratap, and one of the widows of Raja Bheem of Marwar, father of the Pretender), who received the boy in her arms as the child of her adoption, and forthwith returned to the capital, where the army was forming for the invasion of Marwar.

It moved to Katoo, ten coss from Khundaila, where they waited the junction of the Bikaner Raja and other auxiliaries. The Shekhawut lords here sent in their imperative demand for the liberation of the sons of Raesil, "that they might march under a leader of their own, equal in celebrity to the proudest of that assembled host." Evasion was dangerous; and in a few days their chiefs were formerly delivered to them. Even the self-abdicated Brindrabun could not resist this general appeal to arms. The princes encamped in the midst of their vassals, nor was there ever such convocation of 'the sons of Shekhji:' Raesilotes, Sadhanis, Bhojanis, Larkhanis, and even the *Barwuttias*, flocked around 'the yellow banner of Raesil.' The accounts of the expedition are elsewhere narrated, and we shall only add that the Shekhawuts participated in all its glory and all its disgrace, and lost both Rao Nursing and his father ere they returned to their own lands.

Abhe Sing, the son of Nursing succeeded, and conducted the contingent of his countrymen until the ill-starred expedition broke up, when they returned to Khundaila. But the faithful court had no intention of restoring the lands of Khundaila. Compelled to look about for a subsis-

tence, with one hundred and fifty horse, they went to Raja Buktawur Sing of Machherri; but he performed the duties of kindred and hospitality so meanly, that they only remained a fortnight. In this exigence, Pratap and his son repaired to the Mahratta leader, Bapoo Sindia at Dewnsa, while Hunwunt, in the ancient spirit of his race, determined to attempt Govindgurh. In disguise, he obtained the necessary information, assembled sixty of his resolute clansmen, whom he concealed at dusk in a ravine, whence, as soon as silence proclaimed the hour was come, he issued, ascended the well-known path, planted his ladders, and cut down the sentinels ere the garrison was alarmed. It was soon mastered, several being killed and the rest turned out. The well-known beat of the Raesilote *nakarras* awoke the Larkhanis, Meenas, and all the Rajpoots in the vicinity, who immediately repaired to the castle. In a few weeks the gallant Hunwunt was at the head of two thousand men, prepared to act offensively against his faithless liege lord. Khundaila and all the adjacent towns surrendered, their garrisons flying before the victors, and Khoshial Daroga, a name of note in all the intrigues of the *durbar* of that day, carried to court the tidings of his own disgrace, which, his enemies took care to proclaim, arose from his cupidity: for though he drew pay and rations for a garrison of one hundred men, he only had thirty. Accompanied by Ruttun Chund, with two battalions and guns, and the reproaches of his sovereign, he was commanded at his peril to recover Khundaila. The gallant Hunwunt disdained to await the attack, but advanced outside the city to meet it, drove Khoshial back, and had he not in the very moment of victory been wounded while the Larkhanis hung behind, would have totally routed them. Hunwunt was compelled to retreat within the walls, where he stood two assaults, in one of which he slew thirty *Sillehposh*, or men in armour, the body-guard of the prince; but the only water of the garrison being from *tankas* (reservoirs), he was on the point of surrendering at discretion, when an offer of five townships being made, he accepted the towns.

Another change took place in the ministry of Amber at this period; and Khooshialiram, at the age of fourscore and four years, was liberated from the state-prison of Amber, and once more entrusted with the administration of the government. This hoaryheaded politician, who, during more than half a century, had alternately met the frowns and the smiles of his prince, at this the extreme verge of existence, entered with all the alacrity of youth into the tortuous intrigues of office, after witnessing the removal of two prime ministers, his rivals, who resigned power and life together. Khooshialiram had remained incarcerated since the reign of Raja Partap, who, when dying, left three injunctions; the first of which was that the Bohra (his caste) should never be enfranchised; but if in evil hour his successor should be induced to liberate him "he should be placed uncontrolled at the head of affairs."*

When this veteran politician, whose biography would fill a volume,†

* The second injunction was to keep the office of Foudar, or commander of the forces, in the family of Simboo Sing, Googawut, a tribe always noted for their fidelity, and like the Mairteas of Marwar, even a blind fidelity, to the *gadi*, whoever was the occupant. The third injunction is left blank in my manuscript.

† His first act, after his emancipation from the dungeons of Amber was the delicate negotiation at Dhonee, the castle of Chand Sing, Googawut. He died at Bussawah, 32nd April, 1813, on his return from Machherri

succeeded to the helm at Jeypur, a solemn deputation of the principal Shekhawut chieftains repaired to the capital, and begged that through his intercession they might be restored to the lands of their forefathers. The Bohra, who had always kept up, as well from sound principle as from personal feeling, a good understanding with the feudality, willingly became their advocate with his sovereign, to whom he represented that the defence of the state lay in a willing and contented vassalage: for, notwithstanding their disobedience and turbulence, they were always ready, when the general weal was threatened, to support it with all their power. He appealed to the late expedition, when ten thousand of the children of Shekhji were embodied in his cause, and what was a better argument, he observed, the Mahrattas had only been able to prevail since their dissensions amongst themselves. The Bohra was commanded to follow his own good will and pleasure; and having exacted an engagement, by which the future tribute of the Raesilotes was fixed at sixty thousand rupees annually, and the immediate payment of a *nueserana* of forty thousand, fresh *puttas* of investiture were made out for Khundaila and its dependencies. There are so many conflicting interests, in all these courts, that it by no means follows that obedience runs on the heels of command; even though the orders of the prince were countersigned by the minister, the *Nagas*, who formed the garrison of Khundaila, and the inferior fiefs, shewed no disposition to comply. The gallant Hunwunt, justly suspecting the Bohra's good faith, proposed to the joint rajas a *coup de main*, which he volunteered to lead. They had five hundred retainers amongst them; of these Hunwunt selected twenty of the most intrepid, and repaired to Oodigurh, to which he gained admission as a messenger from himself; twenty more were at his heels, who also got in, and the rest rapidly following, took post at the gateway. Hunwunt then disclosed himself, and presented the fresh *putta* of Khundaila to the *Nagas*, who still hesitating to obey, he drew his sword, when seeing that he was determined to succeed or perish, they reluctantly withdrew, and Abhe and Pratap were once more inducted into the dilapidated abodes of their ancestors. The adversity they had undergone, added to their youth and inexperience, made them both yield a ready acquiescence to the advice of their kinsmen, to whose valour, and conduct they owed the restoration of their inheritance, and the ancient feuds, which were marked on every stone of their castellated *mahls*, were apparently appeased.

Shortly after this restoration, the Shekhawut contingents were called out to serve against the common enemy of Rajpootana, the notorious Meer Khan whose general, Mahomed Shah Khan, was closely blockaded in the fortress of Blomgurrh, near Tonk, by the whole strength of Jeypur, commanded by Rao Chand Sing of Dhoonee. An incident occurred, while the siege was approaching a successful conclusion, which well exemplifies the incorrigible imperfections of the feudal system, either for offensive or defensive operations. The incident, trivial as it is in its origin, proved a deathblow to these unfortunate princes, so long the sport of injustice, and appears destined to falsify the *dhom*, who prophesied, on the acceptance of his self-sacrifice, that seven successive generations of his issue should occupy the *gadi* of Khundaila. In the disorderly proceedings of this feudal array, composed of all the quotas

to Jeypoor, where he had been unsuccessfully attempting a reconciliation between the courts. It will not be forgotten that the independence of the *Narooca* chief in Macherri had been mainly achieved by the Bohra, who was originally the *homme d'affaires* of the traitorous *Narooca*.

of Amber, a body of Shekhawuts had sacked one of the townships of Tonk, in which a Googawut inhabitant was slain, and his property plundered, in the indiscriminate pell-mell. The son of the Googawut instantly carried his complaints to the besieging general, Chand Sing, the head of his clan, who gave him a party of the *Shillehposh* (men in armour) to recover his property. The Shekhawuts resisted, and reinforced their party; Chand Sing did the same; the Khundaila chiefs repaired in person, accompanied by the whole confederacy, with the exception of Seekur: and the Googawut chief, who had not only the ties of clanship, but the dignity of commander-in-chief, to sustain, sent every man he could spare from the blockade. Thus nearly the whole feudal array of Amber was collected round a few *hakeries* (carts), ready to cut each other to pieces for the point of honour: neither would relinquish the claim, and swords were already drawn, when the Khangarote chief stepped between them as peace-maker, and proposed an expedient which saved the honour of both, namely, that the plundered property should be permitted to proceed to its destination, Khundaila prince's quarters, who should transmit it, "of his own accord," to the commander-in-chief of the army. The Shekhawuts assented; the havoc was prevented; but the pride of Chand Sing was hurt, who saw in this a concession to the commander of the army, but none to the leader of the Googawuts.

Luchman Sing, the chief of Seekur, who, as before stated, was the only Shekhawut who kept aloof from the affray, saw the moment was arrived for the accomplishment of his long-concealed desire to be lord of Khundaila. The siege of Bhomguruh being broken up, in consequence of these dissensions and the defection of the confederated Shekhawuts, the Seekur chief no sooner saw them move by the circuitous route of the capital, than he marched directly for his estates, and throwing aside all disguise, attacked Seessoh, which by an infamous stratagem he secured, by inveigling the commandant, the son of the late Bohra minister. Then making over to the enemy, against whom he had just been fighting, for the sum of *two lakhs* of rupees, he obtained a brigade of the mercenary Pathans, under their leaders Munnoo and Mahtab Khan, the last of whom but a few days before, had entered into a solemn engagement with Hunwunt, as manager for the minor princes, to support whose cause, and not abstain from molesting their estates, he had received fifty thousand rupees! Such nefarious acts were too common at that period even to occasion remark, far less reprehension.

The gallant Hunwunt now prepared for the defence of the lands which his valour had redeemed. His foeman made a lavish application of the wealth, which his selfish policy had acquired, and Rewasso and other fields were soon in his possession. The town of Khundaila, being open, soon followed, but the castle held out sufficiently long to enable him to strengthen and provision Kote, which he determined to defend to the last. Having withstood the attacks of the enemy, during three weeks, in the almost ruined castle, he sallied out sword in hand, and gained Kote, where he assembled all those yet faithful to the family, and determined to stand or fall with the last stronghold of Khundaila. The other chiefs of the confederation beheld with indignation this unprovoked and avaricious aggression on the minor princes of Khundaila, not only because of its abstract injustice, but of the undue aggrandizement of this inferior branch of the Raesilotes, and the means employed, namely, the common enemy of their country. Many leagued for its prevention, but some were bribed by the offer of a part of the domain, and those who were too virtuous to

be corrupted, found their intentions defeated by the necessity of defending their own homes against the detachments of Meer Khan, sent by desire of Seekur to neutralize their efforts. The court was steeled against all remonstrance, from the unhappy rupture at Bhomgürh, the blockade of which, it was represented, was broken by the conduct of the followers of Khundaila.

Hunwunt and some hundreds of his brave clansmen were thus left to their own resources. During three months, they defended themselves in a position outside the castle, when a general assault was made on his intrenchments. He was advised to retreat into the castle, but he nobly replied, "Khundaila is gone for ever, if we are reduced to shelter ourselves behind walls;" and he called upon his brethren to repel the attack or perish. Hunwunt cheered on his kinsmen, who charged the battalions sword in hand, drove them from their guns, and completely cleared the intrenchments. But the enemy returned to the conflict, which lasted from morn until nightfall. Another sortie was made; again the enemy was ignominiously dislodged, but the gallant Hunwunt, leading his men to the very muzzle of the guns, received a shot which ended his career. The victory remained with the besieged, but the death of their leader disconcerted his clansmen, who retired within the fort. Five hundred of the mercenary Pathians and men of Seekur (a number equal to the whole of the defenders), accompanied to the shades of the last intrepid Raesilote of Khundaila.

The next morning, an armistice for the removal of the wounded and obsequies of the dead was agreed to, during which terms were offered, and refused by the garrison. As soon as the death of Hunwunt was known, the Oodipur chief, who from the first had upheld the cause of justice, sent additional aid both in men and supplies; and had the Keytri chief been at his estates, the cause would have been further supported; but he was at court, and had left orders with his son to act according to the advice of the chief of Bussao, who had been gained over to the interests of Seekur by the bribe of patricipation in the conquered lands. Nevertheless, the garrison held out, under every privation, for five weeks longer, their only sustenance at length being a little Indian corn introduced by the exertions of individual *Meenas*. At this extremity, an offer being made of ten townships, they surrendered. Pratap Sing took his share of this remnant of his patrimony, but his co-heir Abhe Sing inherited too much of Raesil's spirit to degrade himself by owing aught to his criminal vassal and kinsman. It would have been well for Pratap had he shown the same spirit; for Luchman Sing, now lord of Khundaila, felt too acutely the injustice of his success, to allow the rightful heir, to remain upon his patrimony; and he only allowed sufficient time to elapse for the consolidation of his acquisition, before he expelled the young prince. Both the co-heirs, Abhe Sing and Pertap, now reside at Jhoonjoonao, where each receives five rupees a day, from a joint purse made for them by the Sadhanis, nor at present is there a ray of hope of their restoration to Khundaila.

In 1814, when Mir Sheonaraia, then minister of Jeypur, was involved in great pecuniary difficulties to get rid of the importunities of Meer Khan, he cast his eyes towards the Seekur chief, who had long been desirous to have his usurpation sanctioned by the court; and it was stipulated that on the payment of nine lakhs of rupees (*viz.*, five from himself, with the authority and force of Jeypur to raise the rest from the Sadhanis), he

should receive the *putta* of investiture of Khundaila. Meer Khan, the mutual agent on this occasion, was then at Ranolli, where Luchman Sing met him and paid the amount, receiving his receipt, which was exchanged for the grant under the great seal.

Immediately after, Luchman Sing proceeded to court, and upon the further payment of one year's tribute in advance, henceforth fixed at fifty-seven thousand rupees, he received from the hands of his liege-lord, the Raja Juggut Sing, the *khelat* of investiture. Thus, by the ambition of Seekur, the cupidity of the court, and the jealousies and avarice of the Sadhanis, the birthright of the lineal heirs of Raesil was alienated.

Luchman Sing, by his talents and wealth, soon established his influence at the court of his sovereign; but the jealousy which this excited in the Purohit minister of the day very nearly lost him his dearly-bought acquisition. It will be recollected that a Brahmin obtained the lease of the lands of Khundaila, and that for his extortions he was expelled with disgrace. He proceeded, however, in his career of ambition; subverted the influence of his patron Sheonarain Misr, forcing him to commit suicide, ruined the prospects of his son, and by successful and daring intrigue established himself in the ministerial chair of Amber. The influence of Luchman Sing, who was consulted on all occasions, gave him umbrage, and he determined to get rid of him. To drive him into opposition to his sovereign was his aim, and to effect this there was no better method than to sanction an attack upon Khundaila. The Sadhanis, whose avarice and jealousies made them overlook their true interests, readily united to the troops of the court, and Khundaila was besieged. Luchman Sing, on this occasion, shewed he was no common character. He tranquilly abided the issue at Jeypur, thus neutralizing the malignity of the Purohit, while, to ensure the safety of Khundaila, a timely supply of money to the partizan, Jumsheey Khan, brought his battalions to threaten the Purohit in his camp. Completely foiled by the superior tact of Luchman Sing, the Brahmin was compelled to abandon the undertaking and to return to the capital, where his anger made him throw aside the mask, and attempt to secure the person of his enemy. The Seekur chief had a narrow escape; he fled with fifty horse, hotly pursued by his adversary, while his effects, and those of his partizans (amongst whom was the Samote chief), were confiscated. The Sadhanis, led by the chiefs of Keytril and Bussao, even after the Purohit had left them, made a bold attempt to capture Khundaila, which was defeated, and young Abhe Sing, who was made a puppet on the occasion, witnessed the last defeat of his hopes.

If necessity or expediency could palliate or justify such nefarious acts, it would be shewn in the good consequences that have resulted from evil. The discord and bloodshed produced by the partition of authority between the sons of Bahadur Sing are now at an end. Luchman Sing is the sole tyrant in Khundaila, and so long as the system which he has established is maintained, he may laugh at the efforts, not only of the Sadhanis, but of the court itself, to supplant him.

Let us, in a few words, trace the family of Luchman Sing. It will be recollected that Raesil, the first Raja amongst the sons of Shekhji, had seven sons, the fourth of whom, Tirmul (who obtained the title of Rao), held Kasulli and its eighty-four townships in appanage. His son, Hurree Sing, wrested the district of Bilara, with its one hundred and twenty-five townships, from the Kaimkhanis of Ruteppur, and shortly after twenty-five more from Rewasso. See Sing, the son of Hurree, captured

Futtehpur itself the chief abode of the Kaimkhanis, where he established himself. His son, Chand Sing, founded Seekur, whose lineal descendant, Devi Sing, adopted Luchman Sing, son of his near kinsman, Shahpura thakoor. The estates of Seekur were in admirable order when Luchman succeeded to his uncle, whose policy was of the exterminating sort. Luchman improved upon it; and long before he acquired Khundaila, had demolished all the castles of his inferior feudatories, not even sparing that of Shahpura, the place of his nativity, as well as Bilara, Buthotie, and Kasulli; and so completely did he allow the ties of adoption to supersede those of blood, that his own father preferred exile, to living under a son who, covered with "the turban of Seekur," forgot the author of his life, and retired to Jodhpur.

Luchman Sing has now a compact and improving country, containing five hundred towns and villages, yielding a revenue of eight lakhs of rupees. Desirous of transmitting his name to posterity, he erected the castle of Luchmangurh,* and has fortified many other strongholds, for the defence of which he has formed a little army, which, in these regions, merits the title of regulars, consisting of eight battalions of *alligole*, armed with matchlocks, with a brigade of guns to each battalion. He has besides an efficient cavalry, consisting of one hundred horse, half of which are *bargeers*, or stipendiary; the other half *jagheerdars*, having lands assigned for their support. With such means, and with his ambition, there is very little doubt that, had not the alliance of his liege lord of Amber with the English government put a stop to the predatory system he would, by means of the same worthy allies by whose aid he obtained Khundaila,† before this time have made himself supreme in Shekhavati.

Having thus brought to a conclusion the history of the princes of Khundaila, we shall give a brief account of the other branches of the Shekhawats, especially the most powerful, the Sadhani.

The Sadhanis are descended from Bhojraj, the third son of Raesil, and in the division of fiefs amongst his seven sons, obtained Oodipur and its dependencies. Bhojraj had a numerous issue, styled Bhojani, who arrogated their full share of importance in the infancy of the confederacy, and in process of time, from some circumstances not related, perhaps the mere advantage of locality, their chief city became the *rendezvous* for the great council of the federation, which is still in the defile of Oodipur.‡

Several generations subsequent to Bhojraj, Jugram succeeded to the lands of Oodipur. He had six sons, the eldest of whom, Sadhoo,

* Luchmangurh, or "the cattle of Luchman" situated upon a lofty mountain, was erected in S. 1862, or A. D. 1806, though probably on the ruins of some more ancient fortress. It commands a most extensive prospect, and is quite a beacon in that country, studded with hill-castles. The town is built on the model of Jeypoor, with regular streets intersecting each other at right angles, in which there are many wealthy merchants who enjoy perfect security.

† Khundaila is said to have derived its name from the *Khokur Raj-pont*. The *Khokur* is often mentioned in the Bhati Annals, whom I have supposed to be the *Ghuker*, who were certainly Indo-Scythic. Khundaila has four thousand houses, and eighty villages dependent on it.

‡ The ancient name of Oodipoor is said to be *Kaes*; it contains three thousand houses, and has forty-five villages attached to it, divided into four portions.

quarrelled with his father, on some ceremonial connected with the celebration of the military festival, the *doserrah*,* and quitting the paternal roof, sought for his fortunes abroad. At this time, almost all the tract now inhabited by the Sadhanis was dependent on Futtehpur (Jhoonjoonoo), the residence of a Nawab of the Kaimkhani tribe of Afghans, who held it as a fief of the empire. To him Sadhoo repaired, and was received with favour, and by his talents and courage rose in consideration, until he was eventually intrusted with the entire management of affairs. There are two accounts of the mode of his ulterior advancement: both may be correct. One is, that the Nawab, having no children, adopted young Sadhoo, and assigned to him Jhoonjoonoo and its eighty-four dependencies, which he retained on the Kaimkhani's death. The other, and less favourable though equally probable account, is that, feeling his influence firmly established, he hinted to his patron, that the township of——— was prepared for his future residence, where he should enjoy a sufficient pension, as he intended to retain possession of his delegated authority. So completely had he supplanted the Kaimkhani, that he found himself utterly unable to make a party against the ungrateful Shekhwut. He therefore fled from Jhoonjoonoo to Futtehpur, the other division of his authority, or at least one of his own kin, who espoused his cause, and prepared to expel the traitor from Jhoonjoonoo. Sadhoo, in this emergency, applied to his father, requesting him to call upon his brethren, as it was a common cause. The old chief, who, in his son's success, forgave and forgot the conduct which made him leave his roof, instantly addressed another son, then serving with his liege lord, the Mirza Raja Jey Sing, in the imperial army, to obtain succour for him; and some regular troops with guns were immediately despatched to reinforce young Sadhoo and maintain his usurpation, which was accomplished, and moreover Futtehpur was added to Jhoonjoonoo. Sadhoo bestowed the former with its dependencies, equal in value to his own share, on his brother, for his timely aid, and both, according to previous stipulation, agreed to acknowledge their obligations to the Raja by an annual tribute and *nusserana* on all lapses, as lord paramount. Sadhoo soon after wrested Singhana, containing one hundred and twenty-five villages, from another branch of the Kaimkhani; Soolhano, with its *chouasi*, or division of eighty-four townships, from the Gor Rajpoots; and Keytri and its dependencies from the Tuars, the descendants of the ancient emperors of Delhi; so that, in process of time, he possessed himself of a territory comprising more than one thousand towns and villages. Shortly before his death, he divided the conquered lands amongst his five sons, whose descendants, adopting his name as the patronymic, are called Sadhani; *vis.* Zoorawur Sing, Kishen Sing, Nowul Sing, Kesuri Sing, and Pahar Sing.

Zoorawur Sing, besides the paternal and original estates, had, in virtue of primogeniture, the town of Chokeri and its twelve subordinate villages, with all the other emblems of state, as the elephants, palkees, etc.; and although the cupidity of the Keytri chief, the descendant of the second son, Kishen, has wrested the patrimony from the elder branch, who has now only Chokeri, yet the distinctions of birth are never lost in those of fortune, and the petty chief of Chokeri, with its twelve small townships, is looked upon as the superior of Abhe Sing, though the lord of five hundred villages.

* See Vol. I.

The descendants of the other four sons, now the most distinguished of the Sadhanis, are,*

Abhe Sing of Keytri ;
 Shiam Sing of Bussao ;
 Gyan Sing of Nowulgurh ;†
 Shere Sing of Sooltano.

Besides the patrimonies assigned to the five sons of Sadhoo, he left the districts of Singhana, Jhoonjoonoo, and Soorujgurh (the ancient Oreecha), to be held in joint heirship by the junior members of his stock. The first, with its one hundred and twenty-five villages, has been usurped by Abhe Sing of Keytri, but the others still continue to be frittered away in sub-infeudations among this numerous and ever-spreading *frerage*.

Abhe Sing has assumed the same importance amongst the Sadhanis, that Luchman Sing has amongst the Raesilotes, and both by the same means, crime, and usurpation. The Seekur chief has despoiled his senior branch of Khundaila; and the Keytri chief has not only despoiled the senior, but also the junior, of the five branches of Sadhoo. The transaction which produced the last result, whereby the descendant of Shere Sing lost Sooltano, is so peculiarly atrocious, that it is worth relating, as a proof to what lengths the Rajpoot will go "to get land."

Pahar Sing had an only son, named Bhopal, who being killed in an attempt on Loharoo, he adopted the younger son of his nephew, Bagh Sing of Keytri. On the death of his adopted father, the Sooltano chief, being too young to undertake the management of his fief in person, remained under the paternal roof. It would appear as if this alienation of political rights could also alienate affection and rupture all the ties of kindred, for his unnatural father embued his hands in the blood of his own child, and annexed Sooltano to Keytri. But the monster grievously suffered for the deed; he became the scorn of his kinsmen, "who spit at him and threw dust on his head," until he secluded himself from the gaze of mankind. The wife of his bosom ever after refused to look upon him; she managed the estates for the surviving son, the present Ahhe Sing. During twelve years that Bagh Sing survived, he never quitted his apartment in the castle of Keytri, until carried out to be burned, amidst the execrations and contempt of his kinsmen.

Larkhanis.—Having made the reader sufficiently acquainted with the genealogy of the Sadhanis, as well as of the Raesilotes, we shall conclude with a brief notice of the Larkhanis, which term, translated, "the beloved lords," ill-accords with their occupation, as the most notorious marauders in Rajpootana. *Larla* is a common infantine appellation, meaning 'beloved;' but whether the adjunct of *Khan* to this son of Raesil, as well as to that of his youngest, Taj-khan (the crown of princes), was out of compliment to some other Mooslem saint we know not. Larkhan conquered his own appanage, Dantah Ramgurh, on the frontiers of Marwar, then a dependency of Sambhur. It is not unlikely that his father's influence at court secured the possession to him. Besides this district, they have the *tuppa* of Nosul, and altogether about eighty

* It must be borne in mind that this was written in 1814.

† Nowulgurh contains four thousand houses, environed by *sehr-punna*. It is on a more ancient site called Rolani, whose old castle in ruins is to the south-east, and the new one midway between it and the town, built by Nowul Sing in S. 1802, or A. D. 1746.

townships, including some held of the Rajas of Marwar and Bikaner, to secure their abstinence from plunder within their bounds. The Larkhanis are a community of robbers; their name, like *Pindarri* and *Kussak*, is held in these regions to be synonymous with 'freebooter,' and as they can muster five hundred horse, their raids are rather formidable. Sometimes their nominal liege lord calls upon them for tribute, but being in a difficult country, and Ramgurh being a place of strength, they pay little regard to the call, unless backed by some of the mercenary partizans, such as Meer Khan, who contrived to get payment of arrears of tribute to the amount twenty thousand rupees.

Revenues.—We conclude this sketch with a rough statement of the revenues of Shekhavati, which might yield in peace and prosperity, now for the first time beginning to beam upon them, from twenty-five to thirty lakhs of rupees; but at present they fall much short of this sum, and full one-half of the lands of the confederation are held by the chiefs of Seekur and Keytri :—

	Rs.
Luchman Sing, of Seekur, including Khundaila ...	8,00,000
Abhe Sing, of Keytri, including Kot-Pootli, given by Lord Lake ...	6,00,000
Shiam Sing of Bussao, including his brother Runjeet's share of 40,000 (whom he killed) ...	1,90,000
Gyan Sing of Nowulgurh, including Mundao, each fifty villages ...	70,000
Luchman Sing, Mayndsir the chief sub-infeudation of Nowulgurh ...	30,000
Taen and its lands, divided amongst the twenty-seven great grandsons of Zoorawur Sing, eldest son of Sadhoo ...	1,00,000
Oodipur-vati ...	1,00,000
Munohurpur* ...	30,000
Larkhanis ...	1,00,000
Hur-ramjis ...	40,000
Girdhur-potas ...	40,000
Smaller estates ...	2,00,000
TOTAL ...	23,00,000

The tribute established by Jeypur is as follows :—

Sadhanis ...	2,00,000
Khundaila ...	60,000
Futtehpur ...	64,000
Oodipur and Bubhye ...	22,000
Kasulli ...	4,000
TOTAL ...	8,50,000

* The Munohurpur chief was put to death by Raja Juggut Sing (vide Madarri Lall's Journal of A.D 1814), and his lands were sequestrated and partitioned amongst the confederacy: the cause, his inciting the *Rajats* or *Rajis* (an epithet for the proselyte Bhatti plunderers of Bhattiana to invade and plunder the country).

Thus, supposing the revenues, as stated, at twenty-three lakhs, to be near the truth, and the tribute at three and a-half, it would be an assessment of one-seventh of the whole, which is a fair proportion, and a measure of justice which the British Government would do well to imitate.

CHAPTER VIII.

Was thus developed the origin and progress of the Cuchwaha tribe, as well as its scions of Shekhavati and Macherri. To some, at least, it may be deemed no uninteresting object to trace in continuity the issue of a fugitive individual, spreading, in the course of eight hundred years, over a region of fifteen thousand square miles; and to know that forty thousand of his flesh and blood have been marshalled in the same field, defending sword in hand, their country and their prince. The name of 'county' carries with it a magical power in the mind of the Rajpoot. The name of his wife or his mistress must never be mentioned at all, nor that of his country but with respect, or his sword is instantly unsheathed. Of these facts, numerous instances abound in these Annals; yet does the ignorant *purdesi* (foreigner) venture to say there are no indigenous terms either for patriotism or gratitude in this country.

Boundaries and Extent.—The boundaries of Amber and its dependencies are best seen by an inspection of the Map. Its greatest breadth lies between Sambhur, touching the Marwar frontier on the west, and the town of Surout, on the Jat frontier, east. This line is one hundred and twenty British miles, whilst its greatest breadth from north to south, including Shekhavati, is one hundred and eighty. Its form is very irregular. We may, however, estimate the surface of the parent state, Dhoondhar or Jeypur, at nine thousand five hundred square miles, and Shekhavati at five thousand four hundred; in all, fourteen thousand nine hundred square miles.

Population—It is difficult to determine with exactitude the amount of the population of this region; but from the best information, one hundred and fifty souls to the square mile would not be too great a proportion in Amber, and eighty in Shekhavati; giving an average of one hundred and twenty-four to the united area, which consequently contains 185,670; and when we consider the very great number of large towns in this region, it may not be above, but rather below, the truth. Dhoondhar, the parent country, is calculated to contain four thousand townships, exclusive of *poorwas*, or hamlets, and Shekhavati about half that number, of which Luchman Sing of Seekur and Khundaila, and Abhe Sing of Keytri, have each about five hundred, or the half of the lands of the federation.

Classification of Inhabitants.—Of this population, it is still more difficult to classify its varied parts, although it may be asserted with confidence that the Rajpoots bear but a small ratio to the rest, whilst they may equal in number any individual class, except the aboriginal *Meenas*, who, strange to say, are still the most numerous. The following are the principal tribes, and the order in which they follow may be considered as indicative of their relative numbers. 1. *Meenas*; 2. *Rajpoots*; 3. *Brahmins*; 4. *Banias*; 5. *Jats*; 6. *Dhakurs*, or *Khurs* (quo Circa?); 7. *Goojurs*.

Meenas.—The Meenas are subdivided into no less than thirty-two distinct clans or classes, but it would extend too much the annals of this state to distinguish them. Moreover, as they belong to every state in Rajwarra, we shall find a fitter occasion to give a general account of them. The immunities and privileges preserved to the Meenas best attest the truth of the original induction of the exiled prince of Nurwur to the sovereignty of Amber; and it is a curious fact, showing that such establishment must have been owing to adoption, not conquest, that this event was commemorated on every installation by a Meena of Kalikho marking with his blood the *teeka* of sovereignty on the forehead of the prince. The blood was obtained by incision of the great te, and though, like many other antiquated usages, this has fallen into desuetude here (as has the same mode of inauguration of the Ranas by the Ondevas Bhils), yet both in the one case and in the other, there cannot be more convincing evidence that these now outcasts were originally the masters. The Meenas still enjoy the most confidential posts about the persons of the princes of Amber, having charge of the archives and treasure in Jeygurh; they guard his person at night, and have that most delicate of all trusts, the charge of the *rawula*, or seraglio. In the earlier stages of the Cuchwaha power, these their primitive subjects had the whole insignia of state as well as the person of the prince, committed to their trust; but presuming upon this privilege too far, when they insisted that, in leaving their bounds, he should leave these emblems, the *nakarras* and standards, with them, their pretensions were cancelled in their blood. The Meenas, Jats, and Kirars are the principal cultivators, many of them holding large estates.

Jats.—The Jats nearly equal the Meenas in numbers, as well as in extent of possessions, and are, as usual, the most industrial of all husbandmen.

Brahmins.—Of Brahmins, following secular as well as sacred employments, there are more in Amber than in any other state in Rajwarra; from which we are not to conclude that her princes were more religious than their neighbours, but on the contrary, that they were greater sinners.

Rajpoots.—It is calculated that, even now, on an emergency, if a national war roused the patriotism of the Cuchwaha feudality, they could bring into the field thirty thousand of their kin and clan, or, to repeat their own emphatic phrase, "the sons of one father," which includes the *Narroocas* and the chiefs of the *Shekhawut* federation. Although the Cuchwahas, under their popular princes, as Pujoon, Raja Maun, and the Mirza Raja, have performed exploits as brilliant as any other tribes, yet they do not now enjoy the same reputation for courage as either the *Rahtores* or *Haras*. This may be in part accounted for by the demoralization consequent upon their proximity to the Mogul court, and their participation in all its enervating vices; but still more from the degradations they have suffered from the *Marhattas*, and to which their western brethren have been less exposed. Every feeling, patriotic or domestic, became corrupted wherever their pernicious influence prevailed.

Soil, husbandry, products.—Dhoondhar contains every variety of soil, and the *khurraef* and *rubbes*, or autumnal and spring crops, are of nearly equal importance. Of the former *bujra* predominates over *joovar*, and in the latter barley over wheat. The other grains, pulses, and vegetables raised all over Hindusthan, are here produced in abundance, and required not to be specified. The sugar-cane used to be cultivated to a very great extent, but partly from extrinsic causes, and still more from its holding

out such an allurement to the renters, the husbandman has been compelled to curtail this lucrative branch of agriculture; for although land fit for *sak* (cane) is let at four to six rupees per beegha, sixty have been exacted before it was allowed to be reaped. Cotton of excellent quality is produced in considerable quantities in various districts, as are indigo and other dyes common to India. Neither do the implements of husbandry or their application differ from those which have been described in this and various other works sufficiently well-known.

Farming system.—It is the practice in this state to farm its lands to the highest bidder; and the mode of farming is most pernicious to the interests of the estate, and the cultivating classes, both of whom it must eventually impoverish. The farmers-general are the wealthy bankers and merchants, who make their offers for entire districts; these they underlet in *tuppas*, or subdivisions, the holders of which again subdivided them into single villages, or even shares of a village. With the profits of all these persons, the expenses attending collections, quartering of *burkendases*; or armed police, are the poor *Bhomias* and *Ryots* saddled. Could they only know the point where exaction must stop, they would still have a stimulus to activity; but when the crops are nearly got in, and all just demands satisfied, they suddenly hear that a new renter has been installed in the district, having ousted the holder by some ten or twenty thousand rupees, and at the precise moment when the last toils of the husbandman were near completion. The renter has no remedy; he may go and "throw his turban at the door of the palace, and exclaim *dohed, Raja Sahib!*" till he is weary, or marched off to the cutwal's *chabootra*, and perhaps fined for making a disturbance. Knowing, however, there is little benefit to be derived from such a course, they generally submit, go through the whole accounts, make over the amount of collections, and with the host of vultures in their train, who, never unprepared for such changes, have been making the most of their ephemeral power by battenning on the hard earnings of the peasantry, retire for this fresh band of harpies to pursue a like course. Nay, it is far from uncommon for three different renters to come upon the same district in one season, or even the crop of one season, for five or the thousand rupees; annulling the existing engagement, no matter how far advanced. Such was the condition of this estate; and when to these evils were superadded the exactions called *dind*, or *burrar*, forced contributions to pay those armies of robbers who swept the lands, language cannot exaggerate the extent of misery. The love of country must be powerful indeed which can enchain man to a land so misgoverned, so unprotected.

Revenues.—It is always a task of difficulty to obtain any correct account of the revenues of these states, which are ever fluctuating. We have now before us several schedules, both of past and present reigns, all said to be copied from the archives, in which the name of every diarict, together with its rent, town and transit duties, and other sources of income, are stated; but the details would afford little satisfaction, and doubtless the resident authorities have access to the fountain head. The revenues of Dhoondhar, of every description, fiscal, feudal, and tributary, or impost, are stated, in round numbers, at one crore of rupees, or about a million of pounds sterling, which, estimating the difference of the price of labour, may be deemed equivalent to four times that sum in England. Since this estimate was made, there have been great alienations of territory, and no less than sixteen rich districts have been wrested

from Amber by the Mahrattas, or her own rebel son, the Naroocha chief of Macherri.

The following is the schedule of alienations :—

1. Kamah	} Taken by General Perron, for his master Sindia; since rented to the Jats, and retained by them.
2. Khorl ...	...
3. Pahari ...	...
4. Kanti	} Seized by the Macherri Rao.
5. Ookrode ...	...
6. Pundapun ...	...
6. Gazi-ca-thana ...	...
7. Rampura (kirda) ...	...
8. Gaonrie ...	...
9. Rinnie ...	...
10. Purbainie ...	...
11. Mozpur Hursana ...	...
12. Kanorh or Kanound*	...	} Taken by De Boigne and given to Mor- teza Khan, Baraitch, confirmed in them by Lord Lake.
13. Narnol ...	...
14. Kotpootlee	} Taken in the war of 1803-4, from the Mahrattas, and given by Lord Lake to Abhe Sing Keytri.
15. Tonk ...	...
16. Rampura	} Granted to Holcar by Raja Madhu Sing; confirmed in sovereignty to Meer Khan by Lord Hastings.
	...	

It must, however, be borne in mind, that almost all these alienated districts had but for a comparatively short period formed an integral portion of Dhoondhar; and that the major part were portions of the imperial domains, held in *jaedad* or 'assignment,' by the princes of this country, in their capacity of lieutenants of the emperor. In Raja Prithwi Sing's reign, about half a century ago, the rent-roll of Amber and her tributaries was seventy-seven lakhs; and in a very minute schedule formed in S. 1858 (A.D. 1802), the last year of the reign of Raja Pratab Sing, they were estimated at seventy-nine lakhs: an ample revenue, if well administered, for every object. We shall present the chief items which form the budget of ways and means of Amber.

Schedule of the revenues of Amber for S. 1858 (A.D. 1802-3), the year of Raja Fuggut Sing's accession.

KHALISA OR FISCAL LAND.

	Rs.
Managed by the Raja, or rented ...	20,55,000
Deori talooka, expenses of the queen's household ...	5,00,000
Sagird-peshwa, servants of the household ...	3,00,000
Ministers and civil officers ...	2,00,000
Jaghers for the Silteposh or men-at-arms ...	1,50,000
Jaghers to army, viz., ten battalions of infantry with cavalry ...	7,14,000
TOTAL FISCAL LAND ...	39,19,000

* Kanorh was the fief of Ameer Sing, Khamgarote, one of the twelve great lords of Amber.

	Rs.
Feudal lands (of Jeypur Proper) ...	17,00,000
Ooduk, or charity lands, chiefly to Brahmins ...	16,00,000
Dan and Mauppa, or transit and impost duties of the country ...	1,90,000
Cucherri, of the capital, includes town-duties, fines, contributions, etc., etc., ...	2,15,000
Mint ...	60,000
Hoo'di-bharra, insurance, and dues on bills of exchange ...	60,000
Foujdari, or commandant of Amber (annual fine) ...	12,000
Foujdari, or commandant of city of Jeypur ...	8,000
Bedaet, petty fines from the Cucherri, or hall of Justice ...	16,000
Subzi-mandi, vegetable market ...	3,000
TOTAL LAKHS ...	77,83,000
Tribute ... {	Shekhavati ... 3,50,000
	Rajawut and other feudatories of Jeypur* 30,000
	Kotrees of Haroutif ... 20,000
TOTAL TRIBUTE ...	4,00,000
GRAND TOTAL ...	81,83,000

If this statement is correct, and we add thereto the Shekhawut, Rajawut, and Hara tributes, the revenues fiscal, feudal, commercial, and tributary of Amber, when Juggut Sing came to the throne, would exceed eighty lakhs of rupees, half of which is *khalsa* or appertaining to the Raja—nearly twice the personal revenue of any other prince in Rajwarra. This sum (forty lakhs) was the estimated amount liable to tribute, when the treaty was formed with the British government, and of which the raja has to pay eight lakhs annually, and *five-sixteenth* of all revenue surplus to this amount. The observant reader will not fail to be struck with the vast inequality between the estates of the defenders of the country, and these drones the Brahmins,—a point on which we have elsewhere treated:† nor can any thing more powerfully mark the utter prostration of intellect of the Cuchwaha princes, than their thus maintaining an indolent and baneful hierarchy to fatten on the revenues which would support four thousand Cuchwaha cavaliers. With a proper application of her revenues, and princes like Raja Maun to lead a brave vassalage, they would have foiled all the efforts of the Mahrattas; but their own follies and vices have been their ruin.

Foreign army.—At the period (A. D. 1803) this schedule was formed of the revenues of Amber, she maintained a foreign army of thirteen thousand men, consisting of ten battalions of infantry with guns, a legion of four thousand *Nagas*, a corps of alligoles for police duties, and one of cavalry, seven hundred strong. With these, the regular contingent

* Burwarra, Kheerni, Sogar, Iserdeh, etc., etc.

† Anterdeh, Bulwan, and Indurgurh.

‡ See Dissertation on the Religious Establishments of Mewar, Vol I.

of feudal levies, amounting to about four thousand efficient horse, formed a force adequate to repel any insult ; but when the *kher*, or *levee en masse* was called out, twenty thousand men, horse and foot, were ready to back the always embodied force.

A detailed schedule of the feudal levies of Amber may diversify the dry details of these annals, obviate repetition, and present a perfect picture of a society of clanships. In this list we shall give precedence to the *kotribund*, the holders of the 12 great fiefs (*bara-kotri*) of Amber.

Schedule of the names and appanages of the twelve sons of Raja Prithwi Raj, whose descendants from the bara-kotri, or twelve great fiefs of Amber.

Sons of Prithwi Raj.	Names of Families.	Names of Fiefs.	Present Chiefs.	Revenues.	Personal Quotas.
1. Chutturhooj	Churhurbhojote	Pinar and Bhugroo...	Bagh Sing	Rs. 18,000	28
2. Kullian	Kullianote	Lotwarra	Gunga Sing	25,000	47
3. Nathoo	Nathawut	Chomoo	Kishen Sing	1,15,000	205
4. Balbudhur	Balbudhurote	Acherole	Kaim Sing	28,850	57
5. Jugmul his son Khangar.	Khangarote	Thodree	Prithwi Sing	25,000	40
6. Sooltan	Sooltanote	Chundsirr	.....	...	...
7. Puchaen	Puchaenote	Sambra	Sulle Sing	17,700	32
8.	Googawut	Dhoonee	Rao Chund Sing	70,000	88
9. Kaem	Khoombani	Bhanskho	Puddum Sing	21,535	31
10. Khoombho	Khoombawut	Mahar	Rawut Surroop Sing	27,538	45
11. Soorut	Sheoburrunpota	Neendir	Rawut Hurree Sing	10,000	19
12. Bunbeer	Bunbeerpota	Batko	Suroop Sing	19,000	35

It will be remarked that the estates of these, the chief vassals of Amber, are, with the exception of two, far inferior in value to those of the sixteen great chiefs of Mewar, or the eight of Marwar; and a detailed list of all the inferior feudatories of each *kotrec*, or clan, would show that many of them have estates greater than those of their leaders: for instance, Kishen Sing of Chomboo has upwards of a *lakh*, while Berri Sal of Samote, the head of the clan (Nathawut), has only forty thousand; again, the chief of Ballahairi holds an estate of thirty-five thousand, while that of the head of his clan is but twenty-five thousand. The representative of the Sheoburrupotas has an estate of only ten thousand, while the junior branch of Góoroh has thirty-six thousand. Again, the chief of the Khangarotes has but twenty-five thousand, while no less than three junior branches hold lands to double that amount; and the inferior of the Balbhudurotes holds upwards of a lakh, while his superior of Acherole has not a third of this rental. The favour of the prince, the turbulence or talents of individuals, have caused these inequalities; but, however disproportioned the gifts of fortune, the attribute of honour always remains with the lineal descendant and representative of the original fief.

We shall further illustrate this subject of the feudalities of Amber by inserting a general list of all the clans, with the number of subdivisions, the resources of each, and the quotas they ought to furnish. At no remote period this was held to be correct, and will serve to give a good idea of the Cuchwaha aristocracy. It was my intention to have given a detailed account of the subdivisions of each fief, their names, and those of their holders, but on reflexion, though they cost some diligence to obtain, they would have little interest for the general reader.

Schedule of the Cuchwaha clans; the number of fiefs or estates in each; their aggregate value, and quotas of horse for each estate.

Names of Clans.			Number of Fiefs in each. Clanship or Clan.	Aggregate Revenue.	Aggregate Quotas.
12*	Chuthurbhojote	...	6	53,800	92
	Kullianote	...	19	2,45,196	422
	Nathawut	...	10	2,20,800	371
	Balbudhurote	...	2	1,30,850	157
	Khangerote	...	22	4,02,806	643
	Sooltanote	...	...	.....	.....
	Puchaenote	...	3	24,700	45
	Googawut	...	13	1,67,900	273
	Khoombani	...	2	23,787	35
	Khoombawut	...	6	40,738	68
	Sheoburrupota	...	3	49,500	73
	Bunbeerpota	...	3	26,575	48
4†	Rajawut	...	16	1,98,137	392
	Narooca	...	6	91,069	92
	Bhankawut	...	4	34,600	53
	Purinmalote	...	1	10,000	19
10‡	Bhatti	...	4	1,04,039	205
	Chohan	...	4	30,500	61
	Birgoojur	...	6	32,000	58
	Chunderawut	...	1	14,000	21
	Sikerwar	...	2	4,500	8
	Goojurs	...	3	15,300	30
	Rangras	...	6	2,91,105	549
	Khettris	...	4	1,20,000	281
	Brahmins	...	12	3,12,000	606
	Musulman	...	9	1,41,400	274

We shall conclude the *Annals of Amber* with the names of a few of the ancient towns, in which research we may recover something of past days.

Mora.—Nine coss east of Deonsah; built by Mordhuj, a Chohan Raja.

* The first *twelve* are the Bara-kotris, or twelve great fiefs of Amber.

† The next *four* are of the Cuchwaha stock, but not reckoned amongst the *Kotribunds*.

‡ The last *ten* are foreign chieftains, of various tribes and classes.

No doubt great changes have taken place since this list was formed, especially amongst the mercenary *Puttasts*, or *Jagheerdars*. The quotas are also irregular, though the qualification of a cavalier in this state is reckoned at five hundred rupees of income.

Abhanair.—Three coss east of Lalsont; very ancient, capital of a Chohan sovereignty.

Bhangurh.—Five coss from Tholai; the ruins of an ancient town and castle in the hills, built by the old princes of Dhoondhar, prior to the Cuchwahas.

Amurgurh.—Three coss from Kooshalgurh; built by the Nagvansa.

Birat.—Three coss from Bussye in Macherri, attributed to the Pandus.

Patun and *Ganipur*.—Both erected by the ancient Tuar kings of Delhi.

Khurar, or *Khandar*.—Near Rinthumbor.

Ootgeer.—On the Chunibul.

Amber, or *Amb-Keswur*, a title of Siva, whose symbol is in the centre of a *coond* or tank in the middle of the old town. The water covers half the *lingam*; and a prophecy prevails, that when it is entirely submerged the state of Amber will perish! There are inscriptions.

ANNALS OF HARAVATI.

CHAPTER I.

BOONDI.

HARAVATI or Harouli 'the country of the Haras,' comprehends two principalities, *vis.*, Kotah and Boondi. The Chumbul intersects the territory of the Hara race, and now serves as their boundary, although only three centuries have elapsed since the younger branch separated from, and became independent of, Boondi.

The Hara is the most important of the twenty-four Chohan *sacha*, being descended from Anuraj, the son of Manik Rae, king of Ajmere, who in S. 741 (A. D. 684) sustained the first shock of the Islamite arms.

We have already sketched the pedigree of the Chohans,* one of the most illustrious of the "thirty-six royal races" of India.† We must, however, in this place, enter into it somewhat more fully; and in doing so, we must not discard even the fables of their origin, which will at least demonstrate that the human understanding has been similarly constructed in all ages and countries, before the thick veil of ignorance and superstition was withdrawn from it. So scanty are the remote records of the Chohans, that it would savour of affectation to attempt a division of the periods of their history, or the improbable, the probable, and the certain. Of the first two, a separation would be impracticable, and we cannot trace the latter beyond the seventh century.

"When the impieties of the kings of the warrior race drew upon them the vengeance of Parusarama, who twenty-one times extirpated that race, some, in order to save their lives, called themselves bards; others assumed the guise of women; and thus the *singh* (horn) of the Rajpoots was preserved; when dominion was assigned to the Brahmins. The impious avarice of Sahasra Arjuna, of the Hya race, king of Maheswar on the Nerbudda, provoked the last war, having slain the father of the Parosurama.

* See Vol. I.,

† According to Herodotus, the Scythic *sacæ* enumerated eight races with the epithet of royal, and Strabo mentions one of the tribes of the Thyssagetæ as boasting the title of *Basilii*. The Rajpoots assert that in ancient times they only enumerated eight royal *sacham* or branches *vis.*, Surya, Soma, Hya or Aswa (qu. Asi?), Nima, and the four tribes of Agnivansa, *vis.*, Prainara, Purihara, Solanki and Chohan.

Abulgazi states that the Tartars or Scythians were divided into six grand families. The Rajpoots have maintained these ideas, originally brought from the Oxus.

"But as the chief weapon of the Brahmin is his curse or blessing, great disorders soon ensued from the want of the strong arm. Ignorance and infidelity spread over the land; the sacred books were trampled under foot, and mankind had no refuge from the monstrous brood.* In this exigence, Viswamitra, the instructor in arms of Bhagwan, revolved within his own mind, and determined upon, the re-creation of the Chetries. He chose for this rite the summit of Mount Aboo,† where dwell the hermits and sages (*Moonis* and *Rishis*) constantly occupied in the duties of religion, and who had carried their complaints even to the *Kheer samudra* (sea of curds), where they saw the Father of Creation floating upon the hydra (emblem of eternity). He desired them to regenerate the warrior race, and they returned to Mount Aboo with Indra, Bramha, Roodra, Vishnu, and all the inferior divinities, in their train. The fire-fountain (*anul-coond*) was lustrated with the waters of the Ganges; expiatory rites were performed, and, after a protracted debate, it was resolved that Indra should initiate the work of re-creation. Having formed an image (*pootti*) of the *dhurba* grass, he sprinkled it with the water of life, and threw it into the fire-fountain. Thence, on pronouncing the *sanjivan mantra* (incantation to give life), a figure slowly emerged from the flame, bearing in the right hand a mace, and exclaiming, "*Mar! mar!*" (slay, slay.) He was called *Pramar*; and Aboo, Dhar, and Oojein were assigned to him as a territory.

"Brahma was then entreated to frame one from his own essence (*ansa*). He made an image, threw it into the pit, whence issued a figure armed with a sword (*kharga*) in one hand, with the *veda* in the other, and a *sunoo* round his neck. He was named Chalook or Solanki, and Anhulpur Patun was appropriated to him.

"Roodra formed the third. The image was sprinkled with the water of the Ganges, and on the incantation being read, a black ill-favoured figure arose, armed with the *dhanoos* or bow. As his foot slipped when sent against the demons, he was called *Purihar*, and placed as the *poleoh*, or guardian of the gates. He had the *nonangul Marus-thali*, or 'nine habitations of the desert,' assigned him.

"The fourth was formed by Vishnu; when an image like himself, four-armed, each having a separate weapon, issued from the flames, and was thence styled *Chaturbhooja* Chau-han, or the 'four-armed.' The gods bestowed their blessing upon him, and *Macavati-nagari* as a territory. Such was the name of Gurra-Mundilla in the Dwapur, or silver age.

"The Dytes were watching the rites, and two of their leaders were close to the fire-fountain; but the work of regeneration being over, the new-born warriors were sent against the infidels, when a desperate encounter ensued. But as fast as the blood of the demons was shed, young demons arose; when the four tutelary divinities, attendant on each newly-created race, drank up the blood, and thus stopped the multiplication of evil. These were

Asapurana, of the Chohan.
Gajun Mata,——Purihar.

* Or, as the bard says, Dyles, Asuras, and Danoos, or demons and infidels, as they style the Indo-Scythic tribes from the north-west, who paid no respect to the Brahmins.

† A word-garn.

‡ My last pilgrimage was to Aboo.

Keonj Mata,———Solanki.

Sanchur Mata,———Pramara.

"When the Dytes were slain, shouts of joy rent the sky; ambrosial showers were shed from heaven; and the gods drove their cars (*vahan*) about the firmament, exulting at the victory thus achieved.

"Of all the thirty-six royal races (says Chund, the great bard of the Chohans), the *Agnicula* is the greatest: the rest were born of woman; these were created by the Brahmins.*—Gotracharya of the Chohans, Sham Veda, Somvansa, Madhooni sacha, Vacha gotra, panch purwar junoo, Laktuncari nekas, Chandrabhaga Nadi, Brigooneshan, Ambaca-Bhavani, Balun Putra, Kal Bhiroo, Aboo Achilleswar Mahadeo, Chaturbhooja Chauhan."

The period of this grand convocation of the gods on Mount Aboo, to regenerate the warrior race of Hind, and to incite them against "the infidel races who had spread over the land," is dated so far back as the opening of the second age of the Hindus; a point which we shall not dispute. Neither shall we throw a doubt upon the chronicles which claim Prince Schl, one of the great heroes of the *Mahabharat*, as an intermediate link between Anhil Chohan and Satpati, who founded Macavati, and conquered the Konkan; while another son, called Tumtur Pal, conquered Aser and Gowalcoond (*Golconda*), planted his garrisons in every region, and possessed nine hundred elephants to carry *puckalas*, or water-skins.

Let us here pause for a moment before we proceed with the chronicle, and inquire who were these warriors, thus regenerated to fight the battles of Brahminism, and brought within the pale of their faith? They must have been either the aboriginal debased classes, raised to moral importance by the ministers of the pervading religion, or foreign races who had obtained a footing amongst them. The contrasted physical appearance of the respective races will decide this question. The aborigines are dark, diminutive, and ill favoured; the *Agniculas* are of good stature, and fair, with prominent features, like those of the Parthian kings. The ideas which pervade their martial poetry are such as were held by the Scythian in distant ages, and which even Brahminism has failed to eradicate; while the *tumuli*, containing ashes and arms, discovered throughout India, especially in the south about Gowalcoond, where the Chohans held sway, indicate the nomadic warrior of the north as the proselyte of Mount Aboo.

Of the four *Agnicula* races, the Chohans were the first who obtained extensive dominion. The almost universal power of the Pramaras is proverbial; but the wide sway possessed by the Chohans can only be discovered with difficulty. Their glory was on the wane when that of the Pramaras was in the zenith; and if we may credit the last great bard of the Rajpoots, the Chohans held *in capite* of the Pramaras of Telingana,

* It is by no means uncommon for this arrogant priesthood to lay claim to powers co-equal with those of the Divinity, nay often superior to them. Witness the scene in the *Ramayana*, where they make the deity a mediator, to entreat the Brahmin Vashishta to hearken to King Vishwamitra's desire for his friendship. Can any thing exceed this? Parallels, perhaps, we may, in that memorable instance of Christian idolatry, where the Almighty is called on to intercede with St. Januarius to perform annual miracle of liquefying the congealed

in the eighth century of Vicrama, though the name of Prithwiraj threw a parting ray of splendour upon the whole line of his ancestry, even to the fire-fountain on the summit of classic Aboo.

The facts to be gleaned in the early page of the chronicle are contained in a few stanzas, which proclaim the possession of paramount power, though probably of no lengthened duration. The line of the Nerbudda, from Macavati, or Macaouti, to Maheswar, was their primitive seat of sovereignty, comprehending all the tracts in its vicinity both north and south. Thence as they multiplied, they spread over the peninsula, possessing Mandoon, Aser, Golconda, and the Konkao; while to the north, they stretched even to the fountains of the Ganges. The following is the bard's picture of the Chohan dominion:

"From 'the seat of government,' (*rajasthan*) Macaouti, the oath of allegiance (*an*) resounded in fifty-two castles. The land of Tatha, Lahore, Mooltan, Peshore,* the Chohan in his might arose and conquered even to the hills of Bhadri. The infidels (*Asurys*) fled, and allegiance was proclaimed in Delhi and Cabul, while the country of Nepal he bestowed on the Mallani.† Crowned with the blessing of the gods, he returned to Macaouti."

It has already been observed, that Macaouti-Nagari was the ancient name of Gurr Mundilla, whose princes for ages continued the surname of Pal, indicative, it is recorded by tradition, of their nomadic occupation. The Aheers, who occupied all Central India, and have left in one nook (*Aheerwarra*) a memorial of their existence, was a branch of the same race, Aheer being a synonym for Pal. Bhelsa, Bhojpur, Diep, Bhopal, Airun, Garspur, are a few of the ancient towns established by the Pals or Palis; and could we master the still unknown characters appertaining to the early colonists of India, more light would be thrown on the history of the Chohans.‡

A scion from Macaouti, named Ajipal, established himself at Ajmere,§ and erected its castle of Tarragurh. The name of Ajipal is one of the

* The Mahomedan writers confirm this account, for in their earliest recorded invasion, in A.H. 143, the princes of Lahore and Ajmere, said to be of the same family, are the great opponents of Islam, and combated its advance in fields west of the Indus. We know beyond a doubt that Ajmere was then the chief seat of Chohan power.

† The Mallani is (or rather was) one of the Chohan Sachæ, and may be the *Malli* who opposed Alexander at the confluent arms of the Indus. The tribe is extinct, and was so little known even five centuries ago, that a prince of Boondi, of the Hara tribe, intermarried with a Mallani, the book of genealogical affinities not indicating her being within the prohibited canon. A more skillful bard pointed out the incestuous connection, when divorce and expiation ensued.

‡ All these towns contain remains of antiquity, especially in the district of Diep, Bhojpur, and Bhelsa. Twenty years ago, in one of my journeys, I passed the ruins of Airun, where a superb column stands at the junction of its two streams. It is about thirty feet in height, and is surmounted by a human figure, having a glory round his head; a colossal bull is at the base of the column. I sent a drawing of it to Mr. Colebrooke at the time, but possess no copy.

§ It is indifferently called *Aji-mer* and *Aji-doorg*, the invincible hill (*mera*), or invincible castle (*doorg*). Tradition, however, says that the name of this renowned abode, the key of Rajpootana, derived from

most conspicuous that tradition has preserved, and is always followed by the epithet of *chakma*, or universal potentate. His era must ever remain doubtful, unless, as already observed, we should master the characters said to belong to this race, and which are still extant, both on stone and on copper.* From what cause is not stated (most probably a failure of lineal issue), Prithwi Pabar was brought from Macaouti to Ajmere. By a single wife (for polygamy was then unknown to these races), he had twenty-four sons, whose progeny peopled these regions, one of whose descendants, Manik Rae, was lord of Ajmere and Sambhur, in the year S. 741, or A.D. 685.

With the name of Manik Rae, the history of the Chohan emerges from obscurity, if not fable; and although the bard does not subsequently entertain us with much substantial information, we can trace his subject, and see his heroes fret their hour upon the uncertain stage, throughout a period of twelve hundred years. It was at this era (A.D. 685), that Rajpootana was first visited by the arms of Islam, being the sixty-third year of the Hejira. Manik Rae, then prince of Ajmere, was slain by the *Asuras*, and his only child, named Lot, then an infant of seven years of age, was killed by an arrow while playing on the battlements (*kangras*). The invasion is said to have been from Sinde, in revenge for the ill-treatment of an Islamite missionary, named Reshan Ali, though the complexion of the event is more like an enterprise prompted by religious enthusiasm. The missionary being condemned to lose his thumb, "the disappointed member, flew to Mecca," and gave evidence against the Rajpoot idolator; when a force was prepared, disguised as a caravan of horse-merchants which surprised and slew Doola Rae and his son, and obtained possession of Gurch-beethi, the citadel.

Puerile as is the transaction, its truth is substantiated by the fact, that the Caliph Omar at this very time sent an army to Sinde, whose commander, Abul Aas, was slain in an attempt on the ancient capital, Alore. Still nothing but the enthusiasm of religious frenzy could have induced a band to cross the desert in order to punish this insult to the new faith.

Whatever were the means, however, by which Ajmere was captured and Doola Rae slain, the importance of the event has been deeply imprinted on the Chohans; who, in remembrance of it, deified the youthful heir of Ajmere: "Lot putra" is still the most conspicuous of the Chohan *penates*. The day on which he was killed is sanctified, and his effigy then receives divine honours from all who have the name of Chohan. Even the anklet of bells which he wore has become an object of veneration, and is forbidden to be used by the children of this race.

"Of the house of Doola Rae of Chohan race, Lot-Deo, the heir-apparent, by the decree of Siva, on Monday the 12th of the month of Jyest, went to heaven."

Manik Rae, the uncle of the youth (*putra*), who is still the object of general homage, especially of the Chohan fair), upon the

the humble profession of the young Chohan, who was goat-herd: *Aja* meaning 'a goat' in Sanskrit; still referring to the original pastoral occupation of the Palis.

* I obtained at Ajmere and at Poshkur several very valuable medals, Bactrian, Indo-Scythic and Hindu, having the ancient Pali on one side, and the effigy of a horse on the other.

occupation of Ajmere retired upon Sambhur, which event another couplet fixes, as we have said, in S. 741.* Here the bard has recourse to celestial interposition in order to support Manik Rae in his adversity. The goddess *Sacambhari* appears to him while seeking shelter from the pursuit of this merciless foe, and bids him establish himself in the spot where she manifested herself, guaranteeing to him the possession of all the ground he could encompass with his horse on that day; but commanded him not to look back until he had returned to the spot where he left her. He commanded the circuit with what he deemed his steed could accomplish, but forgetting the injunctions, he was surprised to see the whole space covered as with a sheet. This was the desiccated *sirr*, or salt-lake, which he named after his patroness *Sacambhari*, whose statue still exists on a small island in the lake, now corrupted to *Sambhur*.†

However *jejune* these legends of the first days of Chohan power, they suffice to mark with exactness their locality; and the importance attached to this settlement is manifested in the title of "*Sambhuri Rao*," maintained by Prithwi Raj, the descendant of Manik Rae, even when emperor of all northern India.

Manik Rae whom we may consider as the founder of the Chohans of the north, recovered Ajmere. He had a numerous progeny, who established many petty dynasties throughout Western Rajwarra, giving birth to various tribes, which are spread even to the Indus. The Kheechie,‡ the Hara, the Mohil, Nurbahana, Badorea, Bhowrecha, Dhunairea, and Bagrecha are all descended from him. The Kheechies were established in the remote Do-abeh, called Sinde-Sugar, comprising all the tract between the Behut and the Sinde, a space of sixty-eight coss, whose capital was Keechpur-Patun. The Haras obtained or founded Asi (*Hansi*) in Heriana; while another tribe held Gawalcoond, the celebrated Golconda, now Hyderabad, and when thence expelled, regained Asir. The Mohils had the tracts round Nagore.§ The Bhadoreas had an appanage on the Chumbul, in a tract which bears their name, and is still subject to them. The Dhunaireas settled at Shahabad, which by a singular fatality

* "*Samvat, sath soh ektalees*

"*Malut bali bes*

"*Sambhur aya tuti surr-us*

"*Manik Rae, Nur-es.*"

†An inscription on the pillar at Feroz Shah's palace at Delhi, belonging to this family, in which the word *sacambhari* occurs gave rise to many ingenious conjectures by Sir W. Jones, Mr. Colebrooke and Colonel Wilford.

‡ Called Kheech-kote by Baber.

§ In the annals of Marwar it will be seen, that the Rahtores conquered *Nagore* or *Nagadoorg* (the 'serpent's castle') from the Mohils, who held fourteen hundred and forty villages so late as the fifteenth century. So many of the colonies of Agniculas bestowed the name of *serpent* on their settlements that I am convinced all were of the Tak, Takshae, or Nagvanse race from Sacadwipa, who, six centuries anterior to Vicramaditya, under their leader Sehesnaga, conquered India, and whose era must be the limit of Agnicula antiquity.

has at length come into the possession of the Haras of Kotah. Another branch fixed at Nadole, but never changed the name of Chohan.*

Many chieftainships were scattered over the desert, either trusting to their lances to maintain their independence, or holding of superiors, but a notice of them, however interesting, would here, perhaps, be out of place. Eleven princes are enumerated in the *Jaega's* catalogue, from Manik Rae to Beesildeo, a name of the highest celebrity in the Rajpoot annals, and a landmark to various authorities, who otherwise have little in common even in their genealogies, which I pass over in silence, with the exception of the intermediate name of Hursraj,† common to the *Hamir Rasa* as well as the *Jaega's* list. The authority of Hursraj stretched along the Aravalli mountains to Aboo, and east of the Chumbul. He ruled from S. 812 to 827 (A. H. 138 to 153), and fell in battle against the Asuras, having attained the title of *Ari-murdhan*. Ferishta says, that "in A. H. 143, the Mooslems greatly increased, when issuing from their hills they obtained possession of Kirman, Peshore, and all the lands adjacent; and that the Raja of Lahore, who was of the family of the Raja of Ajmere, sent his brother‡ against these Afghans, who were reinforced by the tribes of Ghilij, of Ghor and Kabul just become proselytes to Islam;"§ and he adds, that during five months, seventy battles were fought with success; or, to use the historian's own words, "in which *Sepahi*

* The importance of Nadole was considerable, and is fully attested by existing inscriptions as well as by the domestic chronicle. Midway from the founder, in the eighth century to its destruction in the twelfth, was Rao Lakhun, who in S. 1039 (A.D. 983), successfully coped with the princes of Nehrvalla.

"*Sumeah dos seh onchalees*
 "*Bar ekhoua, Patun pyla pol*
 "*Dan Chohan agari*
 "*Mewar Dhanni bind bhurri*
 "*Tis bar Rao Lakhun thappi*
 "*Jo arumba, so kurri.*"

Literally: "In S. 1039, at the farther gate of the city of Patun, the Chohan collected the commercial duties (*dan*). He took tribute from the lord of Mewar, and performed whatever he had a mind to."

Lakhun drew upon him the arms of Soobektegin, and his son Máhinoud, when Nadole was stripped of its consequence; its temples were thrown down, and its fortress was dilapidated. But it had recovered much of its power, and even sent forth several branches, who all fell under Alla-o-din in the thirteenth century. On the final conquest of India by Shahbudin, the prince of Nadole appears to have effected a compromise, and to have become a vassal of the empire. This conjecture arises from the singularity of its currency, which retains on the one side the names in Sanskrit of its indigenous princes, and on the other that of the conqueror.

† Hursraj and Beejy Raj were sons of Aji-pal, king of Ajmerel according to the chronicle.

‡ This is a very important admission of Ferishta concerning the proselytism of all these tribes, and confirms my hypothesis, that the Afghans are converted *Jadoons*, or *Yadus*, not *Yahudis*, or Jews. The *Gor* is also a well-known Rajpoot tribe, and they had only to convert it, into Ghor. *Vide* Annals of the Bhattis.

sirmak (General Frost) was victorious over the infidel, but who returned when the cold season was passed with fresh force. The armies met between Kirman and Peshawar; sometimes the infidel (Rajpoot) carried the war to the *Kohistan*, 'mountainous regions,' and drove the Moosulmans before him; sometimes the Moosulmans obtaining the reinforcements, drove the infidel by flights of arrows to their own borders, to which they always retired when the torrents swelled the Nilab (*Indus*)."

Whether the Raja of Ajmere personally engaged in these distant combats the chronicle says not. According to the *Hamir Rasa*, Humsraj was succeeded by Doojgun-deo, whose advanced post was Bhutnair, and who overcame Nasir-oo-din, from whom he captured twelve hundred horse, and hence bore the epithet of *Sultan Grahak*, or 'King-seizer.' Nasir-oo-din was the title of the celebrated Soobektegin, father to the still more celebrated Mahmood. Soobektegin repeatedly invaded India during the fifteen years' reign of his predecessor Aliptegin.

Passing over the intermediate reigns, each of which is marked by some meagre and unsatisfactory details of battles with the Islamite, we arrive at Beesildeo. The father of this prince, according to the Hara genealogists, was Dherma-Guj, apparently a title,—'in faith like an elephant,'—as in the *Faaga's* list is Beer Beelundeo, confirmed by the inscription on the triumphal column at Delhi. The last of Mahmood's invasions occurred during the reign of Beelundeo, who, at the expense of his life, had the glory of humbling the mighty conqueror, and forcing him to relinquish the siege of Ajmere. Before we condense the scanty records of the bards concerning Visala-Deva,* we may spare a few words to commemorate a Chohan, who consecrated his name and that of all his kin, by his deeds in the first passage of Mahmood into India.

Goga Chohan was the son of Vacha Raja a name of some celebrity. He held the whole of Jungul-des, or the forest lands from the Sutlej to Heriana; his capital, called Mehera, or, as pronounced, *Goga ca Mairi*, was on the Sutlej. In defending this he fell, with forty-five sons and sixty nephews; and as it occurred on Sunday (*Rubwar*), the ninth (*nomee*) of the month, that day is held sacred to the *manes* of Goga by the "thirty-six classes"† throughout Rajpootana, but especially in the desert, a portion of which is yet called *Gogadeo ca thul*. Even his steed, *Favadia*,‡ has been immortalized, and has become a favourite name for a war-horse throughout Rajpootana, whose mighty men swear "by the *saca* of Goga," for maintaining the Rajpoot fame when Mahmood crossed the Sutlej.

This was probably the last of Mahmood's invasions, when he marched direct from Mooltan through the desert. He attacked Ajmere, which was abandoned, and the country around given up to devastation

* The classical mode of writing the name of Beesildeo.

† *Chatees-pon*.

‡ It is related by the Rajpoot romancers that Goga had no children; that lamenting this, his guardian deity gave him two barley-corns (*Java* or *jao*), one of which he gave to his queen, another to his favourite mare, which produced the steed (*Favadia*) which became as famous as Goga himself. The Rana of Oodipur gave the author a blood-horse of Katiawar, whose name was Javadia. Though a lamb in disposition, when mounted, he was a piece of fire, and admirably broken in to all

and plunder. The citadel, Gurh-Beetli, however, held out, and Mahomed was foiled, wounded, and obliged to retreat by Nadole,* another Chohan possession, which he sacked, and then proceeded to Nehrwalla, which he captured. His barbarities promoted a coalition, which by compelling him to march through the western deserts to gain the valley of Sind, had nearly proved fatal to his army.

The exploits of Beesildeo form one of the books of Chund the bard. The date assigned to Beesildeo in the *Rasa* (S. 921) is interpolated—a vice not uncommon with the Rajpoot bard, whose periods acquire verification from less mutable materials than those out of which he weaves his song.†

Chund gives an animated picture of the levy of the Rajpoot chivalry, which assembled under Beesildeo, who as the champion of the Hindu faith, was chosen to lead its warriors against the Islamite invader. The Chalook king of Anhulwarra alone refused to join the confederation, and in terms which drew upon him the vengeance of the Chohan. A literal translation of the passage may be interesting:—

"To the Goelwal Jait, the prince entrusted Ajmere, saying, 'on your fealty I depend;' where can this Chalook find refuge? He moved from the city (Ajmere), and encamped on the lake Visala‡ and summoned his tributaries and vassals to meet him. Maunsi Purihar, with the army of Mundore, touched his feet.§ Then came the Ghelote, the ornament of the throng;|| and the Pawsir, with

the *manage* exercise. A more perfect animal never existed. The author brought him, with another (*Mirg-raj*), from Oodipur to the ocean, intending to bring them home; but the grey he gave to a friend, and fearful of the voyage, he sent Javadia back six hundred miles to the Rana, requesting "he might be the first worshipped on the annual military festival;" a request which he doubts not was complied with.

* See note *Ante*, p. 646, for remarks on Nadole, whence the author obtained much valuable matter, consisting of coins, inscriptions on stone and copper, and MSS., when on a visit to this ancient city in 1821.

† We have abundant checks, which, could they have been detailed in the earlier stage of inquiry into Hindu literature, would have excited more interest for the hero whose column at Delhi has excited the inquiries of Jones, Wilford, and Colebrooke.

‡ This lake still bears the name of *Beesil-ca-tal* notwithstanding the changes which have accrued during a lapse of one thousand years, since he formed it by damming-up the spring. It is one of the reservoirs of the Looni river. The Emperor Jehangir erected a palace on the banks of the Beesil-ca-tal, in which he received the ambassador of James I. of England.

§ This shews that the Purihars were subordinate to the Chohans of Ajmere.

|| The respectful mention of the Ghelote as 'the ornament of the throng,' clearly proves that the Chetore princes came as an ally. How rejoicing to an antiquary to find this confirmed by an inscription found amidst the ruins of a city of Mewar, which alludes to this very coalition! The inscription is a record of the friendship maintained by their issue in the twelfth century,—Samarsi of Chetore, and Prithwiraj, the last Chohan king of India—on their combining to chastise the king of Patun Anhulwarra, "in like manner as did Beesildeo and Tejsi of old, unite

Tuar,(a) and Rama the Gor;(b) with Mohes the lord of Mewat.(c) The Mohil- of Doonapur with tribute sent excuse.(d) With folded hands arrived the Baloch,(e) but the lord of Bamuni abandoned Sinde.(f) Then came the Nuzzur from Bhutnair,(g) and the *Nulbundi* from Tatta(h) and Mooltan.(h) When the summons reached the Bhomia Bhatti of Derrawal,(i) all obeyed; as did the Jodoon or Mallunwas.(j) The Mori(k) and Birgoojur(k) also joined with the Chuchwahs of Auterved.(k) The subjugated Meras worshipped his feet.(l) Then came the army of Takitpur, headed by the Goelwal Jait.(m) Mounted in haste came Udyā Pramā.(n) With the Nurbhan(o) and the Dor,(p) the Chundail,(p) and the Dahima."(q)

In this short passage, a text afforded for a dissertation on the whole genealogical history of Rajpootana at that period. Such extracts from

against the foe, so." etc., etc. Now Tejsi was the grandfather of Rawul Samarsi, who was killed in opposing the final Mooslem invasion, on the Caggar, after one of the longest reigns in their annals: from which we calculate that Tejsi must have sat on the throne about the year S. 1120 (A.D. 1064). His youth and inexperience would account for his acting subordinately to the Chohan of Ajmere. The name of Udyadita further confirms the date as will be mentioned in the text. His date has been fully settled by various inscriptions found by the author. (See *Transactions Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I. p. 223.

(a) This Tuar must have been one of the Delhi vassals, whose monarch was of this race.

(b) The Gor was a celebrated tribe, and amongst the most illustrious of the Chohan feudatories; a branch until a few years ago held Sooe-Soopur and about nine lakhs of territory. I have no doubt the Gor appanage was west of the Indus, and that this tribe on conversion became the Ghor.

(c) The Mewoh race of Mewar is well known; all are Mahomedans now.

(d) The Mohils have been sufficiently discussed.

(e) The Baloch was evidently Hindu at this time; and as I have repeatedly said, off Jit or Gete origin.

(f) "The lord of Bamuni," in other places called Bamunwasso, must apply to the ancient Brahminabad or *Dewul*, on whose site the modern Tatta is built.

(g) See Annals of Jessulmer.

(h) All this evinces supremacy over the princes of this region: the Soda, the Samma, and Soomura.

(i) Of Derrawal we have spoken in the text.

(j) Mallunwas we know not.

(k) The Moris, the Cuchwahs and Birgoojurs require no further notice.

(l) The Meras inhabited the Aravalli.

(m) Takitpur is the modern Thoda, near Tonk, where there are fine remains.

(n) Udyadita, now a landmark in Hindu history.

(o) See annals of Shekhavati for the Nurbhans, who held Khundaila as a fief of Ajmere.

(p) The Dor and Chundail were well known tribes; the latter contended with Prithwi-Raj, who deprived them of Mahoba and Kalinga, and all modern Boondelkund.

(q) The renowned Dahmia was lord of Biana; also called Drunadhar.

the more ancient bards, incorporated in the works of their successors, however laconic, afford decisive evidence that their poetic chronicles bore always the same character; for this passage is introduced by Chund merely as a preface to the history of his own prince, Prithwiraj, the descendant of Beesildeo.

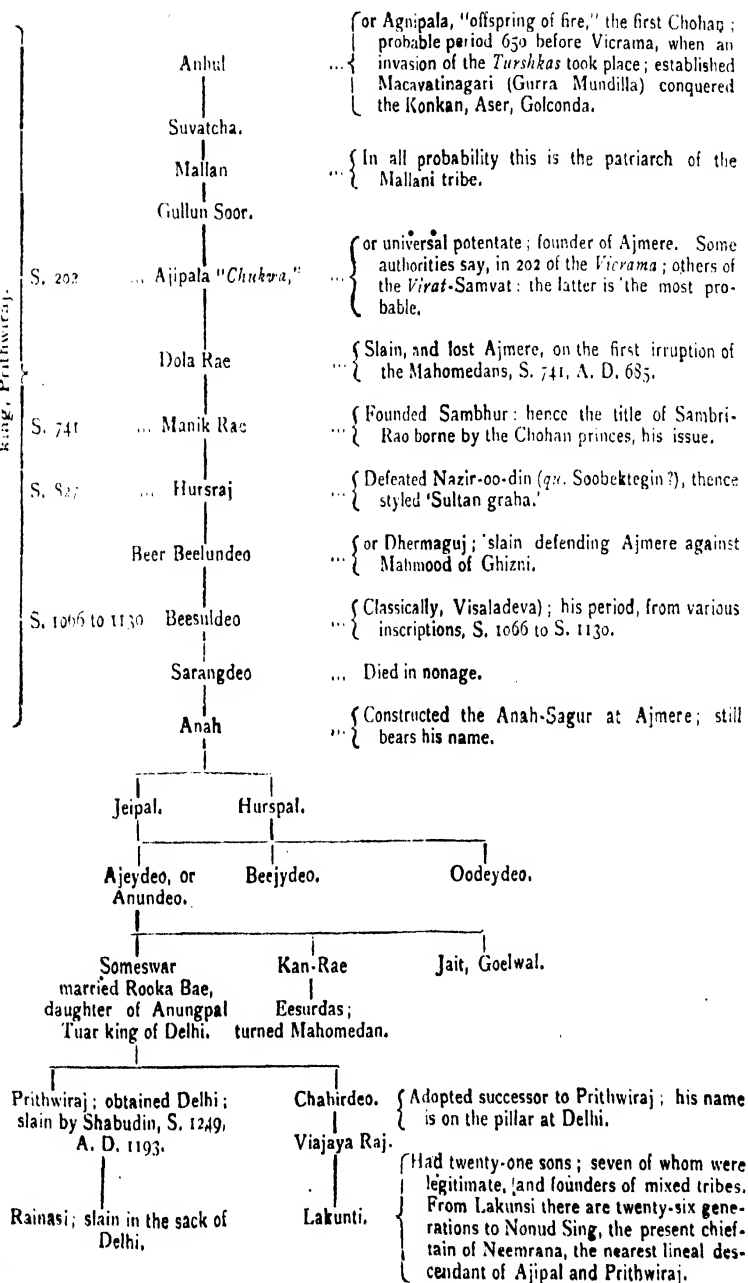
A similar passage was given from the ancient chronicles of Mewar, recording an invasion of the Mooslems, of which the histories of the invaders left no trace. The evidence of both is incontestable; every name affords a synchronism not to be disputed; and though the isolated passage would afford a very faint ray of light to the explorer of those days of darkness, yet when the same industrious research has pervaded the annals of all these races, a flood of illumination pours upon us, and we can at least tell who the races were who held sway in these regions a thousand years ago.

Amidst meagre, jejune, and unsatisfactory details, the annalist of Rajpootana must be content to wade on, in order to obtain some solid foundation for the history of the tribes; but such facts as these stimulate his exertions and reward his toil: without them, his task would be hopeless. To each of the twenty tribes enumerated, formed under the standard of the Chohan, we append a separate notice, for the satisfaction of the few who can appreciate their importance, while some general remarks may suffice as a connection with the immediate object of research, the Haras, descended from Beesildeo.

In the first place, it is of no small moment to be enabled to adjust the date of Beesildeo, the most important name in the annals of the Chohans from Manik Rae to Prithwiraj, and a slip from the genealogical tree will elucidate our remarks.

CHOHAN GENEALOGY.

From Anhul to Beelundeo, these are but a few of the leading names, from Beelundeo the chain is continuous to the last Chohan king, Prithwiraj.



The name of Beesildeo (*Visaladeva*) heads the inscription on the celebrated column erected in the centre of Feroz Shah's palace at Delhi. This column, alluded to by Chund, as "telling the fame of the Chohan," was "placed at Nigumbode," a place of pilgrimage on the Jumna, a few miles below Delhi, whence it must have been removed to its present singular position.*

The inscription commences and ends with the same date, *vis.*, 15th of the month Bysakh, S. 1220. If correctly copied, it can have no reference to Beesildeo, excepting as the ancestor of *Prativa Chahmana tilaca Sacambhari bhupati*; or 'Prithwiraja Chohan, the anointed of Sambhur, Lord of the earth,' who ruled at Delhi in S. 1220, and was slain in S. 1249, retaining the ancient epithet of 'Lord of Sambhur,' one of the early seats of their power.† The second stanza, however, tells us we must distrust the first of the two dates, and read 1120 (instead of 1220), when Visaladeva "exterminated the barbarians" from *Aryaverta*. The numerals 1 and 2, in Sanskrit, are easily mistaken. If, however, it is decided by 1220, then the whole inscription belongs to *Prativa Chahmana*, between whom and Visala no less than six princes intervene,‡ and the opening is merely to introduce Prithwiraja's lineage, in which the sculptor has foisted in the date.

I feel inclined to assign the first stanza to Visaladeva (Beesildeo), and what follows to his descendant Prithwi Raj, who by a conceit may have availed himself of the anniversary of the victory of his ancestor, to record his own exploits. These exploits were precisely of the same

* See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol I. p. 379, Vol. VII. p. 180, and Vol. IX. p. 453.

† I brought away an inscription of this, the last Chohan emperor, from the ruins of his palace at Hasi or Hansi, dated S. 1224. See comments thereon, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, p. 133.

‡ These inscriptions, while they have given rise to ingenious interpretations, demonstrate the little value of mere translations, even when made by first-rate scholars, who possess no historical knowledge of the tribes to whom they refer. The inscription was first translated by Sir W. Jones in 1784 (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I). A fresh version (from a fresh transcript I believe) was made by Mr. Colebrooke in 1800 (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VII.), but rather darkening than enlightening the subject, from attending to his pundit's emendation, giving to the prince's name and tribe a metaphorical interpretation. Nor was it till Wilford had published his hodge-podge Essay on Vicramaditya and Salivahana, that Mr. Colebrooke discovered his error, and amended it in a note to that volume; but even then, without rendering the inscription useful as a historical document, I call Wilford's essay a hodge-podge advisedly. It is a paper of immense research; vast materials are brought to his task, but he had an hypothesis, and all was confounded to suit it. Chohans, Solankis, Ghelotes, all are amalgamated in his crucible. It was from the *Sarangadhar Padhati*, written by the bard of Hamira Chohan, not king of Mewar (as Wilford has it) but of Rinthumbor, lineally descended from Visaladeva, and slain by Alla-o-din. Sarangadhar was also author of the *Hamir Rasa*, and the *Hamir Cavya*, bearing this prince's name, the essence of both of which I translated with the aid of my Guru, I was long bewildered in my admiration of Wilford's researches; but experience inspired distrust, and I adopted the useful adage in all these matters 'nil admirari.'

nature,—successful war against the Islamite, in which each drove him from *Aryavarta*; for even the Mooslem writers acknowledge that Shahtudin was often ignominiously defeated before he finally succeeded in making a conquest of northern India.

If, as I surmise, the first stanza belongs to Beesildeo, the date is S. 1120, or A. D. 1064, and this grand confederation described by the Chohan bard was assembled under his banner, preparatory to the very success, to commemorate which the inscription was recorded.

In the passage quoted from Chund, recording the princes who led their household troops under Beesildeo, there are four names which establish synchronisms: one, by which we arrive directly at the date, and three indirectly. The first is Udyadit Pramar, king of Dhar (son of Raja Bhoj), whose period I established from numerous inscriptions,* as between S. 1100 and S. 1150; so that the date of his joining the expedition would be about the middle of his reign. The indirect, but equally strong, testimony consists of,

First the mention of "the Bhomia Bhatti from Derrawul;"† for had there been any thing apocryphal in Chund, Jessulmer, the present capital, would have been given as the Bhatti abode.‡

Second, the Cuchwahs, who are also described as coming from *Anterved* (the region between the Jumna and Ganges); for the infant colony transmitted from Nurwar to Amber was yet undistinguished.

The third proof is in the Mewar inscription, when Tejsi, the grandfather of Samarsi, is described as in alliance with Beesildeo. Beesildeo is said to have lived sixty-four years. Supposing this date, S. 1120, to be the medium point of his existence, this would make his date S. 1088 to S. 1152, or A. D. 1032 to A. D. 1096; but as his father, Dherma Guj, "the elephant in faith," or Beer Beelun Deo (called Malun Deo, in the *Hamir Rasa*), was killed defending Ajmere on the last invasion of Mahmood, we must necessarily place Beesil's birth (supposing him an infant on that event), ten years earlier, or A. D. 1022 (S. 1078), to A. D. 1086 (S. 1142), comprehending the date on the pillar of Delhi, and by computation all the periods mentioned in the catalogue. We may therefore safely adopt the date of the *Rasa*, viz., S. 1066 to S. 1130.

Beesildeo was, therefore, contemporary with Jeypal, the Tuar king of Delhi; with Doorlub and Bhima of Guzzerat; with Bhoj and Udaya Ditt of Dhar; with Pudumsi and Tejsi of Mewar; and the confederacy

* See *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

† See *Annals of Jessulmer*, for foundation of Derrawul, Chapter VI.

‡ In transcribing the annals of the Kheechies, an important branch of the Chohans, their bards have preserved this passage; but ignorant of Derrawul and Lodorva (both preserved in my version of Chund), they have inserted Jessulmer. By such anachronisms, arising from the emendations of ignorant bards, their poetic chronicles have lost half their value. To me the comparison of such passages, preserved in Chund from the older bards, and distorted by the moderns, was a subject of considerable pleasure. It reconciled much that I might have thrown away, teaching me the difference between absolute invention, and ignorance creating errors in the attempt to correct them. The Kheechie bard, no doubt, though he was doing right when he erased Derrawul and inscribed Jessulmer.

which he headed must have been that against the Islamite king Modud, the fourth from Mahmood of Ghizni, whose expulsion from the northern part of Rajpootana (as recorded on the pillar of Delhi) caused *Aryavarta* again to become 'the land of virtue.' Mahmood's final retreat from India by Sind, to avoid the armies collected "by Byramdeo and the prince of Ajmere," to oppose him, was in A. H. 417; A. D. 1026, or S. 1082, nearly the same date as that assigned by Chund, S. 1086.

We could dilate on the war which Beesildeo waged against the prince of Guzzarat, his victory, and the erection of Beesil-nuggur,* on the spot where victory perched upon his lance; but this we reserve for the introduction of the illustrious Prithwiraj. There is much fable mixed up with the history of Beesildeo, apparently invented to hide a blot in the annals, warranting the inference that he became a convert, in all likelihood a compulsory one, to the doctrines of Islam. There is also the appearance of his subsequent expiation of this crime in the garb of a penitent; and the mound (*dhoond*), where he took up his abode, still exists, and is called after him, *Beesil-ca-dhoond*, at Kalik Jobnair.†

According to the *Book of Kings* of Gomund Ram (the Hara bard), the Haras were descended from Anuraj, son of Beesildeo; but Mog-ji, the Kheechie bard, makes Anuraj progenitor of the Kheechies, and son of Manik Rae. We follow the Hara bard.

Anuraj had assigned to him in appanage the important frontier fortress of Asi (*vulg.* Hansi). His son Ishpal, together with Agunraj son of Ajey-Rao, the founder of Keechpur Patun in Sind-Sagur, was preparing to seek his fortunes with Rundheer Chohan prince of Gowalcoond: but both Asi and Golconda were almost simultaneously assailed by an army "from the wilds of Gujlibund." Rundheer performed the *saca*; and only a single female, his daughter, named Soorahbae, survived, and she fled for protection towards Asi, then attacked by the same furious invader. Anuraj prepared to fly; but his son, Ishpal, determined not to wait the attack, but seek the foe. A battle ensued, when the invader was slain, and Ishpal, grievously wounded, pursued him till he fell, near the spot where Soorahbae was awaiting death under the shade of a *peepul*: for "hopes of life were extinct, and fear and hunger had reduced her to a skeleton." In the moment of despair, however, the *ashtwa* (peepul) tree under which she took shelter was severed, and *Asapurna*, the guardian goddess of her race, appeared before her. To her, Soorahbae related how her father and twelve brothers had fallen in defending Golconda against 'the demon of Gujlibund.' The goddess told her to be of good cheer, for that a Chohan of her own race had slain him, and was then at hand; and led her to where, Ishpal, lay senseless

* This town,—another proof of the veracity of the chronicle,—yet exists in Northern Guzzarat.

† The pickaxe, if applied to this mound (which gives its name to Dhoondar) might possibly show it to be a place of sepulture, and that the Chohans, even to this period, may have entombed at least the bones of their dead. The numerous *tumuli* about Hyderabad, the ancient Gowalcoond, one of the royal abodes of the Chohans, may be sepulchres of this race, and the arms and vases they contain all strengthen my hypothesis of their Scythic origin.

from his wounds. By her aid he recovered,* and possessed himself of that ancient heir-loom of the Chohans, the famed fortress of Aser.

Ishtpal, the founder of the Haras, obtained Aser in S. 1081† (or A.D. 1025); and as Mahmood's last destructive visit to India, by Mooltan through the desert to Ajmere, was in A. H. 417, or A. D. 1022, we have every right to conclude that his father Anuraj lost his life and Asi to the king of Ghizni; at the same time that Ajmere was sacked, and the country laid waste by this conqueror, whom the Hindu bard might well style "the demon from Gujibund."‡ The Mahomedan historians give us no hint even of any portion of Mahmood's army penetrating into the peninsula, though that grasping ambition, which considered the shores of Saurashtra but an intermediate step from Ghizni to the conquest of Ceylon and Pegu,§ may have pushed an army during his long halt at Anhulwarra, and have driven Rundheer from Golconda. But it is idle to speculate upon such slender materials; let them suffice to illustrate one new fact, namely, that these kingdoms of the south as well as the north were held by Rajpoot sovereigns, whose offspring, blending with the original population; produced that mixed race of Mahrattas, inheriting with the names, the warlike propensities of their ancestors, but who assume the name of their abodes as titles, as the Nimalkurs, the Phalkias, the Patunkars, instead of their tribes of Jadoon, Tuar, Puar, etc., etc.

Ishtpal had a son called Chand-kurn; his son, Lok Pal, had Hamir and Gumbir, names well known in the wars of Prithwiraj. The brothers were enrolled amongst his one hundred and eight vassals, from which we may infer that, though Aser was not considered absolutely as a fief, its chief paid homage to Ajmere, as the principal seat of the Chohans.

In the *Canouj Samaya*, that book of the poems of Chund devoted to the famous war in which the Chohan prince carries off the princess of Canouj, honourable mention is made of the Hara princes in the third day's fight, when they covered the retreat of Prithwiraj:—

"Then did the Hara Rao Hamir, with his brother Gumbir, mounted

* Or, as the story goes, his limbs, which lay dissevered, were collected by Soorahbae, and the goddess sprinkling them with "the water of life," he arose! Hence the name *Hara*, which his descendants bore, from *har*, or 'bones,' thus collected; but more likely from having lost (*hara*) Asi.

† The Hara chronicle says S. 981, but by some strange, yet uniform error, all the tribes of the Chohans antedate their chronicles by a hundred years. Thus Boesildoo's taking possession of Anhulpur Patun is "nine hundred, fifty, thirty and six" (S. 986), instead of S. 1086. But it even pervades Chund, the poet of Prithwiraj, whose birth in made 1115, instead of S. 1215; and here, in all probability, the error commenced, by the ignorance (wifful we cannot imagine) of some rhymers.

‡ 'The elephant wilds.' They assert that *Ghizni* is properly *Gusni*, founded by the Yadus: and in a curious specimen of Hindu geography (presented by me to the Royal Asiatic Society), all the tract about the placiers of the Ganges is termed Gujibun or Gujlibu, the 'Elephant Forest.' There is a "*Gujingurh*" mentioned by AbuKazil in the region of Bijore, inhabited by the Sooltano, Jadoon, and Euselyze tribes.

§ See Ferishta, life of Mahmood.

on Lakhi steed, approach their lord, as thus they spoke: 'Think of thy safety, Jungul-es,* while we make offerings to the array of Jeychund. Our horses' hoofs shall plough the field of fight, like the ship of the ocean.'

The brothers encountered the contingent of the prince of Kasi (Benares), one of the great feudatories of Canouj. As they joined, "the shout raised by Hamir reached Doorga on her rock-bound throne." Both brothers fell in these wars, though one of the few survivors of the last battle fought with Shabudin for Rajpoot independence, was a Hara:—

Hamir had Kalkurna, who had Maha Mugd: his son was Rao Bacha; his, Rao Chund.

Amongst the many independent princes of the Chohan race to whom Alla-o-din was the messenger of fate, was Rao Chund of Aser. Its walls, though deemed impregnable, were not proof against the skill and valour of this energetic warrior; and Chund and all his family, with the exception of one son, were put to the sword. This son was prince Rainsi, a name fatal to Chohan heirs, for it was borne by the son of Prithwiraj who fell in the defence of Delhi; but Rainsi of Aser was more fortunate. He was but an infant of two years and a half old, and being nephew of the Rana of Cheetore, was sent to him for protection. When he attained man's estate, he made a successful attempt upon the ruined castle of Bhymsror, from which he drove Doonga, a Bhil chief, who, with a band of his mountain brethren, had made it his retreat. This ancient fief of Mewar had been dismantled by Alla-o-din in his attack on Cheetore, from which the Ranas had not yet recovered when the young Chohan came amongst them for protection..

Rainsi had two sons, Kolun and Kankul. Kolun being afflicted with an incurable disease, commenced a pilgrimage to the sacred "Kedarnath," one of the towns on the Ganges. To obtain the full benefit of this meritorious act, he determined to measure his length on the ground the whole of this painful journey. In six months he had only reached the Binda Pass, where, having bathed in a fountain whence flows the rivulet Bangunga, he found his health greatly restored. Kedarnath† was pleased to manifest himself, to accept his devotions, and to declare him "King of the Pathar," or plateau of Central India.‡ The whole of this tract was under the princes of Cheetore, but the sack of this famed fortress by Alla, and the enormous slaughter of the Gehlotes, had so weakened their authority, that the aboriginal Meenas had once more possessed themselves of all their native hills, or leagued with the subordinate vassals of Cheetore.

In ancient times, Raja Hoon, said to be of the Pramara race, was lord of the Pathar, and held his court at Mynal. There are many memorials of this Hoon or Hun prince, and even so far back as the first assault of Cheetore, in the eighth century, its prince was aided in his defence by "*Ungutsi, lord of the Hoons.*" The celebrated temples of Barolli are attributed to this Hoon Raja, who appears in so questionable a shape, that we can scarcely refuse to believe that a branch of this celebrated race must in the first centuries of Vicrama had been admitted,

* Jungul-es, 'lord of the forest land,' another of Prithwiraj's titles.

† "The lord of Kedar," the gigantic pine of the Himalaya, a title of Siva.

‡ He bestowed in appanage on his brother Kankalji a tenth of the lands in his possession. From Kankal are descended the class of Bhats, called "Kronia Bhat."

as their bards say, amongst the thirty-six royal races of the Rajpoots. Be this as it may, Rao Bango, the grandson of Kolun took possession of the ancient Mynal, and on an elevation commanding the western face of the Pathar erected the fortress of Bumaoda. With Bhynsrar on the east, and Bumaoda and Mynal on the west, the Haras now occupied the whole extent of the Pathar. Other conquests were made, now Mandelgurbh, Bijolli, Beygoo, Rutangurbh and Choraitagurbh, formed an extensive, if not a rich, chieftainship.

Rao Bango had twelve sons, who dispersed their progeny over the Pathar. He was succeeded by Dewa, who had three sons, viz., Hur-raj,* Hattiji, and Samarsi.

The Haras had now obtained such power as to attract the attention of the emperor, and Rae Dewa was summoned to attend the court when Secunder Lodi ruled. He, therefore, installed his son, Hur-raj, in Bumaoda, and with his youngest, Samarsi, repaired to Delhi. Here he remained, till the emperor coveting a horse of the 'king of the Pathar,' the latter determined to regain his native hills. This steed is famed both in the annals of the Haras and Kheechies, and, like that of the Mede, had no small share in the future fortunes of his master. Its birth is thus related. The king had a horse of such mettle that "he could cross a stream without wetting his hoof." Dewa bribed the royal equerry, and from a mare of the Pathar had a colt, to obtain which the king broke that law which is alike binding on the Mooslem and the Christian. Dewa sent off his family by degrees, and as soon as they were out of danger, he saddled his charger, and lance in hand appeared under the balcony where the emperor was seated. "Farewell, king," said the Rangra: "there are three things your majesty must never ask of a Rajpoot; his horse, his mistress, and his sword." He gave his steed the rein, and in safety regained the Pathar. Having resigned Bumaoda to Hur-raj, he came to Bandoo-Nal, the spot where his ancestor Kolun was cured of disage. Here the Meenas of the Oosarra tribe dwelt, under the patriarchal government of Jaitah, their chief. There was then no regular city; the extremities of the valley (*thal*†) were closed with barriers of masonry and gates, and the huts of the Meenas were scattered wherever their fancy led them to build. At this time, the community, which had professed obedience to the Rana on the sack of Cheetore, was suffering from the raids of Rao Gango, the Kheechie, who from his castle of Ramgurbh (Relawan) imposed "*birchidohae*" on all around. To save themselves from Gango, who used "to drive his lance at the barrier of Bandoo," the Meenas entered into terms agreeing, on the full moon of every second month, to suspend the tribute of the *chaouth* over the barrier. At the appointed time, the Rao came, but no bag of treasure appeared. "Who has been before me?" demanded Gango; when forth issued the "lord of the Pathar," on the steed coveted by the Lodi king. Gango of Relawan bestrode a charger not less famed than his antagonist's "which owed his birth to the river-horse of the Par,

* Hur-raj had twelve sons, the eldest of whom was Aloo, who succeeded to Bumaoda, Aloo Hara's name will never die as long as one of his race inhabits the Pathar; and there are many Bhomias descended from him still holding lands, as the Komhawut and Bhojat Haras.

† *Thal* and *Nal* are both terms for a valley, though the latter is oftener applied to a defile.

and a mare of the Kheechie chieftain's, as she grazed on its margin." Mounted on this steed, no obstacle could stop him, and even the Chumbul was no impediment to his seizing the tribute at all seasons from the Meenas."

The encounter was fierce, but the Hara was victorious, and Gangoo turned his back on the lord of the Pathar, who tried the mettle of his son of the Par, pursuing him to the banks of the Chumbul. What was his surprise, when Gangoo sprang from the cliff, and horse and rider disappeared in the flood, but soon to reappear on the opposite bank! Dewa, who stood amazed, no sooner beheld the Rao emerge, than he exclaimed "Bravo Rajpoot! Let me know your name." "Gango Kheechie," was the answer. "And mine is Dewa Hara; we are brothers, and must no longer be enemies. Let the river be our boundary."

It was in S. 1398 (A. D. 1342) that Jaitā and the Osatras acknowledged Rae Dewa as their lord, who erected Boondi in the centre of the *Bandoo-ca-Nal*, which henceforth became the capital of the Haras. The Chumbul, which, for a short time after the adventure here related, continued to be the barrier to the eastward, was soon overpassed, and the bravery of the race bringing them into contact with the emperor's lieutenants, the Haras rose to favour and power, extending their acquisitions, either by conquest or grant, to the confines of Malwa. The territory thus acquired obtained the geographical designation of Haravati or Harouti.†

CHAPTER II.

HAVING sketched the history of this race, from the regeneration of Anhul,‡ the first Chohan (at a period which it is impossible to fix) to the establishment of the first Hara prince in Boondi, we shall here recapitulate to the most conspicuous princes, with their dates, as established by synchronical events in the annals of other states, or by inscription; and then proceed with the history of the Haras as members of the great commonwealth of India.

Anuraj obtained Asi or Hansi.

Ishtapal, son of Anuraj; he was expelled from Asi, S. 1081 (A. D. 1025), and obtained Aser. He was founder of the Haras; the chronicle says not how long after obtaining Asi, but evidently very soon.

Hamir, killed in the battle of the Caggar, on the invasion of Shahbudin, S. 1249, or A. D. 1193.

Rao Chund slain in Aser, by Alla-oo-din, in S. 1351.

Rainsi, fled from Aser, and came to Mewar, and in S. 1353, obtained Bhysror.

Rao Bango, obtained Bumaoda, Mynal, etc.

Rao Dewa, S. 1398 (A. D. 1342), took the Bandoo valley from the Meenas, founded the city of Boondi, and styled the country Haravati.

§ The Par, or Puriutty river flows near Ranganurh Relawan.

¶ In Mahomedan authors, Hadouty.

‡ Anhul and Agni have the same signification, viz; fire.

Rao Dewa, whose Meena subjects far outnumbered his Haras, had recourse in order to consolidate his authority, to one of those barbarous acts too common in Rajpoot conquests. The Rajpoot chronicler so far palliates the deed, that he assigns a reason for it, namely the insolence of the Meena leader, who dared to ask a daughter of the "*Lord of the Pathar.*" Be this as it may, he called in the aid of the Haras of Bumaoda and the Solankis of Thoda, and almost annihilated the Oosarras.

How long it was after this act of barbarity, that Dewa abdicated in favour of his son, is not mentioned, though it is far from improbable that this crime influenced his determination. This was the second time of his abdication of power; first, when he gave Bumaoda to Hur-raj, and went to Secunder Lodi; and now to Samarsi, the branches of Boondi and the Pathar remaining independent of each other. The act of abdication confers the title of *Fugraj*,* or when they conjoin the authority of the son with the father, the heir is styled *Fivraj*. Four instances of this are on record in the annals of Boondi; namely, by Dewa, by Narayn-das, by Raj Chuttur Sal, and by Sriji Omed Sing. It is a rule for a prince never to enter the capital after abandoning the government; the king is virtually defunct; he cannot be a subject, and he is no longer a king. To render the act more impressive, they make an effigy of the abdicated king, and on the twelfth day following the act (being the usual period of mourning), they commit it to the flames. In accordance with this custom, Dewa never afterwards entered the walls either of Boondi or Bumaoda,† but resided at the village of Omurthoona, five coss from the former, till his death.

Samarsi had three sons: 1. Napooji, who succeeded; 2. Hurpal, who obtained Jujawur, and left numerous issue, called Hurpalpotas; and, 3. Jaetsi, who had the honour of first extending the Hara name beyond the Chumbul. On his return from a visit to the Tuar chief of Kaytoon, he passed the residence of a community of Bhils, in an extensive ravine near the river. Taking them by surprise, he attacked them, and they fell victims to the fury of the Haras. At the entrance of this ravine, which was defended by an outwork, Jaetsi slew the leader of the Bhils, and erected there a *kati* (elephant) to the god of battle, Bhiroo. He stands on the spot called *char-jhobra*, near the chief portal of the castle of the Kotah, a name derived from a community of Bhils called Koteah.‡

* *Yuja-Raj*, "sacrifice of the government."

† Hnr-raj (elder son of Dewa) lord of Bumaoda, had twelve sons: of whom Aloo Hara, the eldest, held twenty-four castles upon the Pathar. With all of these the author is familiar, having trod the Pathar in every direction: of this, anon.

‡ The descendants of Jaetsi retained the castle and the surrounding country for several generations; when Bhonungsi, the fifth in descent, was dispossessed of them by Rao Soorjmall of Boondi. Jaetsi had a son, Soorjun, who gave the name of *Koteah* to this shade of the Bhils, round which he built a wall. His son, Dhoordas, operated with gunpowder and dammed up that east of the town, still known by his name, though better by its new appellation of "*Kishore Sagar.*" His son was Kandul, who had Bhonungsi, who lost and regained Kotah in the following manner: Kotah was seized by two Pathans, Dhakur and Kesar Khan. Bhonung, who became mad from excessive use of wine and opium, was banished to Boondi, and his wife, at the head of his household vassals, retired to

Napooji, a name of no small note in the chronicles of Haravati, succeeded Samarsi. Napooji had married a daughter of the Solanki chief of Thoda, the lineal descendant of the ancient kings of Anhilwarra. While on a visit to Thoda, a slab of beautiful marble attracted the regard of the Hara Rao, who desired his bride to ask it of her father. His delicacy was offended, and he replied, "he supposed the Hara would next ask him for his wife;" and desired him to depart. Napooji was incensed, and visited his anger upon his wife, whom he treated with neglect and even banished from his bed. She complained to her father. On the '*kajuli tees*,' the joyous third of the month Sawun, when a Rajpoot must visit his wife, the vassals of Boondi were dismissed to their homes to keep the festival sacred to "the mother of births." The Thoda Rao, taking advantage of the unguarded state of Boondi, obtained admittance by stealth, and drove his lance through the head of the Hara Rao. He retired without observation, and was relating to his attendants the success of his revenge, when, at this moment, they passed one of the Boondi vassals, who seated in a hollow taking his *umli-pani* (opium-water), was meditating on the folly of going home, where no enduring caresses awaited him from his wife, who was deranged, and had determined to return to Boondi. While thus absorbed in gloomy reflections, the trampling of horses met his ear, and soon was heard the indecent mirth of the Thoda Rao's party, at the Hara Rao dismissing his vassals and remaining unattended. The Chohan guessed the rest, and as the Thoda Rao passed close to him, he levelled a blow which severed his right arm from his body and brought him from his horse. The Solanki's attendants took to flight, and the Chohan put the severed limb, on which was the golden bracelet, in his scarf, and proceeded back to Boondi. Here all was confusion and sorrow. The Solanki queen true to her faith, determined to mount the pyre with the murdered body of her lord; yet equally true to the line whence she sprung, was praising the vigour of her brother's arm, "which had made so many mouths,*" that she wanted hands to present a

Keytoon, around which the Haras held three hundred and sixty villages. Bhonung, in exile, repented of his excesses; he announced his amendment and his wish to return to his wife and kin. The intrepid Rajpootni rejoiced at his restoration, and laid a plan for the recovery of Kotah, in which she destined him to take part. To attempt it by force would have been to court destruction, and she determined to combine stratagem and courage. When the jocund festival of spring approached, when even decorum is for a while cast aside in the Rajpoot Saturnalia, she invited herself, with all the youthful damsels of Keytoon, to play the Holi with the Pathans of Kotah. The libertine Pathans received the invitation with joy, happy to find the queen of Keytoon evince so much amity. Collecting three hundred of the finest Hara youths, she disguised them in female apparel, and Bhonung, attended by the old nurse, each with a vassel of the crimson *abir*, headed the band. While the youths were throwing the crimson powder amongst the Pathans, the nurse led Bhonung to play with their chief. The disguised Hara broke his vessel on the head of Kesar Khan. This was the signal for action: the Rajpoots draw their swords from beneath their *ghagras* (petticoats), and the bodies of Kesar and his gang strewed the terrace. The *mosjid* of Kesar Khan still exists within the walls. Bhonung was succeeded by his son Deongursi, whom Rao Soorujmull dispossessed and added Kotah to Boondi.

* "Poor dumb mouths."

pen to each." At the moment she was apostrophising the dead body of her lord, his faithful vassal entered, and undoing the scarf presented to her dissevered arm, saying, "perhaps this may aid you." She recognized the bracelet, and though, as a *sati* she had done with this world, and should die in peace with all mankind, she could not forget, even at that dread moment, that "to revenge a feud" was the first of all duties. She called for pen and ink, and before mounting the pyre wrote to her brother, that if he did not wipe off that disgrace, his seed would be stigmatized as the issue of "the one-handed Solanki." When he perused the dying words of his *sati* sister, he was stung to the soul, and being incapable of revenge, immediately dashed out his brains against a pillar of the hall.

Napooji had three sons, Hamooji, Norung (whose descendants are Norungpotas), Thurud (whose descendants are Thurud Haras), and Hamoo, who succeeded in S. 1440. We have already mentioned the separation of the branches when Hur-raj retained Bumaoda, at the period when his father established himself at Boondi. Aloo Hara succeeded; but the lord of the Pathar had a feud with the Rana, and he was dispossessed of his birth-right. Bumaoda was levelled, and he left no heirs to his revenge.

The princes of Cheetore, who had recovered from the shock of Alla's invasion, now re-exerted their strength, the first act of which was the reduction of the power of the great vassals, who had taken advantage of their distresses to render themselves independent: among these they included the Haras. But the Haras deny their vassalage, and allege, that though they always acknowledged the supremacy of the *gadi* of Mewar, they were indebted to their swords, not his *puttas*, for the lands they conquered on the Alpine Pathar. Both to a certain degree are right. There is no room to doubt that the fugitive Hara from Aser owed his preservation, as well as his establishment, to the Rana, who assuredly possessed the whole of the Plateau till Alla's invasion. But then the Seesodia power was weakened; the Bhômas and aboriginal tribes recovered their old retreats, and from these the Haras obtained them by conquest. The Rana, however, who would not admit that a temporary abeyance of his power sanctioned encroachment upon it, called upon Hamoo "to do service for Boondi." The Hara conceded personal homage in the grand festivals of the Dusarah and Holi, to acknowledge his supremacy and receive the *tika* of installation; but he rejected at once the claim of unlimited attendance. Nothing less, however, would satisfy the king of Cheetore who resolved to compel submission or drive the stock of Dewa from the Pathar. Hamoo defied, and determined to brave, his resentment. The Rana of Mewar marched with all his vassals to Boondi, and encamped at Neemairo only a few miles from the city. Five hundred Haras, "the sons of one father," put on the saffron robe, and rallied round their chief, determined to die with him. Having no hope but from an effort of despair, they marched out at midnight, and fell upon the Hana's camp, which was completely surprised; and each Seesodia sought safety in flight. Hamoo made his way direct to the tent of Hudeghat; but the sovereign of the Seesodias was glad to avail himself of the gloom and confusion to seek shelter in Cheetore, while his vassals fell under the swords of the Haras.

Humiliated, disgraced, and enraged at being thus foiled by a handful of men, the Rana reformed his troops under the walls of Cheetore, and swore he would not eat until he was master of Boondi. The rash vow

went round; but Boondi was sixty miles distant, and defended by brave hearts. His chiefs expostulated with the Rana on the absolute impossibility of redeeming his vow; but the words of kings are sacred: Boondi must fall, ere the king of the Ghelotes could dine. In this exigence, a childish expedient was proposed to release him from hunger and his oath; "to erect a mock Boondi, and take it by storm." Instantly the mimic town arose under the walls of Cheetore; and, that the deception might be complete, the local nomenclature was attended to, and each quarter had its appropriate appellation. A band of Haras of the Pathar were in the service of Cheetore, whose leader, Koombo-Bairsi, was returning with his kin from hunting the deer, when their attention was attracted by this strange bustle. The story was soon told, that Boondi must fall ere the Rana could dine. Koombo assembled his brethern of the Pathar, declaring, that even the mock Boondi must be defended. All felt the indignity to the clan, and each bosom burning with indignation, they prepared to protect the mud walls of the *pseudo* Boondi from insult. It was reported to the Rana that Boondi was finished. He advanced to the storm: but what was his surprise when, instead of the blank-cartridge he heard a volley of balls whiz amongst them! A messenger was despatched, and was received by Bairsi at the gate, who explained the cause of the unexpected salutation, desiring him to tell the Rana that "not even the mock capital of a Hara should be dishonoured." Spreading a sheet at the little gateway, Bairsi and the Kaawunts invited the assault, and at the threshold of "*Gar-ca-Boondi*" (the Boondi of clay) they gave up their lives for the honour of the race.* The Rana wisely remained satisfied with this salvo to his dignity, nor sought any further to wipe off the disgrace incurred, at the real capital of the Haras, perceiving the impolicy of driving such a daring clan to desperation whose services he could command on an emergency.

Hamoo, who ruled sixteen years, left two son; 1st. Birsing, and 2nd. Lalla, who obtained Khutkur, and had two sons, Novarma and Jaita, each of whom left clans called after them Novarmapota and Jaitawut. Birsing ruled fifteen years, and left three sons; Biroo, Jubdoo, who founded three tribes,† and Nima, descendants Nimawuts. Biroo, who died S. 1526, ruled fifty years, and had seven sons; 1 Rao Bando; 2 Sando; 3 Ako; 4 Oodoh; 5 Chand; 6 Samarsing; 7 Umursing: the first five founded clans named after them Akawut, Odawut, Chondawut, but the last two abandoned their faith for that of Islam.

Bando has left deathless name in Rajwara for his boundless charities, more especially during the famine which desolated that country in S. 1542 (A. D. 1486). He was forewarned, says the bard, in a vision, of the visitation. *Kal* (Time or the famine personified) appeared riding on a

* Somewhat akin to this incident is the history of that summer abode of the kings of France in the Bois de Boulogne at Paris, called "*Madrid*." When Francis I. was allowed to return to his capital, he pledged his *parole* that he would return to *Madrid*. But the delights of liberty and Paris were too much for honour: and while he wavered, a hint was thrown out similar to that suggested to the Rana when determined to capture Boondi. A mock Madrid arose in the Bois de Boulogne, to which Francis retired.

† Jubdoo had three sons; each founded clans. The eldest, Bacha, had two sons, Sewaji and Seranji. The former had Meoji; the latter had Sawunt, whose descendants are styled Meoh and Sawunt Haras.

lean black buffalo. Grasping his sword and shield, the intrepid Hara assaulted the apparition. "Bravo, Bando Hara," it exclaimed; "I am *Kal* (time); on me your sword will fall in vain. Yet you are the only mortal who ever dared to oppose me. Now listen: I am *Bealees* (forty-two); the land will become a desert; fill your granaries, distribute, liberally, they will never empty." Thus saying, the spectre vanished. Rao Bando obeyed the injunction; he collected grain from every surrounding state. One year passed and another had almost followed, when the periodical rains ceased, and a famine ensued which ravaged all India. Princes far and near sent for aid to Boondi, while his own poor had daily portions served out *grates*: which practice is still kept up in memory of Rao Bando, by the name of *Lungur-ca-googri*, or 'anchor of Bando.'

But the piety and charity of Rao Bando could not shield him from adversity. His two youngest brothers, urged by the temptation of power, abandoned their faith, and with the aid of the royal power expelled him from Boondi, where, under their new titles of Samarcandi and Umurcandi they jointly ruled eleven years. Bando retired to Matoonda, in the hills, where he died after a reign of twenty-one years, and where his cenotaph still remains. He left two sons, 1st. Narayn-das, and 2nd. Nir-Boodh, who had Matoonda.

Narayn had grown up to manhood in this retreat; but no sooner was he at liberty to act for himself, than he assembled the Haras of the Pathar, and revealed this determination to obtain Boondi, or perish in the attempt. They swore to abide his fortunes. After the days of *matum* (mourning) were over, he sent to his Islamite uncles a complimentary message, intimating his wish to pay his respects to them; and not suspecting danger from a youth brought up in obscurity, it was signified, that he might come.

With a small but devoted band, he reached the *chowk* (square), where he left his adherents, and alone repaired to the palace. He ascended to where both the uncles were seated almost unattended. They liked not the resolute demeanour of the youth, and tried to gain a passage which led to a subterranean apartment; but no sooner was this intention perceived, than the *khanda*, or 'double-edged sword,' of Bando's son cut the elder to the ground, while his lance reached the other before he got to a place of security. In an instant he severed both their heads, with which he graced the shrine of Bhavani, and giving a shout to his followers in the *chowk*, their swords were soon at work upon the Mooslems. Every true Hara supported the just cause, and the dead bodies of the apostates and their crew were hurled with ignominy over the walls. To commemorate this exploit and the recovery of Boondi from these traitors, the pillar on which the sword of the young Hara descended, when he struck down Samarcandi, and which bears testimony to the vigour of his arm, is annually worshipped by every Hara on the festival of the *Dusera*.*

Narayan-das became celebrated for his strength and prowess. He was one of those undaunted Rajpoots who are absolutely strangers to the impression of fear and it might be said of danger and himself, "that they were brothers whelped the same day, and he the elder." Unfortunately,

* Though called a pillar, it is a slab in the staircase of the old palace which I have seen.

these qualities were rendered inert from the enormous quantity of opium he took, which would have killed most men; for it is recorded "he could at one time eat the weight of seven pice."* The consequence of this vice, as might be expected, was a constant stupefaction, of which many anecdotes are related. Being called to aid the Rana Raemull, then attacked by the Pathans of Mandoo, he set out at the head of five hundred select Haras. On the first day's march, he was taking his siesta, after his usual dose, under a tree, his mouth wide open, into which the flies had unmolested ingress, when a young *tailani†* came to draw water at the well and on learning that this was Boondi's prince on his way to aid the Rana in his distress, she observed, "If he gets no other aid than his alas for my prince!" "The *umuldar* (opium-eater) has quick ears, though no eyes," is a common adage in Rajwarra. "What is that you say, *rand* (widow?)" roared the Rao, advancing to her. Upon her endeavouring to excuse herself, he observed, "do not fear, but repeat it." In her hand she had an iron crow-bar, which the Rao, taking it from her, twisted until the ends met round her neck. "Wear this garland from me," said he, "until I return from aiding the Rana, unless in the interim you can find some one strong enough to unbind it."

Cheetore was closely invested; the Rao moved by the intricacies of the Pathar, took the royal camp by surprise, and made direct for the tent of the generalissimo, cutting down all in his way. Confusion and panic seized the Mooslems, who fled in all directions. The Boondi *nakarras* (drums) struck up; and as the morning broke, the besieged had the satisfaction to behold the invaders dispersed and their auxiliaries at hand. Rana Raemull came forth, and conducted his deliverer in triumph to Cheetore. All the chiefs assembled to do honour to Boondi's prince, and the ladies "behind the curtain" felt so little alarm at their opium-eating knight, that the Rana's niece determined to espouse him, and next day communicated her intentions to the Rana. "The slave of Narayan" was too courteous a cavalier to left any fair lady die for his love; the Rana was too sensible of his obligation not to hail with joy and mode of testifying his gratitude, and the nuptials of the Hara and *Ketu* were celebrated with pomp. With victory and his bride, he returned to the Bando valley; where, however, 'the flower of gloomy Dis' soon gained the ascendant even over Camdeo, and his poses augmented to such a degree, that "he scratched his lady instead of himself, and with such severity that he married the beauty of the Mewari." In the morning, perceiving what had happened, yet being assailed with no reproach, he gained a reluctant victory over himself, and "consigned the opium-box to her keeping." Narayan-das ruled thirty-two years, and left his country in tranquillity, and much extended, to his only son.

Soorujmull ascended the gadi in S. 1590 (A. D. 1534). Like his father, he was athletic in form and dauntless in soul; and it is said possessed in an eminent degree that unerring sign of a hero, long arms, his (like those of Rama and Prithwiraj) "reaching far below from his knees.

The alliance with Cheetore was again cemented by intermarriage. Sooja Bai, sister to Soorujmull, was espoused by Rana Rutna, who bestowed his own sister on the Rao. Rao Soojoo, like his father, was too

* The copper coin of Boondi, equal to a half-penny. One pice weight is a common dose for an ordinary Rajpoot, but would, send the uninitiated to eternal sleep.

† Wife or daughter of a *taili* or oilman.

partial to his *uml*. One day, at Cheetore, he had fallen asleep in the Presence, when a Poorbia chief felt an irresistible inclination to disturb him, and "tickled the Hara's ear with a straw." He might as well have jested with a tiger: a back stroke with his *khanda* stretched the insulter on the carpet. The son of the Poorbia treasured up the feud, and waited for revenge, which he effected by making the Rana believe the Rao had other objects in view, besides visiting his sister Sooja Bae, at the Rawula. The train thus laid, the slightest incident inflamed it. The fair Sooja had prepared a repast, to which she invited both her brother and her husband: she had not only attended the culinary process herself, but waited on these objects of her love to drive the flies from the food. Though the wedded pair of Rajpootana clings to the husband, yet she is ever more solicitous for the honour of the house from whence she sprung, than that into which she has been admitted; which feeling has engendered numerous quarrels. Unhappily, Sooja remarked, on removing the dishes, that "her brother had devoured his share like a tiger, while her husband had played with his like a child (*balac*)." The expression, added to other insults which he fancied were put upon him, cost the Rao his life, and sent the fair Sooja an untimely victim to Indraloca. The dictates of hospitality prevented the Rana from noticing the remark at the moment, and in fact it was more accordant with the general tenor of his character to revenge the affront with greater security than even the isolated situation of the brave Hara afforded him. On the latter taking leave, the Rana invited himself to hunt on the next spring festival in the *rumnas* on preserves of Boondi. The merry month of Phalgun arrived; the Rana and his court prepared their suits of *amowah* (green), and ascended the Pathar on the road to Boondi, in spite of the anathema of the prophetic *Sati*, who, as she ascended the pyre at Bumaodah, pronounced that whenever Rao and Rana met to hunt together at the *Aihara*, such meeting, which had blasted all her hopes, would always be fatal. But centuries had rolled between the denunciation of the daughter of Aloo Hara and Sooja Bae of Boondi; and the prophecy, though in every mouth, served merely to amuse the leisure hour; the moral being forgotten, it was only looked upon as 'a tale that was past.'

The scene chosen for the sport was on the heights of Nandta, not far from the western bank of the Chumbul, in whose glades every species of game, from the lordly lion to the timid hare, abounded. The troops were formed into lines, advancing through the jungles with the customary noise and clamour, and driving before them a promiscuous herd of tenants of the forest,—lions, tigers, hyenas, bears, every species of deer, from the enormous *bara-singa*, and Nilgae to the delicate antelope, with jackals, foxes, hares, and the little wild dog. In such animated scene as this, the Rajpoot forgets even his opium; he requires no exhilaration beyond the stimulus before him; a species of petty war, not altogether free from danger.

It was amidst the confusion of such a scene that the dastard Rana determined to gratify his malice. The princes had convenient stations assigned them, where they could securely assail the game as it passed, each having but one or two confidential attendants. With the Rana was the Iago of his revenge, the son of the Poorbia, whom the Hara prince had slain. "Now is the moment," said the Rana to his companion, "to slay the boar," and instantly an arrow from the bow of the Poorbia was sped at the Rao. "With an eagle's eye he saw it coming, and turned it off with his bow." This might have been chance, but another from

the foster-brother of the Rana convinced him there was treachery. Scarcely had he warded off the second, when the Rana darted at him on horseback, and cut him down with his *khanda*. The Rao fell, but recovering, took his shawl and tightly bound up the wound, and as his foe was making off, he called aloud, "Escape you may, but you have sunk Mewar." The Poorbia, who followed his prince, when he saw the Rao bind up his wound, said, "the work is but half done; and like a coward, Rutna once more charged the wounded Rao. As his arm was raised to finish the deed of shame, like a wounded tiger, the Hara made a dying effort, caught the assassin by the robe, and dragged him from his steed. Together they came to the ground, the Rana underneath. The Rao knelt upon his breast, while, with preternatural strength, with one hand he grasped his victim by the throat, with the other he searched for his dagger. What a moment for revenge! He plunged the weapon into his assassin's heart, and saw him expire at his feet. The Rao was satisfied; there was no more life left him than sufficed for revenge, and he dropped a corpse upon the head body of his foeman.

The tidings flew to Boondi, to the mother of the Rao, that her son was slain in the *Aihara*. "Slain!" exclaimed this noble dame, "but did he fall alone? Never could a son who has drunk at this breast, depart unaccompanied;" and as she spoke, "maternal feeling caused the milk to issue from the fount with such force, that it rent the slap on which it fell."

The dread of dishonour, which quenched the common sympathies of nature for the death of her son, had scarcely been thus expressed, when a second messenger announced the magnitude of his revenge. The Rajpoot dame was satisfied, though fresh horrors were about to follow. The wives of the murdered princes could not survive, and the pyres were prepared on the fatal field of sport. The fair Sooja expiated her jest, which cost her a husband and a brother, in the flames, while the sister of Rana Rutna, married to the Rao, in accordance with custom or affection, burned with the dead body of her lord. The cenotaphs of the princes were reared where they fell; while that of Sooja Bae was erected on a pinnacle of the Pass, and adds to the picturesque beauty of this romantic valley, which possesses a double charm for the traveller, who may have taste to admire the scene and patience to listen to the story.*

Soortan succeeded in S. 1591 (A.D. 1535), and married the daughter of the celebrated Sukta, founder of the Suktawats of Mewar. He became an ardent votary of the blood-stained divinity of war, *Kal-Bhiroo*, and like almost all these ferocious Rajpoots who resign themselves to his horrid rites, grew cruel and at length deranged. Human victims are the chief offerings to this brutalized personification of war, though Soortan was satisfied with the eyes of his subjects, which he placed upon the altar of "the mother of war." It was then time to question the divine right by which he ruled. The assembled nobles deposed and banished him from Boondi, assigning a small village on the Chumbul for his residence, to which he gave the name Soortanpur, which survives to bear testimony to one of many instances of the deposition of their princes by the Rajpoots, when they offend custom or morality. Having no offspring, the noble elected the son of Nirbopdh,

* The author has seen the cenotaphs of the princes at Nandta, a place which still affords a good hunting.

son of Rao Bando, who had been brought up in his patrimonial village of Matoonda.

Rao Arjoon, the eldest of the eight sons* of Nirboodh, succeeded his banished cousin. Nothing can more effectually evince the total extinction of animosity between these valiant races, when once 'a feud is balanced,' than the fact of Rao Arjoon, soon after his accession, devoting himself and his valiant kinsmen to the service of the son of that Rana who had slain his predecessor. The memorable attack upon Cheetore by Bahadur of Guzerat, has already been related, and the death of the Hara prince (and his vassals to the post of honour, the breach. Rao Arjoon was this prince, who was blown up at the Cheetore *boorj* (bastion). The Boondi bard makes a striking picture of this catastrophe, in which the indomitable courage of their prince is finely imagined. The fact is also confirmed by the annals of Mewar :

"Seated on a fragment of the rock, disparted by the explosion of the mine, Arjoon drew his sword, and the world beheld his departure with amazement."†

Soorjun, the eldest of the four sons‡ of Arjoon, succeeded in S. 1589 (A. D. 1533)

CHAPTER III.

WITH Rao Soorjun commenced a new era for Boondi. Hitherto her princes had enjoyed independence, excepting the homage and occasional service on emergencies which are maintained as much from kinship as vassalage. But they were now about to move in a more extended orbit, and to occupy a conspicuous page in the future history of the empire of India.

Sawunt Sing, junior branch of Boondi, upon the expulsion of the Shereshahi dynasty, entered into a correspondence with the Afghan governor of Rinthumbor, which terminated in the surrender of this celebrated fortress, which he delivered up to his superior, the Rao Soorjun. For this important service, which obtained a castle and possession far superior to any under Boondi, lands were assigned near the city to Sawuntji, whose name became renowned, and was transmitted as the head of the clan, Sawunt-Hara.

* Four of these had appannages and founded clans, namely, Bheem who had Takurda ; Pooro, who had Hurdoo ; Mapal and Puchaen, whose abodes are not recorded.

† "*Sor na kea bohut jor*
"Dhur purbut ori silla
"Tyn hari turwar
"Ad patin, Hara Uja. (1)

‡ Ram Sing, clan Rama Hara ; Akhiraj, clan Akhiraipota ; Kandil, clan Jessa Hara.

(1) Uja, the familiar contraction for Arjoona.

The Chohan chief of Baidla, who was mainly instrumental to the surrender of this famed fortress, stipulated that it should be held by Rao Soorjun, as a fief of Mewar. Thus Rinthumbor, which for ages was an appanage of Ajmere, and continued until the fourteenth century in a branch of the family descended from Beesildeo, when it was captured from the valiant Hamir* after a desperate resistance, once more reverted to the Chohan race.

Rinthumbor was an early object of Akber's attention, who besieged it in person. He had been some time before its impregnable walls without the hope of its surrender, when Bhagwandas of Amber and his son, the more celebrated Raja Maun, who had not only tendered their allegiance to Akber, but allied themselves to him by marriage, determined to use their influence to make Soorjun Hara faithless to his pledge, "to hold the castle as a fief of Cheetore."† The courtesy, which is never laid aside amongst belligerent Rajpoots, obtained Raja Maun access to the castle; and the emperor accompanied him in the guise of a mace-bearer. While conversing, an uncle of the Rao recognized the emperor, and with that sudden impulse which arises from respect, took the mace from his hand and placed Akber on the 'cushion' of the governor of the castle. Akber's presence of mind did not forsake him, and he said, "Well, Rao Soorjun, what is to be done?" which was replied to by Raja Maun, "Leave the Rana, give up Rinthumbor, and become the servant of the king, with high honours and office." The proffered bribe was indeed magnificent; the government of fifty-two districts, whose revenues were to be appropriated without inquiry, on furnishing the customary contingent, and liberty to name any other terms, which should be solemnly guaranteed by the king.‡

A treaty was drawn up upon the spot, and mediated by the prince of Amber, which presents a good picture of Hindu feeling :

1st. That the chiefs of Boondi should be exempted from that custom, degrading to a Rajpoot, of sending a *dola*§ to the royal harem.

2nd. Exemption from the *jeseya*, or poll-tax.

3rd. That the chiefs of Boondi should not be compelled to cross the Attoc.

4th. That the vassals of Boondi should be exempted from the obli-

* His fame is immortalized by a descendant of the bard Chund, in the works already mentioned, as bearing his name, the *Hamir-rasa* and *Hamir-carya*.

† The Raja Maun of Amber is styled, in the poetic chronicle of the Haras, "the shade of the *Kali Yuga*:" a powerful figure, to denote that his baneful influence and example, in allying himself by matrimonial ties with the imperialists, denationalized the Rajpoot character. In refusing to follow this example, we have presented a picture of patriotism in the life of Rana Pratap of Mewar. Rao Soorjun avoided by convention what the Cheetore prince did by arms.

‡ We may here remark, that the succeeding portion of the annals of Boondi is a free translation of an historical sketch drawn up for me by the Raja of Boondi from his own records, occasionally augmented from the bardic chronicle.

§ *Dola* is the term for a princess affianced to the king.

gation of sending 'their wives or female relatives' to hold a stall in the Meena Bazaar" at the palace, on the festival of Noroza.*

5th. That they should have the privilege of entering the *Dewan-aum*, or 'hall of audience,' completely armed.

6th. That their sacred edifices should be respected.

7th. That they should never be placed under the command of a Hindu leader.

8th. That their horses should not be branded with the imperial *dagh*,†

9th. That they should be allowed to beat their *nakarras*, or 'kettle-drums,' in the streets of the capital, as far as the *lal durwasa*, or 'red-gate;' and that they should not be commanded to make the 'prostration,'‡ on entering the Presence.

10th. That Boondi should be to the Haras what Delhi was to the king, who should guarantee them from any change of capital.

In addition to these articles, which the king swore to maintain, he assigned the Rao a residence at the sacred city of Kasi, possessing that privilege so dear to the Rajpoot, the right of sanctuary, which is maintained to this day. With such a bribe, and the full acceptance of his terms, we cannot wonder that Rao Soorjun flung from him the remnant of allegiance he owed to Mewar, now humbled by the loss of her capital, or that he should agree to follow the victorious car of the Mogul. But this dereliction of duty was effaced by the rigid virtue of the brave Sawunt Hara, who, as already stated, had conjointly with the Kotarin Chohan§ obtained Rinthumbor. He put on the saffron robes, and with his small but virtuous clan determined, in spite of his sovereign's example, that Akber should only gain possession over their lifeless bodies.

Previous to this explosion of useless fidelity, he set up a pillar with a solemn anathema engraved thereon, on "whatever Hara of gentle blood should ascend the castle of Rinthumbor, or who should quit it alive." Sawunt and his kin made the sacrifice to honour; they gave up their life's blood to maintain their fidelity to the Rana, albeit himself without a capital; and from that day, no Hara ever passes Rinthumbor without averting his head from an object which caused disgrace to the tribe. With this transaction all intercourse ceased with Mewar, and from this period the Hara bore the title of "*Rae Raja*" of Boondi.

* An ancient institution of the Timoorean kings, derived from their Tatar ancestry. For a description of this festival, See Gladwin's *Ayeen Akberri*.

† This brand (*dagh*) was a flower on the forehead.

‡ Similar to the *ko-tow* of China. Had our ambassador possessed the wit of Rao Soortan, who, when compelled to pay homage to the king, determined at whatever hazard not to submit to this degradation, he might have succeeded in this mission to the "son of heaven." For the relation of this anecdote see chapter VI. *Annals of Marwar*.

§ This conjoint act of attaining the castle of Rinthumbor is confirmed in the *annals* of the chieftains of Kotario, of the same original stock as the Haras: though a *Poorbia* Chohan. I knew him very well, as also one of the same stock, of Baidla, another of the sixteen *Puttaets* of Mewar.

Rao Soorjun was soon called into action, and sent as commander to reduce Gondwana, so named from being the "region of the Goands." He took their capital, Bari, by assault, and to commemorate the achievement erected the gateway still called Soorjunpol. The Goand leaders he carried captives to the Emperor, and generously interceded for their restoration to liberty, and to a portion of their possessions. On effecting this service, the king added seven districts of his grant, including Benares and Chunar. This was in S. 1632, or A. D. 1576, the year in which Rana Pratap of Mewar fought the battle of Huldighat against Sultan Selim.

Rao Soorjun resided at his government of Benares, and by his piety, wisdom, and generosity, benefited the empire and the Hindus at large, whose religion through him was respected. Owing to the prudence of his administration and the vigilance of his police, the most perfect security to person and property was established throughout the province. He beautified and ornamented the city, especially that quarter where he resided, and eighty-four edifices for various public purposes, and twenty baths, were constructed under his auspices. He died there, and left three legitimate sons: 1. Rao Bhoj; 2. Dooda, nicknamed by Akber, Lukur Khan; 3. Raemull, who obtained the town and dependencies of Polaita, now one of the fiefs of Kotah and the residence of the *Raemulote Haras*.

About this period, Akber transferred the seat of government from Delhi to Agra, which he enlarged and called Akberabad. Having determined on the reduction of Guzerat, he despatched thither an immense army, which he followed with a select force mounted on camels. Of these, adopting the custom of the desert princes of India he had formed a corps of five hundred, each having two fighting men in a pair of panniers. To this select force, composed chiefly of Rajpoots, were attached Rao Bhoj and Dooda his brother. Proceeding with the utmost celerity, Akber joined his army besieging Surat, before which many desperate encounters took place. In the final assault the Hara Rao slew the leader of the enemy; on which occasion the king commanded him to "name his reward." The Rao limited his request to leave to visit his estates annually during the periodical rains, which was granted.

The perpetual wars of Akber, for the conquest and consolidation of the universal empire of India, gave abundant opportunity to the Rajpoot leaders to exert their valour; and the Haras were ever at the post of danger and of honour. The siege and escalade of the famed castle of Ahmednaggar afforded the best occasion for the display of Hara intrepidity: again it shone forth and again claimed distinction and reward. To mark his sense of the merits of the Boondi leader, the king commanded that a new bastion should be erected, where he led the assault, which he named the *Bhoj boorj*; and further presented him his own favourite elephant. In this desperate assault, Chand Begum, the queen of Ahmednaggar, and an armed train of seven hundred females, were slain gallantly fighting for their freedom.

Notwithstanding all these services, Rao Bhoj fell under the emperor's displeasure. On the death of the queen, Joda Bai, Akber commanded a court-mourning; and that all might testify a participation in their master's affliction, an ordinance issued that all the Rajpoot chiefs, as well as the Mooslem leaders, should shave the *moustache* and the beard. To secure compliance, the royal barbers had the execution of the mandate. But when they came to the quarters of the Haras, in order to remove these tokens of manhood, they were repulsed with buffets and contumely. The enemies of Rao Bhoj aggravated the crime

of this resistance, and insinuated to the royal ear that the outrage upon the barbers was accompanied with expression insulting to the memory of the departed princess, (who, it will be remembered, was a Rajpootni of Marwar. Akber, forgetting his vassal's gallant services, commanded that Rao Bhoj should be pinioned and forcibly deprived of his '*mouché*.' He might as well have commanded the operation on a tiger. The Haras flew to their arms; the camp was thrown into tumult, and would soon have presented a wide scene of bloodshed, had not the emperor, seasonably repenting of his folly, repaired to the Boondi quarters in person. He expressed him admiration (he might have said his fear) of Hara valour, alighted from his elephant to expostulate with the Rao, who with considerable tact pleaded his father's privileges, and added "that an eater of pork like him was unworthy of the distinction of putting his lip into mourning for the queen." Akber, happy to obtain even so much acknowledgment, embraced the Rao, and carried him with him to his own quarters.

In this portion of the Boondi memoirs is related the mode of Akber's death. He had designed to take off the great Raja Maun by means of a poisoned confection formed into pills. To throw the Raja off his guard, he had prepared other pills which were innocuous; but in his agitation he unwittingly gave these to the Raja, and swallowed those which were poisoned. On the emperor's death, Rao Bhoj retired to his hereditary dominions, and died in his palace of Boondi, leaving three sons, Rao Ruttun, Hürda Narayn,* and Kesoodas.†

Jehangir was now sovereign of India. He had nominated his son Purvez to the government of the Dekhan, and having invested him in the city of Boorhanpur, returned to the north. But Prince Khoorm, jealous of his brother, conspired against and slew him. The murder was followed by an attempt to dethrone his father Jehangir, and as he was popular with the Rajpoot princes of Amber, a formidable rebellion was raised; or, as the chronicle says, "the twenty-two Rajas turned against the king, all but Rao Ruttun:"

"*Surwar p'foota, jul baha,*
 "*Ab kea kurro juttun?*
 "*Jata guruh Jehangir ca,*
 "*Rekha Rao Ruttun.*

"The lake had burst, the waters were rushing out; where now the remedy? The house of Jehangir was departing; it was sustained by Rao Ruttun."

With his two sons, Madhu Sing and Heri, Ruttun repaired to Boorhanpur, where he gained a complete victory over the rebels. In this engagement, which took place on Tuesday the full moon of Cartica, S. 1635 (A.D. 1579), both his sons were severely wounded. For these services, Rao Ruttun was rewarded with the government of Boorhanpur; and Madhu his second son received a grant of the city of Kotah and its dependencies, which he and his heirs were to hold direct of the crown. From this period, therefore, dates the partition of Harouti, when the emperor, in his desire to reward Madhu Sing, overlooked the greater services of his father. But in this Jehangir did not act without design;

* He held Kotah in separate grant from the king during fifteen years.

† He obtained the town of Dheepri (on the Chumbul), with twenty-seven villages, in appanage.

on the contrary, he dreaded the union of so much power in the hands of this brave race as pregnant with danger, and well knew that by dividing, he could always rule both, the one through the other. Shah Jehan confirmed the grant to Madhu Sing, whose history will be resumed in its proper place, the Annals of Kotah.

Rao Ruttun, while he held the government of Boorhanpur, founded a township which still bears his name, Ruttunpur. He performed another important service, which, while it gratified the emperor, contributed greatly to the tranquillity of his ancient lord-paramount, the Rana of Mewar. A refractory noble of the court, Deriou Khan, was leading a life of riot and rapine in that country, when the Hara attacked, defeated and carried him captive to the king. For this distinguished exploit, the king gave him honorary *nobuts*, or cattle-drums; the grand yellow banner to be borne in state processions before his own person, and a red flag for his camp; which ensigns are still retained by his successors. Rao Ruttun obtained the suffrages not only of his Rajpoot brethren, but of the whole Hindu race, whose religion he preserved from innovation. The Haras exultingly boast that no Mooslem dared pollute the quarters where they might be stationed with the blood of the sacred kine. After all his services, Ruttun was killed in an action near Boorhanpur, leaving a name endeared by his valour and his virtues to the whole Hara race.

Rao Ruttun left four sons, Gopinath, who had Boondi; Madhu Sing, who had Kotah; Heriji, who had Googore;* Jugernath, who had no issue; and Gopinath, the heir of Boondi, who died before his father. The manner of his death affords another trait of Rajpoot character, and merits a place amongst those anecdotes which form the romance of history. Gopinath carried on a secret intrigue with the wife of a Brahmin of the Buldea class, and in the dead of night used to escalate the house to obtain admittance. At length the Brahmin caught him, bound the hands and feet of his treacherous prince, and proceeding direct to the palace, told the Rao he had caught a thief in the act of stealing his honour, and asked what punishment was due to such offence. "Death," was the reply. He waited for no other, returned home, and with a hammer beat out the victim's brains, throwing the dead body into the public highway. The tidings flew to Rao Ruttun, that the heir of Boondi had been murdered, and his corpse ignominiously exposed; but when he learned the cause, and was reminded of the decree he had unwittingly passed, he submitted in silence.†

Gopinath left twelve sons, to whom Rao Ruttun assigned domains still forming the principal *kotris*, or fiefs, of Boondi:

1. Rao Chutter-sal, who succeeded to Boondi;
2. Indur Sing, who founded Indurgurh.‡

* There are about fifty families, his descendants, forming a community round Neemoda.

† This trait in the character of Rao Ruttun forcibly reminds us of a similar case which occurred at Ghizni and is related by Ferishta in commemoration of the justice of Mahmoud.

‡ These, the three great fiefs of Boondi.—Indergurh, Bulwun, and Anderdeh, are now all alienated from Boondi by the intrigues of Zalim Sing of Kotah. It was unfortunate for the Boondi Rao, when both these states were admitted to an allegiance, that all these historical

3. Beri Sal, who founded Bluwan and Filodi, and had Kurwar and Peepaldo.

4. Mokhim Sing, who had Anterdeh.

5. Maha Sing, who had Thanoh.*

It is useless, to specify the names of the remainder, who left no issue.

Chutter-sal, who succeeded his grandfather, Rao Ruttun, was not only installed by Shah Jehan in his hereditary dominions, but declared governor of the imperial capital, a post which he held nearly throughout this reign. When Shah Jehan partitioned the empire into four vice-royalties, under his sons, Dara, Arungzeb, Shuja, and Morad, Rao Chutter-sal had a high command under Arungzeb, in the Dekhan. The Hara distinguished himself by his bravery and conduct in all the various sieges and actions, especially at the assaults of Doulatabad and Beedir; the last was led by Chutter-sal in person, who carried the place, and put the garrison to the sword. In S. 1709 (A. D. 1653), Calberga fell after an obstinate defence, in which Chutter-sal again led the escalade. The last resort was the strong fort of Damounee, which terminated all resistance, and the Dekhan was tranquillized.

"At this period of the transactions in the south, a rumour was propagated of the Emperor's (Shah Jehan) death; and as during twenty days the prince (Arungeb) held no court, and did not even give private audience, the report obtained general belief.† Dara Shekho was the only one of the Emperor's sons then at court, and the absent brothers determined to assert their several pretensions to the throne. While Shuja marched from Bengal, Arunzeb prepared to quit the Dekhan.

points were hid in darkness. It would be yet abstract and absolute justice that we should negotiate the transfer of the allegiance of these chieftains to their proper head of Boondi. It would be a matter of little difficulty, and the honour would be immense to Boondi and no hardship to Kotah, but a slight sacrifice of a power of protection to those who no longer require it. All of these chiefs were the founders of clans, called after them, Indursalote, Berisalote, Mokhimsingote; the first can muster fifteen hundred Haras under arms. Jeypur having imposed a tribute on these chieftains, Zalim Sing undertook, in the days of predatory warfare, to be responsible for it; for which he received that homage and service due to Boondi, then unable to protect them. The simplest mode of doing justice would be to make these chiefs redeem their freedom from tribute to Jeypur, by the payment of so many years' purchase which would relieve them altogether from Zalim Sing, and at the same time be in accordance with our treaties, which prohibit such ties between the states.

* Thanoh, formerly called Jujawur, is the only fief of the twelve sons of Ruttun which now pays obedience to its proper head. The Maharaja Bikramajeet is the lineal descendant of Maha Sing, and if alive, the earth bears not a more honourable, brave, or simple-minded Rajpoot. He was the devoted servant of his young prince, and my very sincere and valued friend.

† The reader will observe, as to the phraseology of these important occurrences, that the language is that of the original: it is, in fact, almost a *verbatim* translation from the memories of these princes in the Boondi archives.

and cajoled Morad to join him with all his forces; assuring him that he, a *dervish* from principle, had no worldly desires, for his only wish was to dwell in retirement, practising the austerities of a rigid follower of the prophet; that Dara was an infidel, Shuja'a free-thinker, himself an anchorite; and that he, Morad, alone of the sons of Shah Jehan was worthy to exercise dominion, to aid in which purpose he proffered his best energies.*

"The emperor learning the hostile intentions of Arungzeb, wrote privately to the Hara prince to repair to the Presence. On receiving the mandate, Chutter-sal revolved its import, but considering 'that, as a servant of the *gadi* (throne, his only duty was obedience,' he instantly commenced his preparations to quit the Dekhan. This reaching the ear of Arungzeb he enquired the cause of his hasty departure, observing, that in a very short time he might accompany him to court. The Boondi prince replied, 'his first duty was to the reigning sovereign,' and handed him the *firman* or summons to the Presence. Arungzeb commanded that he should not be permitted to depart, and directed his encampment to be surrounded. But Chutter-sal, foreseeing this, had already sent on his baggage, and forming his vassals and those of other Rajpoot princes attached to the royal cause into one compact mass, they effected their retreat to the Nerbudda in the face of their pursuers, without their daring to attack them. By the aid of some Solanki chieftains inhabiting the banks of this river, the Boondi Rao was enabled to pass this dangerous stream, then swollen by the periodical rains. Already baffled by the skill and intrepidity of Chutter-sal, Arungzeb was compelled to give up the pursuit, and the former reached Boondi in safety. Having made his domestic arrangements, he proceeded forthwith to the capital, to help the aged Emperor, whose power, and even existence, were alike threatened by the ungrateful pretensions of his sons to snatch the sceptre from the hand which still held it."

If a reflection might be here interposed on the bloody wars which desolated India in consequence of the events of which the foregoing were the initial scenes, it would be to expose the moral retribution resulting from evil example. Were we to take but a partial view of the picture, we should depict the venerable Shah Jehan, arrived at the verge of the grave, into which the unnatural contest of his sons for empire wished to precipitate him, extending his arms for succour in vain to the nobles of his own faith and kin; while the Rajpoot, faithful to his principle, 'allegiance to the throne,' staked both life and land to help him in his need. Such a picture would enlist all our sympathies on the side of the helpless king. But when we recall the past, and consider that Shah Jehan, as prince Khoorm, played the same part (setting aside the mask of hypocrisy), which Arungzeb now attempted; that to forward his guilty design, he murdered his brother Purvez, who stood between him and the throne of his parent, against whom he levied war, our sympathies are checked, and we conclude that unlimited monarchy is a curse to itself and all who are subjected to it.

The battle of Futtehabad followed not long after this event, which, gained by Arungzeb, left the road to the throne free from obstruction. We are not informed of the reason why the prince of Boondi did not

* The Rajpoot prince, who drew up this character, to have well studied Arungzeb, and it is gratifying to find such concurrence with every authority. But could such a character be eventually mistaken?

add his contingent to the force assembled to oppose Arungzeb under Jeswunt Sing of Marwar, unless it be found in that article of the treaty of Rao Soorjun, prohibiting his successors from serving under a leader of their own faith and nation. The younger branch of Kotah appears, on its separation from Boondi, to have felt itself exonerated from obedience to this decree; for four royal brothers of Kotah, with many of their clansmen, were stretched on this field in the cause of *swamdherma* and Shah Jehan. Before, however, Arungzeb could tear the sceptre from the enfeebled hands of his parent, he had to combat his elder brother Dara, who drew together at Dholpur all those who yet regarded "the first duty of a Rajpoot." The Boondi prince, with his Haras clad in their saffron robes, the ensigns of death or victory, formed the vanguard of Dara on this day, the opening scene of his sorrows, which closed but with his life; for Dholpur was as fatal to Dara the Mogul, as Arbela was to the Persian Darius. Custom rendered it indispensable that the princely leaders should be conspicuous to the host, and in conformity thereto, Dara, mounted on his elephant, was in the brunt of the battle, in the heat of which, when valour and fidelity might have preserved the sceptre of Shah Jehan, Dara suddenly disappeared. A panic ensued, which was followed by confusion and flight. The noble Hara, on this disastrous event, turned to his vassals, and exclaimed, "*Accursed* be he who flies! Here, true to my salt, my feet are rooted to this field, nor will I quit it alive, but with victory." Cheering on his men, he mounted his elephant, but whilst encouraging them by his voice and example, a cannon-shot hitting his elephant, the animal turned and fled. Chutter-sal leaped from his back and called for his steed, exclaiming, "my elephant may turn his back on the enemy, but never shall his master." Mounting his horse, and forming his men into a dense mass (*gole*), he led them to the charge against prince Morad, whom he singled out, and had his lance balanced for the issue, when a ball pierced his forehead. The contest was nobly maintained by his youngest son, Bharut Sing, who accompanied his father in death, and with him the choicest of his clan. Mokin Sing, brother of the Rao, with two of his sons, and Oudi Sing, another nephew, sealed their fidelity with their lives. Thus in the two battles of Oojein and Dholpur no less than twelve princes of the blood, together with the heads of every Hara clan, maintained their fealty (*swamdherma*) even to death. Where are we to look for such examples?

"Rao Chutter-sal had been personally engaged in fifty-two combats, and left a name renowned for courage and incorruptible fidelity." He enlarged the palace of Boondi by adding that portion which bears his name,—the Chutter Mahl,—and the temple of Keshoorae, at Patun, was constructed under his direction. It was in S. 1715 he was killed; he left four sons, Rao Bhao Sing, Bheem Sing, who got Googore, Bugwunt Sing, who obtained Mow, and Bharut Sing, who was killed at Dholpur.

Arungzeb, on the attainment of sovereign power, transferred all the resentment he harboured against Chutter-sal to his son and successor, Rao Bhao. He gave a commission to Raja Atmaram, Gor, the prince of Sheopur, to reduce "that turbulent and disaffected race, the Hara," and annex Boondi to the government of Rinthumbor, declaring that he should visit Boondi shortly in person, on his way to the Dekhan, and hoped to congratulate him on his success. Raja Atmaram, with an army of twelve thousand men, entered Haravati and ravaged it with fire and sword. Having laid siege to Khatolli, a town of Indurgurh,

the chief fief of Boondi, the clans secretly assembled, engaged Atmaram at Goturda, defeated and put him to flight, capturing the imperial ensigns and all his baggage. Not satisfied with this, they retaliated by blockading sheopur, when the discomfited Raja continued his flight to court to relate this fresh instance of Hara audacity. The poor prince of the Gors was received with gibes and jests, and heartily repented of his inhuman inroads upon his neighbours in the day of their disgrace. The tyrant, affecting to be pleased with this instance of Hara courage, sent a firman to Rao Bhao of grace and free pardon, and commanding his presence at court. At first the Rao declined; but having repeated pledges of good intention, he complied and was honoured with the government of Arungabad under prince Moazzim. Here he evinced his independence by shielding Raja Kurrun of Bikaner from a plot against his life. He performed many gallant deeds with his Rajpoot brethren in arms, the brave Boondelas of Orcha and Duttea. He erected many public edifices at Arungabad, where he acquired so much fame by his valour, his charities, and the sanctity* of his manners, that miraculous cures were (said to be) effected by him. He died at Arungabad in S. 1738 (A. D. 1682), and, being without issue, was succeeded by Anurad Sing, the grandson of his brother Bheem.†

Anurad's accession was confirmed by the Emperor, who, in order to testify the esteem in which he held his predecessor, sent his own elephant, *Guj-gowr*, with the *khelat* of investiture. Anurad accompanied Arungzeb in his wars in the Dekhan, and on one occasion performed the important service of rescuing the ladies of the harem out of the enemy's hands. The emperor, in testimony of his gallantry, told him to name his reward; on which he requested he might be allowed to command the vanguard instead of the rear-guard of the army. Subsequently, he was distinguished in the siege and storm of Beejapur.

An unfortunate quarrel with Doorjun Sing, the chief vassal of Boondi, involved the Rao in trouble. Making use of some improper expression, the Rao resentfully replied, "I know what to expect from you;" which determined Doorjun to throw his allegiance to the dogs. He quitted the army, and arriving at his estates, armed his kinsmen, and, by a *coup-de-main*, possessed himself of Boondi. On learning this, the Emperor detached Anurad with a force which expelled the refractory Doorjun, whose estates were sequestered. Previous to his expulsion, Doorjun drew the *teeka* of succession on the forehead of his brother Bulwun. Having settled the affairs of Boondi, the Rao was employed, in conjunction with Raja Bishen Sing of Amber, to settle the northern countries of the empire, governed by Shah Alum, as lieutenant of the king, and whose headquarters were at Lahore, in the execution of which service he died.

Anurad left two sons, Boodh Sing and Jod Sing. Boodh Sing succeeded to the honours and employments of his father. Soon after, Arungzeb, who had fixed his residence at Arungabad, fell ill, and finding his end approach, the nobles and officers of state, in apprehension of the event, requested him to name a successor. The dying

* It is a fact worthy of notice, that the most intrepid of the Rajpoot princely cavaliers are of a very devout frame of mind.

† Bheem Sing, who had the fief of Googore bestowed on him, had a son Kishen Sing, who succeeded him, and was put to death by Arungzeb. Anurad was the son of Kishen.

Emperor replied, that the succession 'was in the hands of God, with whose will and under whose decree he was desirous that his son Buhadoor Shah Alum should succeed; but that he was apprehensive that prince Azim would endeavour by force of arms to seat himself on the throne.* As the king said, so it happened; Azim Shah, being supported in his pretensions by the army of the Dekhan, prepared to dispute the empire with his elder brother, to whom he sent a formal defiance to decide their claims to empire on the plains of Dholpoor. Buhadoor Shah convened all the chieftains who favoured his cause, and explained his position. Amongst them was Rao Boodh, now entering on manhood, and he was at that moment in deep affliction for the untimely loss of his brother, Jod Sing. When the king desired him to repair to Boondi to perform the offices of mourning, and console his relations and kindred, Boodh Sing replied. "It is not to Boondi my duty calls me, but to attend my sovereign in the field—to that of Dholpur, renowned for many battles and consecrated by the memory of the heroes who have fallen in the performance of their duty:" adding "that there his heroic ancestor Chutter-sal fell, whose fame he desired to emulate, and by the blessing of heaven his arms should be crowned with victory to the empire."

Shah Alum advanced from Lahore, and Azim, with his son Bedar Bukt, from the Dekhan; and both armies met on the plains of Jajow, near Dholpur. A more desperate conflict was never recorded in the many bloody pages of the history of India. Had it been a common contest for supremacy, to be decided by the Mooslem supporters of the rivals, it would have ended like similar ones,—a furious onset, terminated by a treacherous desertion. But here were assembled the brave bands of Rajpootana, house opposed to house, and clan against clan. The princes of Duttea and Kotah, who had long served with prince Azim, and were attached to him by favours, forgot the injunctions of Arungzeb, and supported that prince's pretensions against the lawful heir. A powerful friendship united the chiefs of Boondi and Duttea, whose lives exhibited one scene of glorious triumph in all the wars of the Dekhan. In opposing the cause of Shah Alum, Ram Sing of Kotah, was actuated by his ambition to become the head of the Haras, and in anticipation of success had actually been invested with the honours of Boondi. With such stimulant on each side did the rival Haras meet face to face on the plains of Jajow, to decide at the same time the pretensions to empire, and what affected them more, those of their respective heads to superiority. Previous to the battle, Ram Sing sent a perfidious message to Rao Boodh, inviting him to desert the cause he espoused, and come over to Azim; to which he indignantly replied: "That the field which his ancestor had illustrated by his death, was not that whereon he would disgrace his memory by the desertion of his prince."

Boodh Sing was assigned a distinguished post, and by his conduct and courage mainly contributed to the victory which placed Buhadoor Shah without a rival on the throne. The Rajpoots on either side sustained the chief shock of the battle, and the Hara prince of Kotah, and the noble Boondela, Dulput of Duttea, were both killed by cannon-shot, sacrificed to the cause they espoused; while the pretensions of Azim and his son Bedar Bukt, were extinguished with their lives.

* It is useless to repeat that this is a literal translation from the records and journal of the Hara princes, who served the Emperors.

For the signal services rendered on this important day, Boodh Sing was honoured with the title of Rao Raja, and was admitted to the intimate friendship of the Emperor, which he continued to enjoy until his death, when fresh contentions arose, in which the grandsons of Arungzeb all perished. Feroksere succeeded to the empire, under whom the Syeds of Barra held supreme power, and ruined the empire by their exactions and tyranny. When they determined to depose the king, the Hara prince, faithful to his pledge, determined to release him, and in the attempt a bloody conflict ensued in the (*chorok*) square, in which his uncle Jaet Sing, and many of his clansmen, were slain.

The rivalry which commenced between the houses of Kotah and Boondi, on the plains of Jajow, in which Ram Sing was slain, was maintained by his son and successor, Raja Bheem, who supported the party of the Syeds. In the prosecution of his views and revenge, Raja Bheem so far lost sight of the national character of the Rajpoot, as to compass his end by treachery, and beset his foe unawares while exercising his horse in the *Midan*, outside the walls of the capital. His few retainers formed a circle round their chief, and gallantly defended him, though with great loss, until they reached a place of safety. Unable to aid the king, and beset by treachery, Rao Boodh was compelled to seek his own safety in flight.* Feroksere was shortly after murdered, and the empire fell into complete disorder; when the nobles and Rajas, feeling their insecurity under the bloody and rapacious domination of the Syeds, repaired to their several possessions.†

At this period, Raja Jey Sing of Amber thought of dispossessing Boodh Sing of Boondi. Rao Boodh Sing was at this time his guest, having accompanied him from court to Amber. The cause of the quarrel is thus related: The Hara prince was married to a sister of Jey Sing; she had been betrothed to the Emperor Bahadoor Shah, who, as one of the marks of his favour for the victory of Dholpur, resigned his pretensions to the fair in favour of Rao Boodh. Unfortunately, she bore him no issue, and viewed with jealousy his two infant sons by another Rani, the daughter of Kala Megh of Beygoo, one of the sixteen chiefs of Mewar. During her lord's absence, she feigned pregnancy, and having procured an infant, presented it as his lawful child. Rao Boodh was made acquainted with the equivocal conduct of his queen, to the danger of his proper off-spring, and took an opportunity to reveal her conduct to her brother. The lady, who was present, was instantly interrogated by her brother; but exasperated either at the suspicion of her honour, or the discovery of her fraud, she snatched her brother's dagger from his girdle, and rating him as "the son of a tailor,"‡ would have slain him on the spot, had he not fled from her fury.

* *Vide* Vol. I. in which the Boondi Annals are corroborated by the Annals of Mewar, and by an autograph letter of Raja Jey Sing of Amber, dated the 19th Falgoon, S. 1775 (A. D. 1719).

† These subjects being already discussed in Vol. I. would have had no place here, were it not necessary to show how accurately the Boondi princes recorded events, and to rescue them from the charge of having no historical documents.

‡ This lady was sister to Chumunji, elder brother to Jey Sing, and heir-apparent to the *gadi* of Amber, who was put to death by Jey Sing. To this murder the Rahtore bard alludes in the couplet given in their annals. "*Chumunji*" is the title of the heirs-apparent of Amber, I

To revenge the insult thus put upon him, the Raja of Amber determined to expel Rao Boodh from Boondi, and offered the *gadi* to the chief of its feudatories, the lord of Indurgurh; but Deo Sing had the virtue to refuse the offer. He then had recourse to the chieftain of Kurwur, who could not resist the temptation. This chief, Salim Sing, was guilty of a double breach of trust; for he held the confidential office of governor of Tarragurh, the citadel commanding both the city and palace.

This family dispute was, however, merely the underplot of a deeply cherished political scheme of the prince of Amber, for the maintenance of his supremacy over the minor Rajas, to which his office of viceroy of Malwa, Ajmere, and Agra, gave full scope, and he skilfully availed himself of the results of the civil wars of the Moguls. In the issue of Ferozkere's dethronement he saw the fruition of his schemes, and after a show of defending him, retired to his dominions to prosecute his views.

Amber was yet circumscribed in territory, and the consequence of its princes arose out of their position as satraps of the empire. He therefore determined to seize upon all the districts on his frontiers within his grasp, and moreover to compel the services of the chieftains who served under his banner as lieutenants of the king.

At this period, there were many allodial chieftains within the bounds of Amber; as the Puchwana Chohans about Lalsont, Goorah, Neemrana, who owed neither service nor tribute to Jeypur, but led their quotas as distinct dignitaries of the empire under the flag of Amber. Even their own stock, the confederated Shekhawnts, deemed themselves under no such obligation. The Birgoojurs of Rajore, the Jadoons of Biana, and many others, the vassalage of older days, were in the same predicament. These, being in the decline of the empire unable to protect themselves, the more readily agreed to hold their ancient allodial estates as fiefs of Amber, and to serve with the stipulated quota. But when Jey Sing's views led him to hope he could in like manner bring the Haras to acknowledge his supremacy, he evinced both ignorance and presumption. He therefore determined to dethrone Boodh Sing, and to make a Raja of his own choice, hold of him in chief.

The Hara, was then reposing on the rites of hospitality and family ties at Amber, gave Jey Sing a good opportunity to develop his views, which were first manifested to the Boondi prince by an obscure offer that he would make Amber his abode, and accept five hundred rupees daily for his train. His uncle, the brother of Jaet, who devoted himself to save his master at Agra, penetrated the infamous intentions of Jey Sing. He wrote to Boondi, and commanded that the Beygoo Rani should depart with her children to her father's; and having given time for this, he by stealth formed his clansmen outside the walls of Amber, and having warned his prince of his danger, they quitted the treacherous abode. Raja Boodh, at the head of three hundred Haras, feared nothing. He made direct for his capital, but they were overtaken at Pancholas, on the mutual frontier, by the select army under the five principal chieftains of Amber. The little band was enclosed, when a desperate encounter ensued. Rajpoot to Rajpoot. Every one of the five leaders of Amber was slain, with a multitude of their vassals; and

know not whether Chumunji, which is merely a term of endearment, may not be Beej Sing, whose captivity we have related.

the cenotaphs of the lords of Eesurda, Sirwar, and Bhowar, still afford evidence of Hara revenge. The uncle of Boondi was slain, and the valiant band was so thinned, that it was deemed unwise to go to Boondi, and by the intricacies of the Plateau they reached Beygoo in safety. This dear-bought success enabled Jey Sing to execute his plan, and Duleel Sing of Kurwur, espoused the daughter of Amber, and was invested with the title of Rao Raja of Boondi.

Taking advantage of the distress of the elder branch of his house Raja Bheem of Kotah, now strictly allied with Ajit of Marwar and the Syeds, prosecuted the old feud for superiority, making the Chumbul the boundary, and seizing upon all the fiscal lands of Boondi east of this stream (excepting the Kotris), which he attached to Kotah.

Thus beset by enemies on all sides, Boodh Sing, after many fruitless attempts to recover his patrimony, in which much Hara blood was uselessly shed, died in exile at Beygoo, leaving two sons, Omeda Sing and Deep Sing.

The sons of Rao Boodh were soon driven even from the shelter of the maternal abode; for, at the instigation of their enemy of Amber, the Rana, sequestered Beygoo. Pursued by this unmanly vengeance, the brave youths collected a small band, and took refuge in the wilds of Puchail, whence they addressed Doorjun Sal, who had succeeded Raja Bheem at Kotah. This prince had a heart to commiserate their misfortunes, and the magnanimity not only to relieve them, but to aid them, in the recovery of their patrimony.

CHAPTER IV.

OMEDA was but thirteen years of age on the death of his house's foe, the Raja of Amber, in S. 1800 (A. D. 1743). As soon as the event was known to him, putting himself at the head of his clansmen, he attacked and carried Patun and Gainolli. "When it was heard that the son of Boodh Sing was awake, the ancient Haras flocked to his standard," and Doorjun Sal of Kotah, rejoicing to see the real Hara blood thus displayed, nobly sent his aid.

Esuri Sing, who was now lord of Amber, pursuing his father's policy, determined that Kotah should bend to his supremacy as well as the elder branch of Boondi. The defiance of his power avowed in the support of young Omeda brought his views into action, and Kotah was invested. But the result does not belong to this part of our history. On the retreat from Kotah, Esuri sent a body of Nanukpuntis to attack Omeda in his retreat at Bood (old) Lohari, amongst the Meenas, the aboriginal lords of these mountain-wilds, who had often served the cause of the Haras, notwithstanding they had deprived them of their birth-right. The youthful valour and distress of young Omeda so gained their hearts, that five thousand bowmen assembled and desired to be led against his enemies. With these auxiliaries, he anticipated his foes at Beechorie, and while the nimble mountaineers plundered the camp, Omeda charged the Jeypur army sword in hand, and slaughtered them without mercy, taking their kettle-drums and standards. On the news of this defeat, another army of eighteen thousand men, under Narayn-das Khetri, was sent against Omeda. But the affair of Beechorie confirmed the

dispositions of the Haras; from all quarters they flocked to the standard of the young prince, who determined to risk every thing in a general engagement. The foe had reached Duhlana. On the eve of attack, young Omeda went to propitiate "the lady of Sitoon," the tutelary divinity of his race; and as he knelt before the altar of *Asapurna* (the fulfiller of hope), his eyes falling upon the turrets of Boondi, then held by a traitor, he swore to conquer or die.

Inspired with like sentiments, his brave clansmen formed around the orange flag, the gift of Jehangir to Rao Ruttun; and as they cleared the pass leading to Duhlana, the foe was discovered marshalled to receive them. In one of those compact masses, termed *gole*, with serried lances advanced, Omeda led his Haras to the charge. Its physical and moral impression was irresistible; and a vista was cut through the dense host opposed to them. Again they formed; and again in spite of the showers of cannon-shot, the sword renewed its blows; but every charge was fatal to the bravest of Omeda's men. In the first onset fell his maternal uncle, Prithwi Sing, Solanki, with the Maharaja Murjad Sing of Moira, a valiant Hara, who fell just as he launched his *chakra* (discus) at the head of the Khetri commander of Amber. Prag Sing, chief of Sorun, a branch of the Thana fief, was also slain, with many of inferior note. The steed of Omeda was struck by a cannon-ball, and the intestines protruded from the wound. The intrepidity of the youthful hero, nobly seconded by his kin and clan, was unavailing; and the chieftains, fearing he would throw away all the preservation of which they all desired, entreated he would abandon the contest; observing "that if he survived, Boondi must be theirs; but if he was slain, there was an end of all their hopes."

With grief he submitted; and as they gained the Sowalli Pass, which leads to Indurgurh, he dismounted to breathe his faithful steed; and as he loosened the girths, it expired. Omeda sat down and wept. Hunja was worthy of such a mark of his esteem; he was a steed of Irak, the gift of the king to his father, whom he had borne in many an encounter. Nor was this natural ebullition of the young Hara a transient feeling; Hunja's memory was held in veneration, and the first act of Omeda, when he recovered his throne, was to erect a statue to the steed who bore him so nobly on the day of Duhlana. It stands in the square (*chowk*) of the city, and receives the reverence of each Hara, who links his history with one of the brightest of their achievements, though obscured by momentary defeat *

Omeda gained Indurgurh, which was close at hand, on foot; but this traitor to the name of Hara, who had acknowledged the supremacy of Amber, not only refused his prince a horse in his adversity, but warned him off the domain, asking "if he meant to be the ruin of Indurgurh as well as Boondi?" Disdaining to drink water within its bounds, the young prince, stung by this perfidious mark of inhospitality, took the direction of Kurwain. Its chief made amends for the other's churlishness; he advanced to meet him, offered such aid as he had to give, and presented him with a horse. Dismissing his faithful kinsmen to their homes, and begging their swords when fortune might be kinder, he regained his old retreat, the ruined palace of Rampura, amongst the ravines of the Chumbul.

* I have made my *saham* to the representative of Hunja, and should have graced his neck with a chaplet on every military festival, had I dwelt among the Haras.

Doorjun-Sal of Kotah, who had so bravely defended his capital against the pretensions to supremacy of Esuri Sing and his auxiliary, Appa Sindia, felt more interest than ever in the cause of Omeda. The Kotah prince's councils were governed and his armies led by a *Bhat* (bard), who, it may be inferred, was professionally inspired by the heroism of the young Hara to led his sword as well as his muse towards reinstating him in the halls of his fathers. Accordingly, all the strength of Kotah, led by the Bhat, was added to the kinsmen and friends of Omeda; and an attempt on Boondi was resolved. The city, whose walls were in a state of dilapidation from this continual warfare, was taken without difficulty; and the assault of the citadel of Tarragurh had commenced, when the heroic Bhat received a fatal shot from a treacherous hand in his own party. His death was concealed, and a cloth thrown over his body. The assailants pressed on; the usurper, alarmed, took to flight; the 'lion's hope,'* was fulfilled, and Omeda was seated on the throne of his fathers.

Duleel fled to his suzerain at Amber, whose disposable forces, under the famous Khetri Kesoodas, were immediately put in motion to re-expel the Hara. Boondi was invested, and having had no time given to prepare for defence, Omeda was compelled to abandon the walls so nobly won, and "the flag of Dhoondar waved over the khangras (battlements) of Dewa-Bango." And let the redeeming virtue of the usurper be recorded; who, when his suzerain of Amber desired to reinstate him on the *gadi*, refused to "bring a second time the stain of treason on his head, by which he had been disgraced in the opinion of mankind."

Omeda, once more a wanderer, alternately courting the aid of Mewar and Marwar, never suspended his hostility to the usurper of his rights, but carried his incursions, without intermission, into his paternal domains. One of these led him to the village of Binodia; hither the Cuchwaha Rani, the widowed queen of his father, and the cause of all their miseries, had retired, disgusted with herself and the world, and lamenting, when too late, the ruin she had brought upon her husband, herself, and the family she had entered. Omeda paid her a visit, and the interview added fresh pangs to her self-reproach. His sufferings, his heroism, brightened by adversity, originating with her nefarious desire to stifle his claims of primogeniture by a spurious adoption, awakened sentiments of remorse, of sympathy, and sorrow. Determined to make some amends, she adopted the resolution of going to the Dekhan, to solicit aid for the son of Boodh Sing. When she arrived on the banks of the Nerbudda a pillar was pointed out to her on which was inscribed a prohibition to any of her race to cross this stream, which like the Indus was also styled *atoc* or 'forbidden.' Like a true Rajpootni, she broke the tablet in pieces, and threw it into the stream, observing with a jesuitical casuistry, that there was no longer any impediment, when no ordinance existed. Having passed the Rubicon, she proceeded forthwith to the camp of Mulhar Rao Holcar. The sister of Jey Sing, the most potent Hindu prince of India, became a suppliant to this *goat-herd* leader of a horde of plunderers, nay, adopted him as her brother to effect the redemption of Boondi for the exiled Omeda.

Mulhar, without the accident of noble birth, possessed the sentiments which belong to it, and he promised' all she asked. How far his compliance might be promoted by another call for his lance from the Rana

Omeda, 'hope;' Singh, 'a lion.'

of Mewar, in virtue of the marriage-settlement which promised the succession of Amber to a princess of his house, the Boondi records do not tell: they refer only to the prospects of its own prince. But we may, without any reflection on the gallantry of Holcar, express a doubt how far he would have lent the aid of his horde to this sole object, had he not in view the splendid bribe of sixty-four lakhs from the Rana, to be paid when Esuri Sing should be removed, for his nephew Madhu Sing.*

Be this as it may, the Boondi chronicle states that the lady, instead of the temporary expedient of delivering Boondi, conducted the march of the Mahrattas direct on Jeypur. Circumstances favoured her designs. The character of Esuri Sing had raised up enemies about his person, who seized the occasion to forward at once the views of Boondi and Mewar, whose princes had secretly gained them over to their views.

The Amber prince no sooner heard of the approach of the Mahrattas to his capital than he quitted it to offer them battle. But their strength had been misrepresented, nor was it till he reached the castle of Bhagroo that he was undeceived and surrounded. When too late, he saw that "treason had done it worst," and that the confidence he had placed in the successor of a minister whom he had murdered, met its natural reward. The bard has transmitted in a *sloca* the cause of his overthrow:

"*Jub i, churi Eswara*

"*Raj carna ca us*

"*Mantri maota maria*

"*Khetri Kesoo-das.*

"Esuri forfeited all hopes of regality, when he slew that great minister Kesoo-das."

The sons of this minister, named Hursae and Gursae, betrayed their prince to the "Southron," by a false return of their numbers, and led him to the attack with means totally inadequate. Resistance to a vast numerical superiority would have been madness: he retreated to the castle of this fief of Amber, where, after a siege of ten days, he was forced not only to sign a deed for the surrender of Boondi, and the renunciation of all claims to it for himself and his descendants, but to put, in full acknowledgment of his rights, the *tika* on the forehead of Omeda. With this deed, and accompanied by the contingent of Kotah, they proceeded to Boondi; the traitor was expelled; and while rejoicings were making to celebrate the installation of Omeda, the funeral pyre was lighted at Amber, to consume the mortal remains of his foe. Raja Esuri could not survive his disgrace, and terminated his existence and hostility by poison, thereby facilitating the designs both of Boondi and Mewar.

Thus in S. 1805 (A.D. 1749) Omeda regained his patrimony, after fourteen years of exile, during which a traitor had pressed the royal "cushion" of Boondi. But this contest deprived it of many of its ornaments, and, combined with other causes, at length reduced it almost to its intrinsic worth, "a heap of cotton." Mulhar Rao, the founder of the Holcar state, in virtue of his adoption as the brother of the widow-queen of Boondi Sing, had the title of *mamoo*, or uncle, to young Omeda. But true to the maxims of his race, he did not take his buckler to protect the oppressed, at the impulse of those chivalrous notions so familiar to the Rajpoot, but deemed a portion of the Boondi territory a better incentive, and a more unequivocal proof of gratitude, than the titles of brother

* See *Annals of Mewar*.

and uncle. Accordingly, he demanded, and obtained by regular deed of surrender, the town and district of Patun on the left bank of the Chumbul.*

The sole equivalent (if such it could be termed) for these fourteen years of usurpation, were the fortifications covering the palace and town, now called *Tarragurh* (the 'Star-fort'), built by Duleel Sing. Madhu Sing, who succeeded to the *gadi* of Jeypur, followed up the designs commenced by Jey Sing, and which had cost his successor his life, to render the smaller states of Central India dependant on Amber. For this Kotah had been besieged, and Omeda expelled, and as such policy could not be effected by their unassisted means, it only tended to the benefit of the auxiliaries, who soon became principals, to the prejudice and detriment of all. Madhu Sing, having obtained the castle of Rinthumbor, a pretext was afforded for these pretensions to supremacy. From the time of its surrender by Rao Soorjun to Akber, the importance of this castle was established by its becoming the first *sircar*, or 'department,' in the province of Ajmere, consisting of no less than "eighty-three mohals," or extensive fiefs, in which were comprehended not only Boondi and Kotah, and all their dependencies, but the entire state of Seopur, and all the petty fiefs south of the Bangunga, the aggregate of which now constitutes the state of Amber. In fact, with the exception of Mahmoodabad in Bengal, Rinthumbor was the most extensive *sircar* of the empire. In the decrepitude of the empire, this castle was maintained by a veteran commander as long as funds and provisions lasted; but these failing, in order to secure it from falling into the hands of the Mahrattas, and thus being lost for ever to the throne, he sought out a Rajpoot prince, to whom he might entrust it. He applied to Boondi; but the Hara, dreading to compromise his fealty if unable to maintain it refused the boon; and having no alternative, he resigned it to the prince of Amber as a trust which he could no longer defend.

Out of this circumstance alone originated the claims of Jeypoor to tribute from the Kotris, or fiefs in Harouti; claims without a shadow of justice; but the maintenance of which for the sake of the display of supremacy and paltry annual relief, has nourished half a century of irritation, which it is high time should cease.†

* As in those days when Mahratta spoliation commenced, a joint-stock purse was made for all such acquisitions, so Patun was divided into shares, of which the Peshwa had one, and Sindia another; but the Peshwa's share remained nominal, and the revenue was carried to account by Holcar for the services of the Poona state. In the general pacification of A. D. 1817, this long lost and much cherished district was once more incorporated with Boondi, to the unspeakable gratitude and joy of its prince and people. In effecting this for the grandson of Omeda, the author secured for himself a gratification scarcely less than his.

† The universal arbitrator, Zalim Sing of Kotah, having undertaken to satisfy them, and save them from the annual visitations of the Jeypur troops, withdrew the proper allegiance of Indurgurh, Bulwun, and Anterdeh to himself. The British government, in ignorance of these historical facts, and not desirous to disturb the existing state of things, were averse to hear the Boondi claims for the restoration of her proper authority over these her chief vassals. With all his gratitude for the restoration of his political existence, the brave and good Bisien Sing could not suppress a

It was the assertion of this supremacy over Kotah as well as Boondi, which first brought into notice the most celebrated Rajpoot of modern times, Zalim Sing of Kotah. Rao Doorjun Sal, who then ruled that state, had too much of the Hara blood to endure such pretensions as the casual possession of Rinthumbor conferred upon his brother prince of Amber, who considered that, as the late lieutenant of the king, he had a right to transfer his powers to himself. The battle of Butwarro, in S. 1817 (A.D. 1761), for ever extinguished these pretensions, on which occasion Zalim Sing, then scarcely of age, mainly contributed to secure the independence of the state he was ultimately destined to govern. But this exploit belongs to the annals of Kotah, and would not have been here alluded to, except to remark, that had the Boondiarms joined Kotah in this common cause, they would have redeemed its fields from the tribute they are still compelled to pay to Jeypur.

Omeda's active mind was engrossed with the restoration of the prosperity which the unexampled vicissitudes of the last fifteen years had undermined; but he felt his spirit cramped, and his energies contracted, by the dominant influence and avarice of the insatiable Mahrattas, through whose means he recovered his capital; still there was as yet no fixed principle of government recognized, and the Rajpoots, who witnessed their periodical visitations like flights of locusts over their plains, hoped that this scourge would be equally transitory. Under this great and pernicious error, all the Rajpoot states continued to mix these interlopers in their national disputes, which none had more cause to repent than the Haras of Boondi. But the hold which the Mahrattas retained upon the lands of "Dewa Bango" would never have acquired such tenacity, had the bold arm and sage mind of Omeda continued to guide the vessel of the state throughout the lengthened period of his natural existence: his premature political decease adds another example to the truth, that patriarchal, and indeed all governments, are imperfect where the laws are not supreme.

An act of revenge stained the reputation of Omeda, naturally virtuous, and but for which deed we should have to paint him as one of the bravest, wisest, and most faultless characters which Rajpoot history has recorded. Eight years had elapsed since the recovery of his domions, and we have a right to infer that his wrongs and their authors had been forgotten, or rather forgiven, for human nature can scarcely forget so treacherous an act as that of his vassal of Indurgurh, on the defeat of Dublinna. As so long a time had passed since the restoration without the penalty of his treason being exacted, it might have been concluded that the natural generosity of this high-minded prince had co-operated with a wise policy, in passing over the wrong without foregoing his right to avenge it. The degenerate Rajpoot, who could at such a moment witness the necessities of his prince and refuse to relieve them, could never reflect on that hour without self-abhorrence; but his spirit was too base to offer

sigh when the author said that Lord Hastings refused to go into the question of the *Kotris*, who had thus transferred their allegiance to Zalim Sing of Kotah. In their usual metaphorical style, he said, with great emphasis and sorrow, "My wings remain broken." It would be a matter of no difficulty to negotiate the claims of Jeypur, and cause the regent of Kotah to forego his interposition, which would be attended with no loss of any kind to him, but would afford unspeakable benefit and pride to Boondi, which has well deserved the boon at our hands.

reparation by a future life of duty; he cursed the magnanimity of the man he had injured; hated him for his very forbearance, and aggravated the part he had acted by fresh injuries, and on a point too delicate to admit of being overlooked. Omeda had "sent the co-coanut," the symbol of matrimonial alliance, to Madhu Sing, in the name of his sister. It was received in a full assembly of all the nobles of the court, and with the respect due to one of the most illustrious races of Rajpootana. Deo Sing of Indurgurh was at that time on a visit at Jeypur, and the compliment was paid him by the Raja of asking "what fame said of the daughter of Boodh Sing?" It is not impossible that he might have sought this opportunity of further betraying his prince; for his reply was an insulting inuendo, leading to doubts as to the purity of her blood. That it was grossly false, was soon proved by the solicitation of her hand by Raja Beejy Sing of Marwar. "The co-coanut was returned to Boondi,"—an insult never to be forgiven by a Rajpoot.

In S. 1813 (A. D. 1755), Omeda went to pay his devotions at the shrine of Beejaseni Mata ('the mother victory'), near Kurwur. Being in the vicinity of Indurgurh, he invited its chief to join the assembled vassals with their families; and though dissuaded, Deo Sing obeyed, accompanied by his son and grandson. All were cut off at one fell swoop, and the line of the traitor was extinct: as if the air of heaven should not be contaminated by the smoke of their ashes, Omeda commanded that the body of the calumnious traitor and his issue should be thrown into the lake. His fief Indurgurh was given to his brother, between whom and the present incumbent four generations have passed away.

Fifteen years elapsed, during which the continual scenes of disorder around him furnished ample occupation for his thoughts. Yet in the midst of all, would intrude the remembrance of this single act, in which he had usurped the powers of Him, to whom alone it belongs to execute vengeance. Though no voice was lifted up against the deed, though he had a moral conviction that a traitor's death was the due of Deo Sing, his soul, generous as it was brave, revolted at the crime, however sanctified by custom,* which confounds the innocent with the guilty. To appease his conscience, he determined to abdicate the throne, and pass the rest of his days in penitential rites, and traversing, in the pilgrim's garb, the vast regions of India, to visit the sacred shrines of his faith.

In S. 1827, the imposing ceremony of "Joograj," which terminated the political existence of Omeda, was performed. An image of the prince was made, and a pyre was erected, on which it was consumed. The hair and whiskers of Ajit, his successor, were taken off, and offered to the *manes*; lamentation and wailing were heard in the *rinwas*,† and the twelve days of *matum*, or 'mourning,' were passed as if Omeda had really deceased; on the expiration of which, the installation of his successor took place, when Ajit Sing was proclaimed prince of the Haras of Boondi.

The abdicated Omeda, with the title of *Sriji* (by which alone he was henceforth known), retired to that holy spot in the valley sanctified by the

* The laws of revenge are dreadfully absolute: had the sons of Deo Sing survived, the feud upon their liege lord would have been entailed with their estate. It is a nice point for a subject to balance between fidelity to his prince, and a father's feud, *baup ca ber*.

† The queen's apartments.

miraculous cure of the first "lord of the Pathar," and which was named after one of the fountains of the Ganges, Kedarnath. To this spot, hallowed by a multitude of associations, the warlike pilgrim brought

"The fruit and flowers of many a province,"

and had the gratification to find these exotics, whether the hardy offspring of snow-clad Himalaya, or the verge of ocean in the tropic, fructify and flourish amidst the rocks of his native abode. It is curious even to him who is ignorant of the moral vicissitudes which produced it, to see the pine of Thibet, the cane of Malacca, and other exotics, planted by the hand of the princely ascetic, flourishing around his hermitage, in spite of the intense heats of this rock-bound abode.

When Omeda resigned the sceptre of the Haras, it was from the conviction that a life of meditation alone could yield the consolation, and obtain the givenness which he found necessary to his repose. But in assuming the pilgrim's staff, he did not lay aside any feeling becoming his rank or his birth. There was no pusillanimous prostration of intellect : no pulling weakness of bigoted sentiment, but the same lofty mind which redeemed his birth-right, accompanied him wherever he bent his steps to seek knowledge in the society of devout and holy men. He had read in the annals of his own and of other states, that "the trappings of royalty were snares to perdition, and that happy was the man who in time threw them aside and made his peace with heaven." But in obeying, at once, the dictates of conscience and of custom, he felt his mind too much alive to the wonders of creation, to bury himself in the fane of Kanya, or the sacred baths on the Ganges ; and he determined to see all those holy places commemorated in the ancient epics of his nation, and the never-ending theme of the wandering devotee. In this determination he was, perhaps, somewhat influenced by that love of adventure in which he had been nurtured, and it was a balm to his mind when he found that arms and religion were not only compatible, but that his pious resolution to force a way through the difficulties which beset the pilgrim's path, enhanced the merit of his devotion. Accordingly, the royal ascetic went forth on his pilgrimage, not habited in the hermit's garb, but armed at all points. Even in this there was penance, not ostentation, and he carried or buckled on his person one of every species of offensive or defensive weapons then in use ; a load which would oppress any two Rajpoots in these degenerate times. He wore a quilted tunic, which would resist a sabre-cut ; besides a matchlock, a lance, a sword, a dagger, and their appurtenances of knives, pouches, and priming-horn, he had a battle-axe, a javelin, a tomahawk, a discus, bow and quiver of arrows ; and it is affirmed that such was his muscular power, even when three score and ten years had blanched his beard in wandering to and fro thus accoutred, that he could place the whole of this panoply within his shield, and with one arm not only raise it, but hold it for some seconds extended.

With a small escort of his gallant clansmen, during a long series of years he traversed every region, from the glacial fountains of the Ganges to the southern promontory of Ramaiser ; and from the hot-wells of Seeta in Arracan, and the Moloch of Orissa, to the shrine of the Hindu Apollo at "the world's end." Within these limits of Hinduism, Omeda saw every place of holy resort, of curiosity, or of learning ; and whenever he revisited his paternal domains, his return was greeted not only by his own tribe, but by every prince and Rajpoot of Rajwarra, who deemed his abode hallowed if the princely pilgrim halted there on his route. He was regarded as an oracle, while the treasures of knowledge which his ob-

ervation had accumulated, caused his conversation to be courted and every word to be recorded. The admiration paid to him while living cannot be better ascertained than by the reverence manifested by every Hara to his memory. To them his word was a law, and every relic of him continues to be held in veneration. Almost his last journey was to the extremity of his nation, the temples at the Delta of the Indus, and the shrine of the Hindu Cybele, the terrific Agni-devi of Hinglaj, on the shores of Mekran, even beyond the Rubicon of the Hindus. As he returned by Dwarica, he was beset by a band of Kabas, a plundering race infesting these regions. But the veteran, uniting the arm of flesh to that of faith, valiantly defended himself, and gained a complete victory, making prisoner their leader, who, as the price of his ransom, took an oath never again to molest the pilgrims to Dwarica.

The warlike pilgrimage of Omeda had been interrupted by a tragical occurrence, which occasioned the death of his son, and compelled him to abide for a time at the seat of government to superintend the education of his grand-child. This eventful catastrophe, interwoven in the border history of Mewar and Harouti, is well worthy of narration, as illustrative of manners and belief, and fulfilled a prophecy pronounced centuries before by the dying *Sati* of Bumooda, that "the Rao and the Rana should never meet at the *Ahaira* (or spring hunt) without death ensuing." What we are about to relate was the fourth repetition of this sport with the like fatal result.

The hamlet of Bilaita, which produced but a few good mangoes, and for its population a few Meenas, was the ostensible cause of dispute. The chief of Boondi, either deeming it within his territory, or desiring to consider it so, threw up a fortification, in which he placed a garrison to overawe the free-booters, who were instigated by the discontented chiefs of Mewar to represent this as an infringement of their prince's rights. Accordingly, the Rana marched with all his chieftains, and a mercenary band of Sindies, to the disputed point, whence he invited the Boondi prince, Ajit, to his camp. He came, and the Rana was so pleased with his manners and conduct, that Bilaita and its mango grove were totally forgotten. Spring was at hand; the joyous month of Phalgun, when it was necessary to open the year with a sacrifice of the boar to Gouri. The young Hara, in return for the courtesies of the Rana, invited him to open the *Ahaira*, within the *rumnas* or preserves of Boondi. The invitation was accepted; the prince of the Seesodias, according to usage, distributed the green turbans and scarfs, and on the appointed day, with a brilliant cavalcade, repaired to the heights of Nandta.

The abdicated Rao, who had lately returned from Budrinath, no sooner heard of the projected hunt, than he despatched a special messenger to remind his son of the anathema of the *Sati*. The impetuous Ajit replied that it was impossible to recall his invitation on such pusillanimous grounds. The morning came, and the Rana, filled with sentiments of friendship for the young Rao, rode with him to the field. But the preceding evening, the minister of Mewar had waited on the Rao, and in language the most insulting told him to surrender Bilaita, or he would send a body of Sindies to place him in restraint, and he was vile enough to insinuate that he was merely the organ of his prince's commands. This rankled in the mind of the Rao throughout the day; and when the sport was over, and he had the Rana's leave to depart, a sudden idea passed across his mind of the intended degradation, and an incipient resolution to anticipate this disgrace induced him to return. The Rana,

unconscious of any offence, received his young friend with a smile, repeated his permission to retire, and observed that they should soon meet again. Irresolute, and overcome by this affable behaviour, his half-formed intent was abandoned, and again he bowed and withdrew. But scarcely had he gone a few paces, when, as if ashamed of himself, he summoned up the powers of revenge, and rushed, spear in hand, upon his victim. With such unerring force did he play it, that the head of the lance, after passing through the Rana, was transfixed in the neck of his steed. The wounded prince had merely time to exclaim, as he regarded the assassin on whom he had lavished his friendship, "Oh, Hara! what have you done?" when the Indurgurh chief finished the treachery with his sword. The Hara Rao, as if glorying in the act, carried off the *shuthur-changi*, 'the golden sun in the sable disk,' the regal insignia of Mewar, which he lodged in the palace of Boondi. The abdicated Omeda, whose gratified revenge had led to a life of repentance, was horror-struck at this fresh atrocity in his house: he cried "shame on the deed!" nor would he henceforth look on the face of his son.

A highly dramatic effect is thrown around the last worldly honours paid to the murdered king of Mewar; and although his fate has been elsewhere described, it may be proper to record it from the chronicle of his foe-man.

The Rana and the Boondi prince had married two sisters, daughters of the prince of Kishengurgh, so that there were ties of connection to induce the Rana to reject all suspicion of danger, though he had been warned by his wife to beware of his brother-in-law. The ancient feud had been balanced in the mutual death of the last two princes, and no motive for enmity existed. On the day previous to this disastrous event, the Mewar minister had given a feast, of which the princes and their nobles had partaken, when all was harmony and friendship; but the sequel to the deed strongly corroborates the opinion that it was instigated by the nobles of Mewar, in hatred of their tyrannical prince; and other hints were not wanting in addition to the indignant threats of the minister to kindle the feeling of revenge. At the moment the blow was struck, a simple mace-bearer alone had the fidelity to defend his master; not a chief was at hand either to intercept the stroke, or pursue the assassin; on the contrary, no sooner was the deed consummated, than the whole chivalry of Mewar, as if panic-struck and attacked by a host, took to flight, abandoning their camp and the dead body of their master.

A single concubine remained to perform the last rites to her lord. She commanded a costly pyre to be raised, and prepared to become his companion to a world unknown. With the murdered corpse in her arms, she reared her form from the pile, and as the torch was applied, she pronounced a curse on his murderer, invoking the tree under whose shade it was raised to attest the prophecy, "that, if a selfish treachery alone prompted the deed, within two months the assassin might be an example to mankind; but if it sprung from a noble revenge of any ancient feud, she absolved him from the curse: a branch of the tree fell in token of assent, and the ashes of the Rana and the *Sati* whitened the plain of Bilaita."

Within the two months, the prophetic anathema was fulfilled; the Rao of the Haras was a corpse, exhibiting an awful example of divine vengeance: "the flesh dropped from his bones, and he expired, an object

of loathing and of misery." Hitherto these feuds had been balanced by the *lex talionis*, or its substitutes, but this last remains unappeased, strengthening the belief that it was prompted from Mewar.

Bishen Sing, the sole offspring of Ajit, and who succeeded to the *gadi*, was then an infant, and it became a matter of necessity that Sri-ji should watch his interests. Having arranged the affairs of the infant Rao, and placed an intelligent *Dhabha* (foster-brother) at the head of the government, he recommenced his peregrinations, being often absent four years at a time, until within a few years of his death, when the feebleness of age confined him to his hermitage of Kedarnath.

It affords an additional instance of Rajpoot instability of character, or rather of the imperfection of their government, that, in his old age, when a life of austerity had confirmed a renunciation which reflection had prompted, the venerable warrior became an object of distrust to his grandchild. Miscreants, who dreaded to see wisdom near the throne, had the audacity to add insult to a prohibition of Sri-ji's return to Boondi, commanding him "to eat sweetmeats and tell his beads at Benares." The messenger, who found him advanced as far as Nya-sheher, delivered the mandate, adding that his ashes should not mingle with his fathers. But such was the estimation in which he was held, and the sanctity he had acquired from these pilgrimages, that the sentence was no sooner known than the neighbouring princes became suitors for his society. The heroism of his youth, the dignified piety of his age, inspired the kindred mind of Pratap Sing of Amber with very different feelings from those of his own tribe. He addressed Sri-ji as a son and a servant, requesting permission to '*dursun-kur*' (worship him), and convey him to his capital. Such was the courtesy of the flower of the Cuchwahs! Sri-ji declined this mark of homage, but accepted the invitation. He was received with honour, and so strongly did the gallant and virtuous Pratap feel the indignity put upon the abdicated prince, that he told him, if "any remnant of worldly association yet lurked within him," he would in person, at the head of all the troops of Amber, place him on the throne both of Boondi and Kotah. Sri-ji's reply was consistent with his magnanimity: "They are both mine already,—the one is my nephew, on the other my grandchild." On this occasion, Zalim Sing of Kotah appeared on the scene as mediator; he repaired to Boondi, and exposed the futility of Bishen Sing's apprehensions; and armed with full powers of reconciliation, sent Lalaji Pundit to escort the old Rao to his capital. The meeting was such as might have been expected, between a precipitate youth tutored by artful knaves, and the venerable chief who had renounced every mundane feeling but affection for his offspring. It drew tears from all eyes: "My child," said the pilgrim-warrior, presenting his sword, "take this; apply it yourself if you think I can have any bad intentions towards you; but let not the base defame me." The young Rao wept aloud as he entreated forgiveness; and the Pundit and Zalim Sing had the satisfaction of seeing the intentions of the sycophants, who surrounded the minor prince, defeated. Sri-ji refused, however, to enter the halls of Boondi, during the remainder of his life, which ended about eight years after this event, when his grandchild entreated "he would close his eyes within the walls of his fathers." A remnant of that feeling inseparable from humanity made the dying Omeda offer no objection, and he was removed in a *sookhpal* (litter) to the palace, where he that night breathed his last. Thus, in S. 1860 (A.D. 1804), Omeda Sing closed a varied and chequered life:

the sun of his morning rose amidst clouds of adversity, soon to burst forth in a radiant prosperity; but scarcely had it attained its meridian glory ere crime dimmed its splendour, and it descended in solitude and sorrow.

Sixty years had passed over his head, since Omeda, when only thirteen years of age, put himself at the head of his Haras, and carried Patun and Gainolli. His memory is venerated in Harouti, and but for the stain which the gratification of his revenge has left upon his fame, he would have been the model of a Rajpoot prince. But let us not apply the European standard of abstract virtue to these princes, who have so few checks and so many incentives to crime, and whose good acts deserve the more applause from an appalling *honhar* (predestination) counteracting moral responsibility.

The period of Sri-ji's death was an important era in the history of the Haras. It was at this time that a British army, under the unfortunate Monson, for the first time appeared in these regions avowedly for the purpose of putting down Holcar, the great foe of the Rajpoots, but especially of Boondi. Whether the aged chief was yet alive and counselled this policy, which has since been gratefully repaid by Britain, we are not aware; but whatever has been done for Boondi, has fallen short of the chivalrous deserts of its prince. It was not on the advance of our army, when its ensigns were waving in anticipation of success, but on its humiliating flight, that a safe passage was not only cheerfully granted, but aided to the utmost of the Rajah's means, and with an almost culpable disregard of his own welfare and interests. It was, indeed, visited with retribution, which we little knew, or, in the pusillanimous policy of that day, little heeded. Suffice it to say, that, in 1817, when we called upon the Rajpoots to arm and coalesce with us in the putting down of rapine, Boondi was one of the foremost to join the alliance. Well she might be; for the Mahratta flag waved in unison with her own within the walls of the capital, while the revenues collected scarcely afforded the means of personal protection to its prince. Much of this was owing to our abandonment of the Rao in 1804. Throughout the contest of 1817, Boondi had no will but ours; its prince and dependants were in arms ready to execute our behest; and when victory crowned our efforts in every quarter, on the subsequent pacification, the Rao Raja Bishen Sing was not forgotten. The district held by Holcar, some of which had been alienated for half a century, and which had become ours by right of conquest, were restored to Boondi without a qualification; while, at the same time, we negotiated the surrender to him the districts held by Sindia, on his paying, through us, an annual sum calculated on the average of the last ten years' depreciated revenue. The intense gratitude felt by the Raja was expressed in a few forcible words: "I am not a man of protestation; but my head is yours whenever you require it." This was not an unmeaning phrase of compliment; he would have sacrificed his life, and that of every Hara who "ate his salt," had we made experiment of his fidelity. Still, immense as were the benefits showered upon Boondi, and with which her prince was deeply penetrated, there was a drawback. The old Machiavel of Kotah had been before him in signing himself *fidoe Sirkar Ingres* (the slave of the English government), and had contrived to get Indurgurh, Bulwun, Anderdeh, and Khatolli, the chief feudatories of Boondi, under his protection.

The frank and brave Rao Raja could not help deeply regretting an

arrangement, which, as he emphatically said, was "clipping his wings." The disposition is a bad one, and both justice and political expediency enjoin a revision of it, and the bringing about a compromise which would restore the integrity of the most interesting and deserving little state in India.* Well has it repaid the anxious care we manifested for its interests; for while every other principality has, by some means or other, caused uneasiness or trouble to the protecting power, Boondi has silently advanced to comparative prosperity, happy in her independence, and interfering with no one. The Rao Raja survived the restoration of his independence only four short years, when he was carried off by that scourge the *cholera morbus*. In his extremity, writhing under a disease which unmans the strongest frame and mind, he was cool and composed. He interdicted his wives from following him to the pyre, and bequeathing his son and successor to the guardianship of the representative of the British Government, breathed his last in the prime of life.

The character of Bishen Sing may be summed up in a few words. He was an honest man, and every inch a Rajpoot. Under an unpolished exterior, he concealed an excellent heart and an energetic soul; he was by no means deficient in understanding, and possessed a thorough knowledge of his own interests. When the Mahrattas gradually curtailed his revenues, and circumscribed his power and comforts, he seemed to delight in shewing how easily he could dispense with unessential enjoyments; and found in the pleasures of the chase, the only stimulus befitting a Rajpoot. He would *bivouac* for days in the lion's lair, nor quit the scene until he had circumvented the forest's king, the only prey he deemed worthy of skill. He had slain upwards of one hundred lions with his own hand, besides many tigers, and boars innumerable had been victims to his lance. In this noble pastime, not exempt from danger, and pleasurable in proportion to the toil, he had a limp broken, which crippled him for life, and shortened his stature, previously below the common standard. But when he mounted his steed and waved his lance over his head, there was a masculine vigour and dignity which at once evinced that Bishen Sing, had we called upon him, would have wielded his weapon as worthily in our cause as did his glorious ancestors for Jehangir or Shah Allum. He was somewhat despotic in his own little empire, knowing that fear is a necessary incentive to respect in the governed, more especially amongst the civil servants of his government; and, if the *Court Journal* of Boondi may be credited, his audiences with his chancellor of the exchequer, who was his premier, must have been amusing to those in the ante-chamber. The Raja had a reserved fund, to which the minister was required to add a hundred rupees daily; and whatever plea he might advance for the neglect of other duties, on this point none would be listened to, or the appeal to *Indrajeet* was threatened. "The conqueror of Indra" was no superior divinity, but a shoe of super-human

* The author had the distinguished happiness of concluding the treaty with Boondi in February, 1818. His previous knowledge of her deserts was not disadvantageous to her interests, and he assumed the responsibility of concluding it upon the *general principles* which were to regulate our future policy as determined in the commencement of the war; and setting aside the views which trench upon these in our subsequent negotiations. These general principles laid it down as a *sine qua non* that the Mahrattas should not have a foot of land in Rajpootana west of the Chumbul; and he closed the door to recantation by sealing the re-union in perpetuity to Boondi, of Patun and all land so situated.

size suspended from a peg, where a more classic prince would have exhibited his rod of empire. But he reserved this for his Barons, and the shoe, thus misnamed, was the humiliating corrective for an offending minister.

At Boondi, as at all these patriarchal principalities, the chief agents of power are few. They are four in number, namely:—1. The Dewan, or Moosaheb; 2. The Foudjar, or Killedar; 3. The Buckshee; 4. The Rassala, or Comptroller of Accounts.

This little state became so connected with the imperial court, that, like Jeypur, the princes adopted several of its customs. The Purdhan, or premier, was entitled *Dewan* and *Moosaheb*; and he had the entire management of the territory and finances. The *Foudjar* or *Killedar* is the governor of the castle, the *Maire de Palais*, who at Boondi is never a Rajpoot, but some *Dhabhae* or foster-brother, identified with the family, who likewise heads the feudal quotas or the mercenaries, and has lands assigned for their support. The *Buckshee* controls generally all accounts; the *Rassala* those of the household expenditure. The late prince's management of his revenue was extraordinary. Instead of the surplus being lodged in the treasury, it centered in a mercantile concern conducted by the Prime Minister, in the profits of which the Raja shared. But while he exhibited but fifteen per cent., gain in the balance-sheet, it was stated at thirty. From this profit the troops and dependents of the court were paid, chiefly in goods and grain, and at such a rate as he chose to fix.* Their necessities, and their prince being joint partner in the firm, made complaint useless; but the system entailed upon the premier universal execration.

Bishen Sing left two legitimate sons; the Rao Raja Ram Sing, then eleven years of age, who was installed in August, 1821; and the Maharaja Gopal Sing, a few months younger. Both were most promising youths, especially the Raja. He inherited his father's passion for the chase, and even at this tender age received from the noblest their nuzzurs and congratulations on the first wild game he slew. Hitherto his pigmy sword had been proved only on kids or lambs. His mother, the queen-regent, is a princess of Kishengurh, amiable, able, and devoted to her son. It is ardently hoped that this most interesting state and family will rise to their ancient prosperity, under the generous auspices of the government which rescued it from ruin. In return, we may reckon on a devotion to which our power is yet a stranger—strong hands and grateful hearts, which will court death in our behalf with the same indomitable spirit that has been exemplified in days gone by. Our wishes are for the prosperity of the Haras!

CHAPTER VI.

THE early history of the Haras of Kotah belongs to Boondi, of which they were a junior branch. The separation took place when Shah Jehan was Emperor of India, who bestowed Kotah and its dependencies on Madhu Sing, the second son of Rao Ruttun, for his distinguished gallantry in the battle of Boorhanpur.

* The truck system called *purna*, is well known in Rajpootana.

† And from the author with the rest, whose nephew he was by courtesy and adoption.

Madhu Sing was born in S. 1621 (A. D. 1565). At the early age of fourteen, he displayed that daring intrepidity which gave him the title of Raja, and Kotah with its three hundred and sixty townships (then the chief fief of Boondi, and yielding two lakhs of rent), independent of his father.

It has already been related, that the conquest of this tract was made from the Koteah Bhils of the *Oajla*, the 'unmixed,' or aboriginal race. From these the Rajpoot will eat, and all classes will 'drink water' at their hands. Kotah was at that time but a series of hamlets, the abode of the Bhil chief, styled Raja, being the ancient fortress of Ekailgurh, five coss south of Kotah. But when Madhu Sing was enfeoffed by the king, Kotah had already attained extensive limits. To the south it was bounded by Gagrown and Ghatolli, then held by the Kheechies; on the east, by Mangrole and Nahrgurh, the first belonging to the Gor, the last to a Rahtore Rajpoot, who had apostatized to save his land, and was now a Nawab; to the north, it extended as far as Sooltanpur, on the Chumbul, across which was the small domain of Nandta. In this space were contained three hundred and sixty townships, and a rich soil fertilized by numerous large streams.

The favour and power Madhu Sing enjoyed, enabled him to increase the domain he held direct of the crown, and his authority at his death extended to the barrier between Malwa and Harouti. Madhu Sing died in S. 1687, leaving five sons whose appanages became the chief fiefs of Kotah. To the holders and their descendants, in order to mark the separation between them and the elder Haras of Boondi, the patronymic of the founder was applied, and the epithet *Madhani* is sufficiently distinctive whenever two Haras, bearing the same name, appear together. These were,

1. Mokund Sing, who had Kotah.
2. Mohun Sing, who had Polaito.
3. Joojarh Sing, who had Kotra, and subsequently Ramgurh-Relawun.
4. Kuniram, who had Koelah.*
5. Kishore Sing, who obtained Sangode.

Raja Mokund Sing succeeded. To this prince the chief pass in the barrier dividing Malwa from Harouti owes its name of *Mokundurra* which gained an unfortunate celebrity on the defeat and flight of the British troops under Brigadier Monson, A.D. 1804. Mokund erected many places of strength and utility; and the palace and *petta* of Antah are both attributable to him.

Raja Mokund gave one of those brilliant instances of Rajpoot devotion to the principle of legitimate rule, so many of which illustrate his national history. When Arungzeb formed his parricidal design to dethrone his father Shah Jehan, nearly every Rajpoot rallied round the throne of the aged monarch; and the Rahtores and the Haras were most conspicuous. The sons of Madhu Sing, besides the usual ties of fidelity, forgot not that to Shah Jehan they owed their independence, and they determined to defend him to the death. In S. 1714, in the field near Oojein, afterwards named by the victor *Futtehabad*, the five brothers led their vassals, clad in the saffron-stained garment, with the bridal *mor* (coronet)

* He held also the districts of Deh and Georah in grant direct of the empire.

on their head, denoting death or victory. The imprudent intrepidity of the Ralithore commander denied them the latter, but a glorious death no power could prevent, and all the five brothers fell in one field. The youngest, Kishore Sing, was afterwards dragged from amidst the slain, and, though pierced with wounds, recovered. He was afterwards one of the most conspicuous of the intrepid Rajpoots serving in the Dekhan and often attracted notice, especially in the capture of Beejapur. But the imperial princes knew not how to appreciate or to manage such men, who, when united under one who could control them, were irresistible.

Juggut Sing, the son of Mokund, succeeded to the family estates, and to the *munsab* or dignity of a commander of two thousand, in the imperial army. He continued serving in the Dekhan until his death in S. 1726, leaving no issue.

Paim Sing, son of Kuniram of Koelah, succeeded; but was so invincibly stupid that the *panch* (council of chiefs) set him aside after six months' rule, and sent him back to Koelah, which is still held by his descendants.*

Kishore Sing, who so miraculously recovered from his wounds, was placed upon the *gadi*. When the throne was at length obtained by Arungzeb, Kishore was again serving in the south, and shedding his own blood, with that of his kinsmen, in its subjugation. He greatly distinguished himself at the siege of Beejapur, and was finally slain at the escalade of Arcatgurrh (Arcot), in S. 1742. He was a noble specimen of a Hara; and, it is said, counted fifty wounds on his person. He left three sons, Bishen Sing, Ram Sing, and Hurnat Sing. The eldest Bishen Sing, was deprived of his birthright for refusing to accompany his father to the south; but had the appanage and royal palace of Antah conferred upon him. His issue was as follows: Prithwi Sing, chief of Antah, whose son, Ajit Sing, had three sons, Chuttersal, Goman Sing, and Raj Sing.

Ram Sing, who was with his father when he was killed, succeeded to all his dignities, and was inferior to none in the contests which fill the page of imperial history, and in opposing the rise of the Mahrattas. In the war of succession, he embraced the cause of Prince Azim, the viceroy in the Dekhan, against the elder, Mooazim, and was slain in the battle of Jajow, in S. 1764. In this memorable conflict which decided the succession to the throne, the Kotah prince espoused the opposite cause to the head of his house of Boondi, and Hara met Hara in that desperate encounter, when a cannon-shot terminated the life of Ram Sing in the very zenith of his career.

Bheem Sing succeeded; and with him Kotah no longer remained a *raj* of the third order. On the death of Buhadoor Shah, and the accession of Ferokser, Raja Bheem espoused the cause of the Syeds, when his *munsab* was increased to 'five thousand,' a rank theretofore confined to princes of the blood and Rajas of the first class. The elder branch of the Haras maintained its fealty to the throne against these usurping ministers,

* A descendant of his covered Monson's retreat even before this general reached the Mokundurra Pass, and fell defending the ford of the Amjar, disdaining to retreat. His simple cenotaph marks the spot where in the gallant old style this chief "spread his carpet" to meet the Dekhany host, while a British commander, at the head of a force capable of sweeping one end of India to the other, fled!

and thus the breach made at the battle of Jajow was widened by their taking opposite sides. The disgraceful attempt of Raja Bheem on the life of Rao Raja Boodh of Boondi has already been recorded. Having completely identified himself with the designs of the Syeds and Jey Sing of Ambér, he aided all the schemes of the latter to annihilate Boondi, an object the more easy of accomplishment since the unmerited and sudden misfortunes of Rao Boodh had deprived him of his reason. Raja Bheem obtained the royal *sunnud* or grant for all the lands on the Pathar, from Kotah west, to the descent into Aheerwarra east, which comprehended much land of the Kheechies as well as of Boondi. He thus obtained the celebrated castle of Gagrown, now the strongest in Harouti, and rendered memorable by its defence against Alla-o-din; likewise Mow Mydana, Sirgurrh, Barah, Mangrole and Barode, all to the eastward of the Chumbul, which was formally constituted the western boundary of the state. The aboriginal Bhils of *Oojla* or 'pure' descent, had recovered much of their ancient inheritance in the intricate tracts on the southern frontier of Harouti. Of these, Munohur Thana, now the most southern garrison of Kotah, became their chief place, and here dwelt 'the king of the Bhils,' Raja Chukersen, whose person was attended by five hundred horse and eight hundred bowmen, and to whom all the various tribes of Bhils, from Mewar to the extremity of the plateau, owed obedience. This indigenous race, whose simple life secured their preservation amidst all the vicissitudes of fortune, from Raja Bhoj of Dhar to Raja Bheem of Kotah, were dispossessed and hunted down without mercy, and their possessions added to Kotah. On the occasion of the subjugation of Bhilwarra, the latter assigned tracts of land to the Omut chiefs of Nursingurrh and Rajgurrh Patun, with townships in *thali*,* in Kotah proper, and hence arose the claim of Kotah on these independent states for the tribute termed *tunka*.* At the same time, all the chieftains acknowledged the supremacy of Kotah under articles of precisely the same nature as those which guaranteed the safety and independence of Rajwarra by Britain; with this difference, that the Omuts could not be installed without the *khelat* of recognition of the princes of Kotah. Had Raja Bheem lived, he would further have extended the borders of Harouti, which were already carried beyond the mountains. Onarsi, Dig, Perawa, and the lands of the Chunderawuts, were brought under subjection, but were lost with his death, which, like that of his predecessors, was an untimely sacrifice to duty towards the throne.

When the celebrated Khilij Khan, afterwards better known to history as Nazim-ool-Moolk, fled from the court to maintain himself by force of his arms in his government of the Dekhan, Raja Jey Sing of Amber, as the lieutenant of the king, commanded Bheem Sing of Kotah and Guj Sing of Nurwar to intercept him in his passage. The Nizam was the *Pugri baddul Bhae*, or 'turban-exchanged brother,' of the Hara prince, and he sent him a friendly epistle, entreating him "not to credit the reports to his disadvantage, telling him that he had abstracted no treasures of the empire, and that Jey Sing was a meddling knave, who desired the destruction of both; and urging him to heed him not, nor offer any molestation to his passage to the south." The brave Hara replied, that "he knew

* This is one more of the numerous inexplicable claims which the British Government has had to decide upon, since it became the universal arbitrator. Neither party understanding their origin, the difficulty of a just decision must be obvious. This sets it at rest.

the line between friendship and duty ; he was commanded to intercept him, and had advanced for that purpose ; it was the king's order ; fight him he must, and next morning would attack him." The courtesy of the Rajpoot, who mingled no resentment with his hostility, but, like a true cavalier, gave due warning of his intention, was not thrown away upon the wily Mooslem. The Nizam took post amidst the broken ground of the Sinde, near the town of Koorwey Bhorasso. There was but one approach to his position without a circuitous march, which suited not the impatient Rajpoot ; and there his antagonist planted a battery masked, by some brushwood. At the *peelabadul* (morning dawn), Raja Bheem, having taken his *uml-pani* or opium-water, mounted his elephant, and uniting his vassals to those of the Cuchwaha, the combined clans moved on to the attack, in one of those dense masses, with couched lances, whose shock is irresistible. They were within musket-shot of the Nizam : had they reached him, Hyderabad would never have arisen on the ruins of Gowalcoond, the ancient Hara abode : but the battery opened, and in an instant the elephant with their riders, Raja Bheem and Raja Guj, were destroyed. Horse and foot became commingled, happy to emerge from the toils into which the blind confidence of their leaders had carried them ; and Khili Khan pursued the career that destiny had marked out for him.

On this occasion the Haras sustained a double loss : their leader, and their titular divinity, *Brij-nath*, the god of Brij. This *palladium* of the Haras is a small golden image, which is borne on the saddle-bow of their princely leader in every conflict. When the *gole* is formed and the lances are couched, the signal of onset is the shout of "*Jy Brij Nathji!*" "Victory to Brij-nath!" and many a glorious victory and many a glorious death has he witnessed. After being long missing, the representative of the god was recovered and sent to Kotah, to the great joy of every Hara. It was in S. 1776 (A.D. 1720) that Bheem Sing perished, having ruled fifteen years, during which short period he established the affairs of his little dominion on a basis which has never been shaken.

The rivalry that commenced between the houses, when Hara encountered Hara on the plains of Dholpur, and each princely leader sealed his fidelity to the cause he espoused with his blood, was brought to issue by Raja Bheem, whose attack upon Rao Boodh of Boondi, while defending the forlorn Ferociouser, has already been related, though without its consequences. These were fatal to the supremacy of the elder branch ; for, taking advantage of his position and the expulsion of Rao Boodh, in which he aided, Raja Bheem made an attempt upon Boondi, and despoiled that capital of all the insignia of sovereign rule, its *nakarras*, or kettle-drums, with the celebrated *rin-sankh*, or water-shell, an heir-loom descended from the heroes of antiquity. Even the military band, whose various discordant instruments are still in use, may heard in *pseudo* concert from the guard-room over the chief gate of the citadel, at Kotah ; while the "orange flag," the gift of Jehangir to Rao Ruttun, around which many a brave Hara has breathed his last, is now used by the junior house in all processions or battles.

To recover these ensigns of fallen dignity, many a stratagem has been tried. False keys of the city gates of Kotah and its citadel had been procured, and its guards won over by bribery to favour admission ; but an unceasing vigilance defeated the plan when on the brink of execution : since which, the gates of Kotah are always closed at sunset, and never opened even to the prince. This custom has been attended with great

Inconvenience; of which the following anecdote affords an instance. When Raja Doorjun after his defeat reached Kotah at midnight, with a few attendants, he called aloud to the sentinel for admittance: but the orders of the latter were peremptory, and allowed of no discretion. The soldier desired the Raja to be gone; upon which, expostulation being vain, he revealed himself as the prince. At this the soldier laughed; but, tired of importunity, bade his sovereign "go to hell," levelled his match-lock, and refused to call the officer on guard. The prince retired, and passed the night in a temple close at hand. At daybreak the gates were opened, and the soldiers were laughing at their comrade's story of the night, when the Rana appeared. All were surprised, but most of all the sentinel, who, taking his sword and shield, placed them at his sovereign's feet, and in a manly but respectful attitude awaited his decision. The prince raised him, and praising his fidelity, bestowed the dress he then wore upon him, besides a gift of money.

The Hara chronicler states, that Raja Bheem's person was seamed with scars, and so fastidious was he through the fear of incurring the imputation of vanity, that he never undressed in presence of his attendants. Nor was it till his death-wound at Koorwey that this singularity was explained, on one of his confidential servants expressing his surprise at the numerous scars; which brought this characteristic reply: "He who is born to govern Haras, and desires to preserve his land, must expect to get these: the proper post for a Rajpoot prince is ever at the head of his vassals."

Raja Bheem was the first prince of Kotah who had the dignity of *Punj-hazari*, or 'leader of five thousand,' conferred upon him. He was likewise the first of his dynasty who bore the title of *Maha-Rao*, or 'Great Prince;' a title confirmed though not conferred by the paramount sovereign, but by the head of their own princely tribes, the Rana of Mewar. Previous to Gopinath of Boondi, whose issue are the great feudal chiefs of Harouti, their titular appellation was *Apji*, which has the same import as *herself* (or rather himself), applied to highland chiefs of Scotland; but when Indur Sal went to Oodipur, he procured the title of *Maharaja* for himself and his brothers; since which *Apji* has been applied to the holders of the secondary fiefs, the Madhani of Kotah. Raja Bheem left three sons, Arjoon Sing, Siam Sing, and Doorjun Saf.

Maha-Rao Arjoon married the sister of Madhu Sing, ancestor of Zalim Sing Jhala; but died without issue, after four years' rule. On his death, there arose a civil war respecting the succession, in which the vassals were divided. Clan encountered clan in the field of Oodipura, when the fate of Siam Sing was sealed in his blood. It is said, the survivor would willingly have given up dominion to have restored his brother to life; that he cursed his ambitious rashness, and wept bitterly over the dead body. By these contentions, the rich districts of Rampura, Bhanpura, and Kalapete, which the king had taken from the ancient family and bestowed on Raja Bheem, were lost to the Haras, and regained by their ancient possessors.

Doorjun Sal assumed 'the rod' in S. 1780 (A. D. 1724). His accession was acknowledged by Mahomed Shah, the last of the Timoorian kings who deserved the appellation, and at whose court the prince of Kotah received the *khelat* and obtained the boon of preventing the slaughter of kine in every part of the Jumna frequented by his nation. Doorjun Sal succeeded on the eve of an eventful period in the annals of his country. It was in his reign that the Mahrattas under Bajrao first

invaded Hindustan. On this memorable occasion, they passed by the Taruj Pass, and skirting Harouti on its eastern frontier, performed a service to Doorjun Sal, by attacking and presenting to him the castle of Nahrgurh, then held by a Mussulman chief. It was in S. 1795* (A. D. 1739), that the first connection between the Haras and the 'Southrons' took place; and this service of the Peshwa leader was a return for stores and ammunition necessary for his enterprize. But a few years only elapsed before this friendly act and the good understanding it induced were forgotten.

We have recorded, in the annals of Boondi, the attempts of the princes of Amber, who were armed with the power of the monarchy, to reduce the chiefs of Harouti to the condition of vassals. This, policy, originating with Jey Sing, was pursued by his successor, who drove the gallant Boodh Sing into exile, to madness and death, though the means by which he effected it ultimately recoiled upon him, to his humiliation and destruction. Having, however, driven Boodh Sing from Boondi, and imposed the condition of homage and tribute upon the creature of his installation, he desired to inflict his supremacy on Kotah. In this cause, in S. 1800, he invited the three great Maharatta leaders, with the Jats under Sooruj Mul, when, after a severe conflict at Kotree, the city was invested. During three months, every effort was made, but in vain; and after cutting down the trees and destroying the gardens in the environs, they were compelled to decamp, the leader, Jey Appa Sindia, leaving one of his hands, which was carried off by a cannon-shot.

Doorjun Sal was nobly seconded by the courage and counsel of the *Foujdar*, or 'commandant of the garrison,' Himmut Sing, a Rajpoot of the Jhala tribe. It was through Himmut Sing that the negotiations were carried on, which added Nahrgurh to Kotah; and to him were confided those in which Kotah was compelled to follow the general denationalization, and become subservient to the Mahrattas. Between these two events, S. 1795 and S. 1800, Zalim Sing was born, a name of such celebrity, that his biography would embrace all that remains to be told of the history of the Haras.

When Esuri Sing was foiled, the brave Doorjun Sal lent his assistance to replace the exiled Omeda on the throne which his father had lost. But without Holcar's aid, this would have been vain; and, in S. 1805 (A. D. 1749), the year of Omeda's restoration, Kotah was compelled to become tributary of the Mahrattas.

Doorjun Sal added several places to his dominions. He took Phool-Burrode from the Kheechies, and attempted the fortress of Gougore, which was bravely defended by Balbudur in person, who created a league against the Hara composed of the chiefs of Rampura, Sheopur, and Boondi. The standard of Kotah was preserved from falling into the hands of the Kheechies by gallantry of Omeda Sing of Boondi. The battle between the rival clans, both of Chohan blood, was in S. 1810; and in three years more, Doorjun Sal departed this life. He was a valiant prince, and possessed all the qualities of which the Rajpoot is enamoured; affability, generosity, and bravery. He was devoted to field-sports especially the royal one of tiger-hunting; and had *rumnas* or preserves in every corner of his dominions (some of immense extent, with ditches

* In this year, when Bajirao invaded Hindustan, passing through Harouti, Himmut Sing Jhala was *foujdar* of Kotah. In that year Seo Sing, and in the succeeding, the celebrated Zalim Sing was born.

and palisadoes, and sometimes circumvallations), in all of which he erected hunting-seats.

In these expeditions, which resembled preparations for war he invariably carried the queens. These Amazonian ladies were taught the use of the matchlock, and being placed upon the terraced-roofs of the hunting-seats, sent their shots at the forest-lord, when driven past their stand by the hunters. On one of these occasions, the *Jhala Foujdar* was at the foot of the scaffolding; the tiger, infuriated with the uproar, approached him open-mouthed; but the prince had not yet given the word, and none dared to fire without this signal. The animal eyed his victim, and was on the point of springing, when the *Jhala* advanced his shield, sprung upon him, and with one blow of his sword laid him dead at his feet. The act was applauded by the prince and his court, and contributed not a little to the character he had already attained.

Doorjun Sal left no issue. He was married to a daughter of the Rana of Mewar. Being often disappointed, and at length despairing of an heir, about three years before his death, he told the Rani it was time to think of adopting an heir to fill the *gadi*, "for it was evident that the Almighty disapproved of the usurpation which changed the order of succession." It will be remembered that Bishen Sing, son of Ram Sing, was set aside for refusing, in compliance with maternal fears, to accompany his father in the wars of the Dekhan. When dispossessed of his birth-right, he was established in the fief of Antah on the Chumbul. At the death of Doorjun Sal, Ajit Sing, grandson of the disinherited prince, was lord of Antah, but he was in extreme old age. He had three sons, and the eldest, whose name of Chutter Sal revived ancient associations, was formally "placed in the lap of the Rani Mewari; the *assees* (blessing) was given; he has taught the names of his ancestors (being no longer regarded as the Ajit of Antah), Chutter Sing, son of Doorjun Sal, Bheemsingote, Ram Sing, Kishore Sing, etc. etc.," and so on, to the fountain-head, Dewa Bango, and thence to Manik Rae, of Ajmere. Though the adoption was proclaimed and all looked to Chutter Sal as the future lord of the Haras of Kotah, yet on the death of Doorjun, the *Jhala Foujdar* took upon him to make an alteration in this important act, and he had power enough to effect it. The old chief of Antah was yet alive, and the *Foujdar* said, "it was contrary to nature that the son should rule and the father obey;" but doubtless other motives mingled with his piety, in which, besides self-interest, may have been a consciousness of the dangers inseparable from a minority. The only difficulty was to obtain the consent of the chief himself, then "fourscore years and upwards," to abandon his peaceful castle on the Cali Sinde for the cares of government. But the *Foujdar* prevailed; old Ajit was crowned, and survived his exaltation two years and a half. Ajit left three sons, Chutter Sal, Goman Sing, and Raj Sing.

Chutter Sal was proclaimed the Maha Rao of the Haras. The celebrated Himmud Sing *Jhala* died before his accession, and his office of *Foujdar* was conferred upon his nephew, Zalim Sing.

At this epoch, Madhu Sing, who had acceded to the throne of Amber on the suicide of his predecessor, Esuri, instead of taking warning by example, prepared to put forth all his strength for the revival of these tributary claims upon the Haras, which had cost his brother his life. The contest was between Rajpoot and Rajpoot; the question at issue was supremacy on [the one hand, and subserviency on the other, the sole plea for which was that the Kotah contingent had acted under the princes of Amber, when lieutenants of the empire. But the Haras held in utter

scorn the attempt to compel this service in their individual capacity, in which they only recognised them as equals.

It was in S. 1817 (A. D. 1761), that the prince of Amber, assembled all his clans to force the Haras to acknowledge themselves tributaries. The invasion of the Abdalli, which humbled the Mahrattas and put a stop to their pretensions to universal sovereignty, left the Rajpoots to themselves. Madhu Sing, in his march to Harouti, assaulted Ooniara, and added it to his territory. Thence he proceeded to Lakhairi, which he took, driving out the crest-fallen Southrons. Emboldened by this success, he crossed at the Pally Ghat, the point of confluence of the Par and the Chumbul. The Hara chieftain of Sooltanpur, whose duty was the defence of the lord, was taken by surprise; but, like a true Hara, he gathered his kinsmen outside his castle, and gave battle to the host. He made amends for his supineness, and bartered his life for his honour. It was remarked by the invaders, that, as he fell, his clenched hand grasped the earth, which afforded merriment to some, but serious reflection to those who knew the tribe, and who converted it into an omen "that even in death the Hara would cling to his land." The victors, flushed with this fresh success, proceeded through the heart of Kotah, until they reached Butwarro, where they found five thousand Haras, *et baur ca beta*, all 'children of one father,' drawn up to oppose them. The numerical odds were fearful against Kotah; but the latter were defending their altars and their honour. The battle commenced with a desperate charge of the whole Cuchwaha horse, far more numerous than the brave legion of Kotah; but, too confident of success, they had tired their horses ere they joined. It was met by a dense mass, with perfect coolness, and the Haras remained unbroken by the shock. Fresh numbers came up; the infantry joined the cavalry, and the battle became desperate and bloody. It was at this moment that Zalim Sing made his *debut*. He was then twenty-one years of age, and had already, as the adopted son of Himmutsing, "tied his turban on his head," and succeeded to his post of Foujdar. While the battle was raging, Zalim dismounted, and at the head of his quota, fought on foot, and at the most critical moment obtained the merit of the victory, by the first display of that sagacity for which he has been so remarkable throughout his life.

Mulhar Rao Holcar was encamped in their vicinity, with the remnant of his horde, but so crest-fallen since the fatal day of Paniput,* that he feared to side with either. At this moment, young Zalim, mounting his steed, galloped to the Mahratta, and implored him, if he would not fight, to move round and plunder the Jeypur camp: a hint which needed no repetition.

The little impression yet made on the Kotah band only required the report that "the camp was assaulted," to convert the lukewarm courage of their antagonists into panic and flight: "the host of Jeypur fled, while the sword of the Hara performed *teerut* (pilgrimage) in rivers of blood."

The chiefs of Macherri, of Esurdeh, Watko, Barrole, Atchrole, with all the *otes* and *awuts* of Amber, turned their backs on five thousand Haras of Kotah; for the Boondi troops, though assembled, did not join, and lost the golden opportunity to free its *kotrees*, or fiefs, from the tribute. Many prisoners were taken, and the *five-coloured banner* of Amber fell

* It is singular enough, that Zalim Sing was born in the year of Nadir Shah's invasion, and made his political *entree* in that of the Abdalli.

into the hands of the Haras, whose bard was not slow to turn the incident to account in the stanza, still repeated whenever he celebrates the victory of Butwarro, and in which the star (*tarra*) of Zalim prevailed:—

"*Fung Butwarro jeet*
 "*Tarra Zalim Fhala*
 "*Ring ch rung churra*
 "*Rung Panch-rung ca.*"

"In the battle of Butwarro, the star of Zalim was triumphant. In that field of strife (*ringa*) but one colour (*rung*) covered that of the five-coloured (*pancha-runga*) banner:" meaning that the Amber standard was dyed in blood.

The battle of Butwarro decided the question of tribute, nor has the Cuchwaha since this day dared to advance the question of supremacy, which, as lieutenant of the empire, he desired to transfer to himself. In derision of this claim, ever since the day of Butwarro, when the Haras assembled at their *Champ de Mars* to celebrate the annual military festival, they make a mock castle of Amber, which is demolished amidst shouts of applause.

Chutter Sal survived his elevation and this success but a few years; and as he died without offspring, he was succeeded by his brother.

CHAPTER III.

GOMAN SING, in S. 1822 (A. D. 1766), ascended the *gadi* of his ancestors. He was in the prime of manhood, full of vigour and intellect, and well calculated to contend with tempests collecting from the south, ready to pour on the devoted lands of Rajpootana. But one short *lustrum* of rule was all that fate had ordained for him, when he was compelled to resign his rod of power into the hands of an infant. But ere we reach this period, we must retrace our steps, and introduce more prominently the individual whose biography is the future history of this state; for Zalim Sing is Kotah, his name being not only indissolubly linked with her's in every page of her existence, but incorporated with that of every state of Rajpootana for more than half a century. He was the *primum mobile* of the region he inhabited, a sphere far too confined for his genius, which required a wider field for its display, and might have controlled the destinies of nations.

Zalim Sing is a Rajpoot of the *Ihala* tribe. He was born in S. 1796 (A. D. 1740), an ever memorable epoch (as already observed) in the history of India, when the victorious Nadir Shah led his hordes into her fertile soil, and gave the finishing blow to the dynasty of Timour. But for this event, its existence might have been protracted, though its recovery was hopeless: the principle of decay had been generated by the policy of Arungzebe. Mahomed Shah was at this time emperor of India, and the valiant Doorjun Sal sat on the throne of Kotah. From this period (A. D. 1740), five princes have passed away and a sixth has been enthroned; and, albeit one of these reigns endured for half a century, Zalim Sing has outlived them all,* and though blind, his moral perceptions are as acute.

* This was written in A. D. 1821, when Maha Rao Kishore Sing succeeded.

as on the day of Butwarro. What a chain of events does not this protracted life embrace! An empire then dazzling in glory, and now mouldering in the dust. At its opening, the highest noble of Britain would have stood at a reverential distance from the throne of Timour, in the attitude of a suppliant, and now,

"None so poor

"As do him reverence."

To do any thing like justice to the biography of one who for so long a period was a prominent actor in the scene, is utterly impossible; this consideration, however, need not prevent our attempting a sketch of this consummate politician, who can scarcely find a parallel in the varied page of history.

The ancestors of Zalim Sing were petty chieftains of Hulwad, in the district of Jhalawar, a subdivision of the Saurashtra peninsula. Bhao Sing was a younger son of this family, who, with a few adherents, left the paternal roof to seek fortune amongst the numerous conflicting armies that ranged India during the contests for supremacy amongst the sons of Arungzeb. His son, Madhu Sing, came to Kotah when Raja Bheem was in the zenith of his power. Although he had only twenty-five horse in his train, it is a proof of the respectability of the Jhala, that the prince disdained not his alliance, and even married his son, Arjoon, to the young adventure's sister. Not long after, the estate of Nandta was entailed upon him, with the confidential post of *Foujdar*, which includes not only the command of the troops, but that of the castle, the residence of the sovereign. This family connection gave an interest to his authority, and procured him the respectful title of *Mamah** from the younger branches of the prince's family, an epithet which has continued to his successors, who are always addressed *Mamah Saheb*, 'Sir, Uncle!' Muddun Sing succeeded his father in the office of *Foujdar*. He had two sons, Himmut Sing, and Prithi Sing.

Bhao Sing, left Hulwad with twenty-five horse.

Madhu Sing.

Muddun Sing.

Himmut Sing.

Prithi Sing.

Seo Sing,
born in S. 1795.

Zalim Sing,
born S. 1796.

Madhu Sing,
present regent.

Bappa Loll,
twenty-one years of age.

The office of *Foujdar* which, like all those of the east, had become hereditary, was advantageously filled by Himmut Sing, whose bravery

* *Mamah* is 'maternal uncle'; *Kaka* 'paternal uncle.'

and skill were conspicuous on many trying emergencies. He directed, or at least seconded, the defence of Kotah, when first assailed by the combined Mahratta and Jeypur troops, and conducted the treaty which made her tributary to the former, till at length so identified was his influence with that of the Haras, that with their concurrence he restored the ancient line of succession. Though neither the prince, Doorjim Sal, nor his *Major Domo*, had much merit in this act, it was made available by Zalim Sing in support of his pretension to power, and in proof of the ingratitude of his sovereign, "whose ancestors recovered their rights at the instigation of his own." But Zalim Sing had no occasion to go back to the virtues of his ancestors for an argument on which to base his own claims to authority. He could point to the field of Butwarro, where his bravery and skill mainly aided to vanquish the enemies of Kotah, and to crush for ever those arrogant pretensions to supremacy which the Jeypur state strained every nerve to establish.

It was not long after the accession of Goman Sing to the sceptre of the Haras, that the brave and handsome *Major Domo*, having dared to cross his master's path in love, lost his favour, and the office of Foujdar, which he had attained in his twenty-first year. It is probable he evinced little contrition for his offence, for the confiscation of Nandta soon followed. This estate, on the west bank of the Chumbul, still enjoyed as a fief in perpetuity by the Jhala family, was the original appanage of the Kotah state when a younger branch of Boondi. From hence may be inferred the consideration in which the Jhala ancestor of our subject was held, which conferred upon him the heir-loom of the house. Both the office and the estate thereto attached, thus resumed, were bestowed upon the maternal uncle of the prince, Bhoput Sing of the Bankrote tribe. By this step, the door of reconciliation being closed against the young Jhala, and determined to abandon the scene of his disgrace, and court fortune elsewhere. He was not long in determining the path he should pursue: Amber was shut against him, and Marwar held out no field for his ambition. Mewar was at hand, and a chief of his own tribe and nation then ruled the councils of Rana Ursi, who had lately succeeded to power, but a power paralyzed by faction and by a pretender to the throne. The Jhala chieftain of Dailwarra, one of the sixteen great barons of Mewar, had headed the party which placed his sovereign on the throne; and he felt no desire to part with the influence which this service gave him. He entertained foreign guards about the person of his prince, and distributed estates at pleasure among those who supported his measures; while from the crown domain, or from the estates of those who were hostile to his influence, he seized upon lands, which doubled his possessions. Such was the court of Rana Ursi, when the *ex-Major Domo* of Kotah came to seek a new master. His reputation at once secured him a reception, and his talents for *finesse*, already developed, made the Rana confide to him the subjection in which he was held by his own vassal-subject. It was then that Zalim, a youth and a stranger, shewed that rare union of intrepidity and caution, which has made him the wonder of the age. By a most daring plan, which cost the Dailwarra chief his life, in open day and surrounded by attendants, the Rana was released from this odious tutelage. For this service, the title of *Raj Rinna*,* and the estate of Cheeturkhaira on the southern frontier were conferred upon Zalim, who was now a noble of the second rank in Mewar. The rebellion still continued, however, and the pretender and his faction sought the aid of the Mahrattas; but under

* not Rana, which he puts upon his seal.

the vigorous councils of Zalim, seconded by the spirit of the Rana, an army was collected which gave battle to the combined rebels and Mahrattas. The result of this day has already been related. The Rana was discomfited and lost the flower of his nobles when victory was almost assured to them, and Zalim was left wounded and a prisoner in the field. He fell into the hands of Trimbuck Rao, the father of the celebrated Umbaji Inglia, and the friendship then formed materially governed the future actions of his life.

The loss of this battle left the Rana and Mewar at the mercy of the conqueror. Oodipur was invested, and capitulated, after a noble defence, upon terms which perpetuated her thralldom. Zalim, too wise to cling to the fortunes of a falling house, instead of returning to Oodipur, bent his steps to Kotah, in company with the Pundit Lallaji Bellal, the faithful partaker of his future fortunes. Zalim foresaw the storm about to spread over Rajwarra, and deemed himself equal to guide and avert it from Kotah, while the political levity of Mewar gave him little hopes of success at that court.

Raja Goman, however, had neither forgotten nor forgiven his competitor, and refused to receive him: but in no wise daunted, he trusted to his address, and thrust himself unbidden on the prince. The moment he chose proved favourable; and he was not only pardoned, but employed.

The Mahrattas had now reached the southern frontier, and invested the castle of Bukenie, which was defended by four hundred Haras of the *Sawant* clan,* under its chief, Madhu Sing. The enemy had been failed in repeated attempts to escape, and it furnishes a good idea of the inadequate means of the 'Southrons' for the operations of a siege, when their besieging apparatus was confined to an elephant, whose head was the substitute for a *petard*, to burst open the gate. Repeated instances, however, prove that this noble animal is fully equal to the task, and would have succeeded on this occasion, had not the intrepidity of the Hara chieftain prompted one of those desperate exploits which fill the pages of their annals. Armed with his dagger, Madhu Sing leaped from the walls upon the back of the elephant, stabbed the rider, and with repeated blows felled the animal to the earth. That he should escape could not be expected; but this death and the noble deed kindled such enthusiasm, that his clan threw wide the gate, and rushing sword in hand amidst the multitude, perished to a man. But they died not unavenged: thirteen hundred of the bravest of the Mahrattas accompanied them to *Saraloca*, the warrior's heaven. The invaders continued their inroad, and invested Sukeit: but the prince sent his commands to the garrison to preserve their lives for Kotah, and not again sacrifice them, as the point of honour had been nobly maintained. Accordingly, at midnight, they evacuated the place: but whether from accident or treachery, the grass jungle which covered their retreat was set fire to, and cast so resplendent a light, that the brave garrison had to fight their way against desperate odds, and many were slain. Mulhar Holcar, who had been greatly disheartened at the loss sustained at Bukenie, was revived at this success, and prepared to follow it up. Raja Goman deemed it advisable to try negotiation, and the Bankrote Foujdar was sent with full powers to treat with the Mahratta commander; but he failed and returned.

Such was the moment chosen by young Zalim to force himself into the presence of his offended prince. In all probability he mentioned the day at Butwarro, where by his courage, and still more by his tact, he

released Kotah from the degradation of being subordinate to Amber ; and that it was by his influence with the same Mulhar Holcar, who now threatened Kotah, he was enabled to succeed. He was invested with full powers ; the negotiation was renewed, and terminated successfully : for the sum of six lakhs of rupees, the Mahratta leader withdrew his horde from the territory of Kotah. His prince's favour was regained, his estate restored, and the unsuccessful negotiator lost the office of *Foujdar*, into which young Zalim was reinducted. But scarcely had he recovered his rights, before Goman Sing was taken grievously ill, and all hopes of his life were relinquished. To whom could the dying prince look at such a moment, as guardian of his infant son, but the person whose skill had twice saved the state from peril ? He accordingly proclaimed his will to his chiefs, and with all due solemnity placed Omed Sing, then ten years of age, "in the lap" of Zalim Sing.

Omed Sing was proclaimed in S. 1827 (A. D. 1771). On the day of inauguration, the ancient Rajpoot custom of the *tika-dour* revived, and the conquest of the Kailwarra from the house of Nurwar marked with *eclat* the accession of the Maha-Rao of the Haras of Kotah, and gave early indication that the genius of regent would not sleep in his office of protector. More than half a century of rule, amidst the most appalling vicissitudes, has amply confirmed the prognostication.

The retention of a power thus acquired, it may be concluded, could never be effected without severity, nor the vigorous authority, wielded throughout a period beyond the ordinary limits of mortality, be sustained without something more potent than persuasion. Still, when we consider Zalim's perilous predicament, and the motives to perpetual reaction, his acts of severity are fewer than might have been expected, or than occur in the course of usurpation under similar circumstances. Mature reflection initiated all his measures, and the sagacity of their conception was only equalled by the rapidity of their execution. Whether the end in view was good or evil, nothing was ever half-done ; no spark was left to excite future conflagration. Even this excess of severity was an advantage ; it restrained the repetition of what, whether morally right or wrong, he was determined not to tolerate. To pass a correct judgment on these acts is most difficult. What in one case was a measure of barbarous severity, appears in another to have been one indispensable to the welfare of the state. But this is not the place to discuss the character or principles of the Regent ; let us endeavour to unfold both in the exhibition of those acts which have carried him through the most tempestuous sea of political convulsion in the whole history of India. When nought but revolution and rapine stalked through the land, when state after state was crumbling into dust, or sinking into the abyss of ruin, he guided the vessel entrusted to his care safely through all dangers, adding yearly to her riches, until he placed her in security under the protection of Britain.

Scarcely had Zalim assumed the protectorate, when he was compelled to make trial of those Machiavelian powers which have never deserted him, in order to baffle the schemes devised to oppose him. The duties of *Foujdar*, to which he had hitherto been restricted, were entirely of a military nature ; though, as it involved the charge of the castle, in which the sovereign resided, it brought him in contact with his councils. This, however, afforded no plea for interference in the *dewan*, or civil duties of the government, in which ever since his own accession to power, he had a co-adjutor in Rae Akiram, a man of splendid talents,

who had been Dewan or 'prime minister throughout the reign of Chutter-sal and the greater part of that of his successor. To his counsel is mainly ascribed the advantages gained by Kotah throughout these reigns; yet did he fall a sacrifice to jealousies a short time before the death of his prince, Goman Sing. It is not affirmed that they were the suggestions of young Zalim; but Akiram's death left him fewer competitors to dispute the junction in his own person of the civil as well as military authority of the state. Still he had no slight opposition to overcome, in the very opening of his career. The party which opposed the pretensions of Zalim Sing to act as regent of the state, asserting that no such power had been bequeathed by the dying prince, consisted of his cousin, the Maharaja Suroop Sing, and the Bankrote chief, whose disgrace brought Zalim into power. There was, besides, the *Dhabhae* Juskurn, foster-brother to the prince, a man of talent and credit, whose post, being immediately about his person, afforded opportunities for carrying their schemes into effect. Such was the powerful opposition arrayed against the protector in the very commencement of his career. The conspiracy was hardly formed, however, before it was extinguished by the murder of the Maharaja by the hands of the *Dhabhae*, the banishment of the assassin, and the flight of the Bankrote. The rapidity with which this drama was enacted struck terror into all. The gaining over the foster-brother, the making him the instrument of punishment, and banishing him for the crime, acted like a spell, and appeared such a master-piece of daring and subtilty combined, that no one thought himself secure. There had been no cause of discontent between the Maharaja and the *Dhabhae*, to prompt revenge; yet did the latter, in the glare of open day, rush upon him in the garden of Vrij-Vulas, and with a blow of his scimitar end his days. The regent was the loudest in execrating the author of the crime, whom he instantly seized and confined, and soon after expelled from Harouti. But however well acted, this dissimulation passed not with the world; and whether innocent or guilty, they lay to Zalim's charge the plot for the murder of the Maharaja. The *Dhabhae* died in exile and contempt at Jeypur; and in abandoning him to his fate without provision, Zalim, if guilty of the deed, shewed at once his knowledge and contempt of mankind. Had he added another murder to the first, and in the fury of an affected indignation become the sole depository of his secret, he would only have increased the suspicion of the world; but in turning the culprit loose on society to proclaim his participation in the crime, he neutralized the reproach by destroying the credibility of one who was a self-convicted assassin when he had it in his power to check its circulation. In order to unravel this tortuous policy, it is necessary to state that the *Dhabhae* was seduced from the league by the persuasion of the regent, who insinuated that the Maharaja formed plans inimical to the safety of the young prince, and that his own elevation was the true object of his hostility to the person entrusted with the charge of the minor sovereign. Whatever truth there might be in this, which might be pleaded in justification of the foul crime, it was attended with the consequences he expected. Immediately after, the remaining member of the adverse *junta* withdrew, and at the same time many of the nobles abandoned their estates and their country. Zalim evinced his contempt of their means of resistance by granting them free egress from the kingdom, and determined to turn their retreat to account. They went to Jeypur and to Jodpur; but troubles prevailed every where; the princes could with difficulty keep the prowling *Mahrattas* from their own doors, and possessed neither funds nor inclination

to enter into foreign quarrels for objects which would only increase their already superabundant difficulties. The event turned out as Zalim anticipated; and the princes, to whom the refugees were suitors, had a legitimate excuse in the representations of the regent, who described them as rebels to their sovereign and parties to designs hostile to his rule. Some died abroad, and some, sick of wandering in a foreign land dependent on its bounty, solicited as a boon that "their ashes might be burned with their fathers." In granting this request, Zalim evinced that reliance on himself, which is the leading feature of his character. He permitted their return, but received them as traitors who had abandoned their prince and their country, and it was announced to them, as an act of clemency, that they were permitted to live upon a part of their estates; which as they had been voluntarily abandoned, were sequestered and belonged to the crown.

Such was Zalim Sing's triumph over the first faction formed against his assumption of the full powers of regent of Kotah. Not only did the aristocracy feel humiliated, but were subjugated by the rod of iron held over them; and no opportunity was ever thrown away of crushing this formidable body, which in these states too often exerts its pernicious influence to the ruin of society. The thoughtlessness of character so peculiar to Rajpoots, furnished abundant opportunities for the march of an exterminating policy, and, at the same time, afforded reasons which justified it.

The next combination was more formidable; it was headed by Deo Sing of Athoon, who enjoyed an estate of sixty thousand rupees rent. He strongly fortified his castle and was joined by all the discontented nobles, determined to get rid of the authority which crushed them. The regent well knew the spirits he had to cope with, and that the power of the state was insufficient. By means of "the help of Moses" (such is the interpretation of *Moosa Mudut*, his auxiliary on this occasion), this struggle against his authority also only served to confirm it; and their measures recoiled on the heads of the feudality. The condition of society since the dissolution of the imperial power was most adverse to the institutions of Rajwarra, the unsupported valour of whose nobles was no match for the mercenary force which their rulers could now always command from those hands, belonging to no government, but roaming whither they listed over this vast region, in search of pay or plunder. The "help of Moses" was the leader of one of these associations,—a name well known in the history of that agitated period; and he not only led a well-appointed infantry brigade but had an efficient park attached to it, which was brought to play against Athoon. It held out several months, the garrison meanwhile making many sallies, which it required the constant vigilance of Moses to repress. At length reduced to extremity, they demanded and obtained an honourable capitulation, being allowed to retire unmolested whither they pleased. Such was the termination of this ill-organized insurrection which involved almost all the feudal chiefs of Kotah in exile and ruin, and strengthened the regent, or as he would say, the state, by the escheat of the sequestered property. Deo Sing of Athoon, the head of this league, died in exile. After several years of lamentation in a foreign soil for the *junum bhom*, the 'land of their birth,' the son pleaded for pardon, though his heart denied all crime, and was fortunate enough to obtain his recall, and the estate of Bamolia, of fifteen thousand rupees rent. The inferior members of the opposition were treated with the same contemptuous clemency; they were admitted into Kotah, but

deprived of the power of doing mischief. What stronger proof of the political courage of the Regent can be adduced, than his shutting up such combustible materials within the social edifice, and even living amongst and with them, as if he deserved their friendship rather than their hatred.

In combating such associations, and thus cementing his power, time passed away. His marriage with one of the distant branches of the royal house of Mewar, by whom he had his son and successor Madlu Sing, gave Zalim an additional interest in the affair of that disturbed state, of which he never lost sight amidst the troubles which more immediately concerned him. The motives which in S. 1847 (A. D. 1791), made him consider for a time the interests of Kotah as secondary to those of Mewar, are related at length in the annals of that state; and the effect of this policy on the prosperity of Kotah, drained of its wealth in the prosecution of his views, will appear on considering the details of his system. Referring the reader, therefore, to the Annals of Mewar, we shall pass from S. 1847 to S. 1856 (A. D. 1800) when another attempt was made by the chieftains to throw off the iron yoke of the protector.

Many attempts at assassination had been tried, but his vigilance baffled them all; though no bold enterprise was hazarded since the failure of that (in S. 1833) which ended in the death and exile of its contriver, the chieftain of Athoon, until the conspiracy of Mohsain in S. 1856, just twenty years ago.* Bahadoor Sing, of Mohsain, a chieftain of ten thousand rupees' annual rent, was the head of this plot, which included every chief and family whose fortunes had been annihilated by the exterminating policy of the regent. It was conducted with admirable secrecy; if known at all, it was to Zalim alone, and not till on the eve of accomplishment. The proscription list was long; the regent, his family, his friend and counsellor the Pundit Lallaji, were amongst the victims marked for sacrifice. The moment for execution was that of his proceeding to hold his court, in open day; and the mode was by a *coup de main* whose very audacity would guarantee success. It is said that he was actually in progress to *durbar*, when the danger was revealed. The *paage*, or 'select troop of horse' belonging to his friend and always at hand, was immediately called in and added to the guards about his person; thus the conspirators were assailed when they deemed the prey rushing into the snare they had laid. The surprise was complete; many were slain; some were taken, others fled. Amongst the latter was the head of the conspiracy, Bahadoor Sing who gained the Chumbul, and took refuge in the temple of the tutelary deity of the Haras at Patun. But he mistook the regent when he supposed that either the sanctuary (*tsirna Keshorae*, or the respect due to the prince in whose dominions (Boondi) it lay, could shield him from his fate. He was dragged forth, and expiated his crime or folly with his life.

According to the apologists of the regent, this act was one of just retribution, since it was less to defend himself and his immediate interest than those of the prince whose power and existence were threatened by the insurrection, which had for its object his deposal and the elevation of one of his brothers. The members of the Maha-Rao's family at this period were his uncle Raj Sing and his two brothers, Gordhum and Gopal Sing. Since the rebellion of Athoon, these princes had been under

* This was written at Kotah, in S. 187k (A. D. 1820).

strict *surveillance*; but after this instance of re-action, in which their names were implicated as having aspired to supplant their brother, a more rigorous seclusion was adopted; and the rest of their days was passed in solitary confinement. Gordhun, the elder, died about ten years after his incarceration; the younger, Gopal, lived many years longer; but neither from that day quitted the walls of their prison, until death released them from this dreadful bondage. Kaka Raj Sing lived to extreme old age; but, as he took no part in these turmoils, he remained unmolested, having the range of the temples in the city, beyond which limits he had no wish to stray.

We may in this place introduce a slip from the genealogical tree of the forfeited branch of Bishen Sing, but which, in the person of his grandson Ajeet, regained its rights and the *gadi*. The fate of this family will serve as a specimen of the policy pursued by the Regent towards the feudal interest of Kotah. It is appalling, when thus marshalled, to view the sacrifices which the maintenance of power will demand in these feudal states, where individual will is law.

The plots against the existence and authority of the Protector were of every description, and no less than eighteen are enumerated, which his never-slumbering vigilance detected and baffled. The means were force, open and concealed, poison, the dagger,—until at length he became sick of precaution. "I could not always be on my guard," he would say. But the most dangerous of all was a female conspiracy, got up in the place, and which discovers an amusing mixture of tragedy and farce, although his habitual wariness would not have saved him from being its victim, had he not been aided by the boldness of a female champion, from a regard for the personal attractions of the handsome Regent. He was suddenly sent for by the queen-mother of one of the younger princes, and while waiting in an antichamber, expecting every instant "*the voice behind the curtain*," he found himself encircled by a band of Amazonian Rajpootanis, armed with sword and dagger, from whom, acquainted as he was with the nerve, physical and moral, of his country-women, he saw no hope of salvation. Fortunately they were determined not to be satisfied merely with his death; they put him upon his trial; and the train of interrogation into all the acts of his life was going on, when his preserving angel, in the shape of the chief attendant of the dowager queen, a woman of masculine strength and courage, rushed in, and with strong dissembled anger, drove him forth amidst a torrent of abuse for presuming to be found in such a predicament.

While bathing, and during the heat of the chase, his favourite pursuit, similar attempts have been made, but they always recoiled on the heads of his enemies. Yet, notwithstanding the multitude of these plots, which would have unsettled the reason of many, he never allowed a blind suspicion to add to the victims of his policy; and although, for his personal security, he was compelled to sleep in an iron cage, he never harboured unnecessary alarm, that parent of crime and blood in all usurpations. His lynx-like eye saw at once who was likely to invade his authority, and these knew their peril from the vigilance of a system which never relaxed. Entire self-reliance, a police such as perhaps no country in the world could equal, establishments well paid, services liberally rewarded, character and talent in each department of the state, himself keeping a strict watch over all, and trusting implicitly to none, with a daily personal supervision of all this

complicated state machinery—such was the system which surmounted every peril, and not only maintained, but increased the power and political reputation of Zalim Sing, amidst the storm of war, rapine, treason, and political convulsions of more than half a century's duration.

CHAPTER VII.

WE are now to examine the Protector in another point of view, as the legislator and manager of the state whose concerns he was thus determined to rule. For a series of years, Kotah was but the wet-nurse to the child of his ambition, a design upon Mewar, which engulfed as in a vortex all that oppression could extort from the industry of the people confided to his charge. From his first acquaintance with the court of the Rana, in S. 1827, to the year 1856, he never relinquished the hope of extending the same measure of authority over the state which he exerted in his own. To the prosecution of this policy Harouti was sacrificed, and the cultivator lowered to the condition of a serf. In the year 1840, oppression was at its height; the impoverished ryot, no longer able to pay the extra calls upon his industry, his cattle and the implements of his labour distrained, was reduced to despair. Many died from distress; some fled, but where could they find refuge in the chaos around them? The greater part were compelled to plough for hire, with the cattle and implements once their own, the very fields, their freehold, which had been torn from them. From this system of universal impoverishment, displayed at length in unthatched villages and untilled lands, the Regent was compelled to become farmer-general of Kotah.

Fortunately for his subjects, and for his own reputation, his sense of gratitude and friendship for the family of Ingliā,—whose head, Balla Rao, was then a prisoner in Mewar,—involved him, in the attempt to obtain his release, in personal conflict with the Rana, and he was compelled to abandon for ever that long-cherished object of his ambition. It was then he perceived he had sacrificed the welfare of all classes to a phantom, and his vigorous understanding suggested a remedy, which was instantly adopted.

Until the conspiracy of Mohsain in 1856, the Regent had resided in the castle, acting the part of the *maire du palais* of the old French monarchy; but on his return from the release of Balla Rao, in S. 1860 (A. D. 1803-4) when the successes of the British arms disturbed the combination of the Mahrattas, and obliged them to send forth their disunited bands to seek by rapine what they had lost by our conquests, the Regent perceived the impolicy of such permanent residence, and determined to come nearer to the point of danger. He had a double motive, each of itself sufficiently powerful to justify the change: the first was a revision of the revenue system; the other to seek a more central position for a disposable camp which he might move to any point threatened by these predatory bodies. Though these were doubtless the real incentives to the project, according to those who ought to have known the secret impulse of his mind, the change from the castle on the Chumbul to the tented field proceeded from no more potent cause than an ominous owl, telling his tale to the moon from the pinnacle of his mansion. A meeting of the astrologers, and those versed in prodigies, was convened, and it was decided that it would

be tempting *honhar* (fate) to abide longer in that dwelling. If this were the true motive, Zalim Sing's mind only shared the grovelling superstition of the most illustrious and most courageous of his nation, to whom there was no presage more appalling than a *googo* on the house-top. But in all likelihood, this was a political owl conjured up for the occasion; one seen only in the mind's eye of the Regent, and serving to cloak his plans.

The soothsayers having in due form desecrated the dwelling of the Protector, he commenced a perambulation and survey of the long-neglected territory, within which he determined henceforth to limit his ambition. He then saw, and perhaps felt for, the miseries his mistaken policy had occasioned; but the moral evil was consummated; he had ruined the fortunes of one-third of the agriculturists, and the rest were depressed and heart-broken. The deficiency in his revenues spoke a truth no longer to be misinterpreted; for his credit was so low in the mercantile world at this period, that his word and his bond were in equal disesteem. Hitherto he had shut his ears against complaint; but funds were necessary to forward his views, and all pleas of inability were met by confiscation. It was evident that this evil, if not checked, must ultimately denude the state of the means of defence, and the fertility of his genius presented various modes of remedy. He began by fixing upon a spot near the strong fortress of Gagrown, for a permanent camp, where he continued to reside, with merely a shed of his tent: and although the officers and men of rank had also thrown up sheds, he would admit of nothing more. All the despatches and newspapers were dated 'from the *Chhaoni*,' or camp.

The situation selected was most judicious, being nearly equi-distant from the two principal entrances to Harouti from the south, and touching the most insubordinate part of the Bhili population; while he was close to the strong castles of Shirgurh and Gagrown, which he strengthened with the utmost care, making the latter the depot of his treasures and his arsenal. He formed an army; adopted the European arms and discipline; appointed officers with the title of captain to his battalions, which had a regular nomenclature, and his 'royals' (*Raj Pultun*) have done as gallant service as any that ever bore the name. These were ready at a moment's warning to move to any point, against any foe. Moreover, by this change, he was extricated from many perplexities and delays which a residence in a capital necessarily engenders.

Up to this period of his life, having been immersed in the troubled sea of political intrigue, the Protector had no better knowledge of the systems of revenue and landed economy than other *Rangra* chieftains; and he followed the immemorial usage termed *latho* and *buttaie*, or rent in kind by weight or measure, in proportion to the value of the soil or of the product. The regent soon found the disadvantages of this system, which afforded opportunity for oppression on the part of the collectors, and fraud on that of the tenant, both detrimental to the government, and serving only to enrich that vulture, the *Patel*. When this rapacious, yet indispensable medium between the peasant and ruler, leagued with the collector—and there was no control to exaction beyond the conscience of this constituted attorney of each township, either for the assessment or collection—and when as we have so often stated, the Regent cared not for the means so that the supplies were abundant, nothing but ruin, could ensue to the ryot.

Having made himself master of the complicated details of the *buttaie*, and sifted every act of chicanery by the most inquisitorial process, he convoked all the Patels of the country, and took their depositions as to the extent of each *pateli*, their modes of collection, their credit, character, and individual means; and being thus enabled to form a rough computation of the size and revenues of each, he recommenced his tour, made a *chakbundi*; or measurement of the lands of each township, and classified them, according to soil and fertility, as *peerwal* or irrigated; *gorma*, of good soil, but dependant on the heavens; and *morni*, including pasturage and mountain-tracts. He then, having formed an average from the accounts of many years, instituted a fixed money-rent, and declared that the *buttaie* system, or that of payment in kind was at the end. But even in this he shewed severity; for he reduced the *jureeb*, or standard measure, by a third, and added a fourth to his averages. Doubtless he argued that the profit which the Patels looked forward to would admit of this increase, and determined that his vigilance should be more than a match for their ingenuity.

Having thus apjusted the rents of the fisc, the dues of the Patel were fixed at once and a half annas per beegha on all the lands constituting a *pateli*; and as his personal lands were on a favoured footing and paid a much smaller rate than the ryot's, he was led to understand that any exaction beyond what was authorised would subject him to confiscation. Thus the dues on collection would realize to the Patel from five to fifteen thousand rupees annually. The anxiety of these men to be reinstated in their trusts was evinced by the immense offers they made, of ten, twenty, and even fifty thousand rupees. At one stroke he put ten lakhs, or £100,000 sterling into his exhausted treasury, by the amount of *nusseranas*, or fines of relief on their re-induction into office. The ryot hoped for better days; for notwithstanding the assessment was heavy, he saw the limit of exaction, and that the door was closed to all subordinate oppression. Besides the spur of hope, he had that of fear, to quicken his exertion; for with the promulgation of the edict substituting money-rent for *buttaie*, the ryot was given to understand that 'no account of the seasons' would alter or lessen the established dues of the state, and that uncultivated lands would be made over by the Patel to those who would cultivate them; or if none would take them, they would be incorporated with the *khas* or personal farms of the Regent. In all cases, the Patels were declared responsible for deficiencies of revenue.

Hitherto this body of men had an incentive, if not a license, to plunder, being subject to an annual or triennial tax termed *patel-burrar*. This was annulled; and it was added, that if they fulfilled their contract with the state without oppressing the subject, they should be protected and honoured. Thus these Patels, the elected representatives of the village and the shields of the ryot, became the direct officers of the crown. It was the Regent's interest to conciliate a body of men, on whose exertions the prosperity of the state mainly depended; and they gladly and unanimously entered into his views. Golden bracelets and turbans, the signs of inauguration, were given, with a "grant of office," to each Patel, and they departed to their several trusts.

A few reflections obtrude themselves on the contemplation of such a picture. It will hardly fail to strike the reader, how perfect are the elements for the formation of a representative government in these regions; for every state of Rajwarra is similarly constituted; *ex uno disce omnes*. The

Patels would only require to be joined by the representatives of the commercial body, and these are already formed, of Rajpoot blood, deficient neither in nerve nor political sagacity, compared with any class on earth; often composing the ministry or heading the armies in battle. It is needless to push the parallel farther, but if it is the desire of Britain to promote this system in the east, to enthrone liberty on the ruins of bondage, and call forth the energies of a grand national *punchaet*, the materials are ample without the risk of innovation beyond the mere extent of members. We should have the aristocratic *Thakoors* (the Rajpoot barons) the men of wealth, and the representatives of agriculture, to settle the limits and maintain the principles of their ancient patriarchal system. A code of criminal and civil law, perfectly adequate, could be compiled from their sacred books, their records on stone, or traditional customs, and sufficient might be deducted from the revenues of the state to maintain municipal forces, which could unite if public safety were endangered, while the equestrian order would furnish all state parade, and act as a moveable army.

But to return to our subject. Out of this numerous body of Patels, Zalim selected four of the most intelligent and experienced, of whom he formed a council attached to the Presence. At first their duties were confined to matters of revenue; soon those of police were superadded, and at length no matter of internal regulation was transacted without their advice. In all cases of doubtful decision, they were the court of appeal from provincial *punchaets*, and even from those of the cities and the capital itself. Thus they performed the three-fold duties of a board of revenue, of justice, and of police, and perhaps throughout the world, there never was a police like that of Zalim Sing; there was not one *Fouche*, but four; and a net of *espionnage* was spread over the country, out of whose meshes nothing could escape.

Such was the Patel system of Kotah. A system so rigid had its alloy of evil; the veil of secrecy, so essential to commercial pursuits, was rudely drawn aside; every transaction was exposed to the Regent, and no man felt safe from the inquisitorial visits of the spies of this council. A lucky speculation was immediately reported, and the Regent hastened to share in the success of the speculator. Alarm and disgust were the consequence; the spirit of trade was damped; none were assured of the just returns of their industry; but there was no security elsewhere, and at Kotah only the Protector dared to injure them.

The Council of Venice was not more arbitrary than the Patel board of Kotah; even the ministers saw the sword suspended over their heads, while they were hated as much as feared by all but the individual who recognized their utility.

It would be imagined that with a council so vigilant the Regent would feel perfectly secure. Not so: he had spies over them. In short, to use the phrase of one of his ministers,—a man of acute perception and powerful understanding, when talking of the vigour of his mental vision,—when his physical organs had failed, *pani pia, aur moot tolna*, which we will not translate.

The Patel, now the virtual master of the peasantry, was aware that fine and confiscation would follow the discovery of direct oppression of the ryots; but there were many indirect modes by which he could attain his object, and he took the most secure, the medium of their necessities. Hitherto, the impoverished husbandman had his wants supplied by the *Bohora*, the sanctioned usurer of each village; now, the privileged Patel

usurped his functions, and bound him by a double chain to his purposes. But we must explain the functions of the *Bohora*, in order to show the extent of subordination in which the ryot was placed.

The *Bohora* of Rajpootana is the *Metayer* of the ancient system of France. He furnishes the cultivator with whatever he requires for his pursuits, whether cattle, implements, or seed; and supports him and his family throughout the season until the crop is ready for the sickle, when a settlement of accounts takes place. This is done in two ways; either by a cash payment, with stipulated interest according to the risk previously agreed upon; or, more commonly, by a specified share of the crop, in which the *Bohora* takes the risk of bad seasons with the husbandman. The utility of such a person under an oppressive government, where the ryot can store up nothing for the future, may readily be conceived; he is, in fact, indispensable. Mutual honesty is required; for extortion on the part of the *Bohora* would lose him his clients, and dishonesty on that of the peasant would deprive him of his only resource against the sequestration of his patrimony. Accordingly, this monied middleman enjoyed great consideration, being regarded as the patron of the husbandman. Every peasant had his particular *Bohora*, and not unfrequently from the adjacent village in preference to his own.

Such was the state of things when the old system of *latha bhuttaie* was commuted for *beegoti*, a specific money-rent apportioned to the area of the land. The Patel, now tied down to the simple duties of collection, could touch nothing but his dues, unless he leagued with or overthrown the *Bohora*; and in either case there was risk from the lynx-eyed scrutiny of the Regent. They, accordingly, adopted the middle course of alarming his cupidity, which the following expedient effected. When the crop was ripe, the peasant would demand permission to cut it. "Pay your rent first," was the reply. The *Bohora* was applied to: but his fears had been awakened by a caution not to lend money to one on whom the government had claims. There was no alternative but to mortgage to the harpy Patel a portion of the produce of his fields. This was the precise point at which he aimed; he took the crop at his own valuation, and gave his receipt that the dues of government were satisfied; demanding a certificate to the effect "that having no funds forthcoming when the rent was required, and being unable to raise it, the mortgager voluntarily assigned, at a fair valuation, a share of the produce." In this manner did the Patels hoard immense quantities of grain, and as Kotah became the granary of Rajpootana, they accumulated great wealth, while the peasant, never able to reckon on the fruits of his industry, was depressed and impoverished. The Regent could not long be kept in ignorance of these extortions; but the treasury overflowed, and he did not sufficiently heed the miseries occasioned by a system which added fresh lands by sequestration to the home farms, now the object of his especial solicitude.

Matters proceeded thus until the year 1867 (A. D. 1811), when, like a clap of thunder, mandates of arrest were issued, and every Patel in Kotah was placed in fetters, and his property under the seal of the state: the ill-gotten wealth, as usual, flowing into the exchequer of the Protector. Few escaped heavy fines; one only was enabled altogether to evade the vigilance of the police, and he had wisely remitted his wealth, to the amount of seven lakhs, or £70,000, to a foreign country; and from this individual case, a judgment may be formed of the prey these commorants were compelled to disgorge.

It is to be inferred that the Regent must have well-weighed the present good against the evil he incurred, in destroying in one moment the credit and efficacy of such an engine of power as the *pateli* system he had established. The Council of Four maintained their post, notwithstanding the humiliated condition of their compeers; though their influence could not fail to be weakened by the discredit attached to the body. The system Zalim had so artfully introduced being thus entirely disorganized, he was induced to push still further the resources of his energetic mind, by the extension of his personal farms. In describing the formation and management of these, we shall better pourtray the character of the Regent than by the most laboured summary; the acts will paint the man.

Before, however, we enter upon this singular part of his history, it is necessary to develop the ancient agricultural system of Harouti, to which he returned when the *pateli* was broken up. In the execution of this design, we must speak both of the soil and the occupants, whose moral estimation in the minds of their rulers must materially influence their legislative conduct.

The ryot of India, like the progenitor of all tillers of the earth, bears the brand of vengeance on his forehead; for as Cain was cursed by the Almighty, so were the cultivators of India by Ramachund, as a class whom no lenity could render honest or contented. When the hero of Ayodia left his kingdom for Lanka, he enjoined his minister to foster the ryots, that he might hear no complaints on his return. Aware of the fruitlessness of the attempt, yet determined to guard against all just cause of complaint, the minister reserved the *mauna*, or grain measure, taking the share of the crown from the smaller end, exactly one half of what was sanctioned by immemorial usage. When Rama returned, the cultivators assembled in bodies at each stage of his journey, and complained of the innovations of the minister. "What had he done?" "Reversed the *mauna*." The monarch dismissed them with his curse, as "a race whom no favour could conciliate, and who belonged to no one;" a phrase which to this hour is proverbial, '*ryot kessi ca nahyn hyn*' and the sentence is confirmed by the historians of Alexander, who tell us that they lived unmolested amidst all intestine wars; that "they only till the ground and pay tribute to the king," enjoying an amnesty from danger when the commonwealth suffered, which must tend to engender a love of soil more than patriotism. It would appear as if the Regent of Kotah had availed himself of the anathema of Rama in his estimation of the moral virtues of his subjects, who were Helots in condition if not in name.

We proceed to the modes of realizing the dues of the state in which the character and condition of the peasant will be further developed. There are four modes of levying the land-tax, three of which are common throughout Rajwarra; the fourth is more peculiar to Harouti and Mewar. The first and most ancient is that of *buttais*, or 'payment in kind,' practised before metallic currency was invented. The system of *buttais* extends, however, only to corn; for sugar-cane, cotton, hemp, poppy, all, kesoomba, gingers, turmeric, and other dyes and drugs, and all garden stuffs, pay a rent in money. This rent was arbitrary and variable, according to the necessities or justice of the ruler. In both countries five to ten rupees per beegha, are demanded for sugar-cane; three to five for cotton, poppy, hemp, and oil-plant; and two to four for the rest. But when heaven was bounteous, avarice and oppression rose in their demands, and seventy rupees per beegha were exacted for the sugar-cane, thus

paralyzing the industry of the cultivator and rendering abortive the beneficence of the Almighty.

Buttaie or 'division in kind,' varies with the seasons and their products :

1st. The *unalu*, or 'summer harvest,' when wheat, barley, and a variety of pulses, as gram, moth, moong, til, are raised. The share of the state in these varies with the fertility of the soil, from one-fourth, one-third, and two-fifths, to one-half—the extreme fractions being the maximum and minimum ; those of one-third and two-fifths are the most universally admitted as the share of the crown. But besides this, there are dues to the artificers and mechanics, whose labour to the village is compensated by a share of the harvest from each cultivator ; which allowances reduce the portion of the latter to one-half of the gross produce of his industry, which if he realize, he is contended, and thrives.

The second harvest is the *sialoo*, or 'autumnal,' and consists of *mukhi* or *boota*, (Indian corn,) or joar, bajri, the two chief kinds of maize, and *til* or sesamum, with other small seeds, such as *kangni*,* with many of the pulses. Of all these, one half is exacted by the state.

Such is the system of *buttaie* ; let us describe that of *koont*† *Koont* is the conjectural estimate of the quantity of the standing crop on a measured surface, by the officers of the government in conjunction with the proprietors, when the share of the state is converted into cash at the average rate of the day, and the peasant is debited the amount. So exactly can those habitually exercised in this method, estimate the quantity of grain produced on a given surface, that they seldom err beyond one-twentieth part of the crop. Should, however, the cultivator deem his crop over-estimated, he has the power to cut and weigh it ; and this is termed *latha*.

The third is a tax in money, according admeasurement of the field, assessed previously to cultivation.

The fourth is a mixed tax, of both money and produce.

Neither of these modes is free from objection. That of *koont*, or conjectural estimate of the standing crop, is, however, liable to much greater abuse than *latha*, or measurement of the grain. In the first case, it is well known that by a tribe to the officer, he will *koont* a field at ten maunds, which may realize twice the quantity ; for the chief guarantees to honesty are fear of detection, and instinctive morality ; feeble safeguards, even in more civilized states than Rajwarra. If he be so closely watched that he must make a fair *koont*, or estimate, he will still find means to extort money from the ryot, one of which is, by procrastinating the estimate when the ear is ripe, and when every day's delay is a certain loss. In short, a celebrated superintendent of a district, of great credit both for zeal and honesty, confessed, "we are like tailors ; we can cheat you to your face, and you cannot perceive it." The ryot prefers the *koont* ; the process is soon over, and he has done with the government ;

* *Panicum Italicum* produced abundantly in the valley of the Rhine, as well as *mukhi*, there called *Velsh corn* ; doubtless the maizes would alike grow in perfection.

† It would be more correct to say that *buttaie*, or 'payment in kind,' is divided into two branches, *vis.*, *koont* and *latha* ; the first being a portion of the standing crop by conjectural estimate ; the other by actual measure, after reaping and thrashing.

but in *latha*, the means are varied to perplex and cheat it; beginning with the reaping, when, with a liberal hand, they leave something for the gleaner; then, a "tithe for the *koorpi*, or 'sickle'"; then, the thrashing; and though they muzzle the ox who treads out the corn, they do not their own mouths, or those of their family. Again, if not convertible into coin, they are debited and allowed to store it up, and "the rats are sure to get into the pits." In both cases, the *shanahs*, or village-watchmen, are appointed to watch the crops, as soon as the ear begins to fill; yet all is insufficient to check the system of pillage; for the ryot and his family begin to feed upon the heads of Indian corn and maize the moment they afford the last nourishment. The *shanah*, receiving his emoluments from the husbandman as well as from the crown, inclines more to his fellow-citizen; and it is asserted that *one-fourth of the crop*, and even a *third*, is frequently made away with before the share of the government can be fixed.

Yet the system of *latha* was pursued by the Regent before he commenced that of *pateli*, which has no slight analogy to the permanent system of Bengal,* and was attended with similar results,—distress, confiscation, and sale, to the utter exclusion of the hereditary principle, the very corner-stone of Hindu society.

CHAPTER VIII.

LET us proceed with the prominent feature of the Regent's internal administration—his farming monopoly—to which he is mainly indebted for the reputation he enjoys throughout Rajpootana. The superficial observer, who can with difficulty find a path through the corn-fields which cover the face of Harouti, will dwell with rapture upon the effects of a system in which he discovers nothing but energy and efficiency: he cannot trace the remote causes of this deceptive prosperity, which originated in moral and political injustice. It was because his own tyranny had produced unploughed fields and deserted villages, starving husbandmen and a diminishing population; it was with the distrained implements and cattle of his subjects, and in order to prevent the injurious effects of so much waste land upon the revenue, that, Zalim commenced a system which has made him *farmer-general* of Harouti; and he has carried it to an astonishing extent. There is not a nook or a patch in Harouti, where grain can be produced, which his ploughs do not visit. Forests have disappeared; even the barren rocks have been covered with exotic soil, and the mountain's side, inaccessible to the plough, is turned up with a spud, and compelled to yield a crop.

In S. 1840 (A. D. 1784), Zalim possessed only two or three hundred ploughs, which in a few years increased to eight hundred. At the commencement of what they term the new era (*nya samvat*) in the history of landed property of Kotah, the introduction of the *pateli* system, the number was doubled; and at the present time† no less than *four thousand*

* The patel of Harouti, like the Zemindar of Bengal, was answerable for the revenues: the one, however, was hereditary only during pleasure; the other perpetually so. The extent of their authorities was equal.

† This was drawn up in 1820-21.

ploughs, of double yoke, employing *sixteen thousand oxen*, are used in the farming system of this extraordinary man ; to which may be added one thousand more ploughs and four thousand oxen employed on the estates of the prince, and the different members of his family.

This is the secret of the Raj Rana's power and reputation ; and to the wealth extracted from her soil. Kotah owes her preservation from the ruin which befell the states around her during the convulsions of the last half century, when one after another sank into decay. But although sagacity marks the plan, and unexampled energy superintends its details, we must, on examining the foundations of the system either morally or politically, pronounce its effects a mere paroxysm of prosperity, arising from stimulating causes which present no guarantee of permanence. Despotism has wrought this magic effect : there is not one, from the noble to the peasant, who has not felt, and who does not still feel, its presence. When the arm of the octagenarian Protector shall be withdrawn, and the authority transferred to his son, who possesses none of the father's energies, then will the impolicy of the system become apparent. It was from the sequestered estates of the valiant Hara chieftain, and that grinding oppression which thinned Harouti of its agricultural population, and left the lands waste, that the Regent found scope for his genius. The fields, which had descended from father to son through the lapse of ages, the unalienable right of the peasant, were seized, in spite of law, custom, or tradition, on every defalcation ; and it is even affirmed that he sought pretexts to obtain such lands as from their contiguity or fertility he coveted, and that hundreds were thus deprived of their inheritance. In vain we look for the peaceful hamlets which once studded Harouti : we discern instead the *orie*, or farm-house of the Regent which would be beautiful were it not erected on the prosperity of the subject ; but when we enquire the ratio which the cultivators bear to the cultivation, and the means of enjoyment this artificial system has left them, and find that the once independent proprietor, who claimed a sacred right of inheritance,* now ploughs like a serf the fields formerly his own, all our perceptions of moral justice are shocked.

The love of country and the passion for possessing land are strong throughout Rajpootana ; while there is a hope of existence, the cultivator clings to the '*bapota*,' and in Harouti this *amor patriæ* is so invincible, that, to use their homely phrase, " he would rather fill his *pait* in slavery there, than live in luxury abroad." But where could they fly to escape oppression ? All around was desolation ; armies perambulated the country,

* Throughout the Boondi territory, where no regent has innovated on the established laws of inheritance, by far the greater part of the land is the absolute property of the cultivating *ryot*, who can sell or mortgage it. There is a curious tradition that this right was obtained by one of the ancient princes making a general sale of the crown land, reserving only the tax. In Boondi, if a *ryot* becomes unable, from pecuniary wants or otherwise, to cultivate his lands, he lets them ; and custom has established *four annas per beegha* or irrigated land, and *two annas for gorma*, that dependent on the heavens, or a share of the produce in a similar proportion, as his right. If in exile, from whatever cause, he can assign this share to trustees ; and, the more strongly to mark his inalienable right in such a case, the trustees reserve on his own account *two seers on every maund of produce*, which is emphatically termed "*hak bapota ea bhom*," the "dues of the patrimonial soil."

with rapid strides, in each other's train, "one to another still succeeding." To this evil Kotah was comparatively a stranger; the Protector was the only plunderer within his domains. Indeed, the inhabitants of the surrounding states, from the year 1865, when rapine was at its height, flocked into Kotah, and filled up the chasm which oppression had produced in the population. But with the banishment of predatory war, and the return of industry to its own field of exertion, this *panacea* for the wounds which the ruler has inflicted will disappear; and although the vast resources of the Regent's mind may check the appearance of decay, while his faculties survive to superintend this vast and complicated system, it must ultimately, from the want of a principle of permanence, fall into rapid disorganization. We proceed to the details of the system, which will afford fresh proofs of the talent, industry, and vigilance of this singular character,

The soil of Kotah is a rich tenacious mould, resembling the best parts of lower Malwa. The single plough is unequal to breaking it up, and the Regent has introduced the plough of double yoke from the Concan. His cattle are of the first quality, and equally fit for the park or the plough. He purchases at all the adjacent fairs, chiefly in his own dominions, and at the annual *mela* (fair) of his favourite city *Jhalra Patun*. He has tried those of Marwar and of the desert, famed for a superior race of cattle; but he found that the transition from their sandy regions to the deep loam of Harouti soon disabled them.

Each plough or team is equal to the culture of one hundred beegahs; consequently 4,000 ploughs will cultivate 400,000 during each harvest, and for both 800,000, nearly 300,000 English acres. The soil is deemed poor which does not yield seven to ten maunds* of wheat per beegha, and five to seven of millet and Indian corn. But to take a very low estimate, and allowing for bad seasons, we may assume four maunds per beegha, as the average produce, (though double would not be deemed an exaggerated average): this will give 3,200,000 maunds of both products, wheat and millet, and the proportion of the former to the latter is as three to two. Let us estimate the value of this. In seasons of abundance, twelve rupees per *mauni*,† in equal quantities of both grains, is the average; at this time (July 1820), notwithstanding the preceeding season, has been a failure throughout Rajwarra, (though there was a prospect of an excellent one), and grain a dead weight, eighteen rupees per *mauni* is the current price, and may be quoted as the average standard of Harouti: above is approximating to dearth, and below to the reverse. But if we take the average of the year of actual plenty, or twelve rupees‡ per *mauni* of equal quantities of wheat and joar, or one rupee per maund, the result is thirty-two lakhs of rupees annual income.

Let us endeavour to calculate how much of this becomes net produce towards the expenses of the government, and it will be seen that the charges are about one-third gross amount.

* A maund is seventy-five pounds.

† Grain Measure of Rajpootana.—

75 pounds = 1 maund.

43 seers = 1 maund.

12 maunds = 1 mauni.

100 " = 1 manassa.

‡ It does descend as low as eight rupees per mauni for wheat and barley, and four for the millets, in seasons of excessive abundance.

<i>Expenses.</i>				Rs.
Establishments— <i>vis.</i> , feeding cattle and servants, tear and wear of gear, and clearing the fields— one-eighth of the gross amount,* or				...
Seed	...	...	...	4,00,000
Replacing 4,000 oxen annually, at 20s.	...	...	...	6,00,000
Extras	...	...	...	80,000
				20,000
TOTAL				11,00,000

We do not presume to give this, or even the gross amount, as more than an approximation to the truth; but the Regent himself has mentioned that in one year the casualties in oxen amounted to five thousand! We have allowed one-fourth, for an ox will work well seven years, if taken of. Thus on the lowest scale, supposing the necessities of the government required the grain to be sold in the year it was raised, twenty lakhs will be the net profit of the Regent's farms. But he has abundant resources without being forced into the market before the favourable moment; until when, the produce is hoarded up in subterranean granaries. Every thing in these regions is simple, yet efficient; we will describe the grain-pits.

These pits or trenches are fixed on elevated dry spots; their size being according to the nature of the soil. All the preparation they undergo is the incineration of certain vegetable substances, and lining the sides and bottom with wheat or barley stubble. The grain is then deposited in the pit, covered over with straw, and a terrace of earth, about eighteen inches in height, and projecting in front beyond the orifice of the pit, is raised over it. This is secured with a coating of clay and cow-dung, which resists even the monsoon, and is renewed as the torrent injure it. Thus the grain may remain for years without injury, while the heat which is extricated checks germination, and deters rats and white ants. Thus the Regent has seldom less than fifty lakhs of maunds in various parts of the country, and it is on emergencies, or in bad seasons, that these stores see the light; when, instead of twelve rupees, the *mauni* runs as high as forty, or the famine price of sixty. Then these pits are mines of gold; the Regent having frequently sold in one year sixty lakhs of maunds. In S. 1860, or (A. D. 1804) during the Mahratta war, when Holcar was in the Bhurtpur state, and predatory armies were moving in every direction, and when famine and war conjoined to desolate the country, Kotah fed the whole population of Rajwarra, and supplied all these roving hordes. In that season, grain being fifty-five rupees per *mauni*, he sold to the enormous amount of one crore of rupees, or a million sterling!

Reputable merchants of the Mahajin tribe refrain from speculating in grain, from the most liberal feelings, esteeming it *dherm nahyn hyn*, 'a want of charity.' The humane Jain merchants says, "to hoard up grain,

* It is not uncommon in Rajwarra, when the means of individuals prevent them from cultivating their own lands, to hire out the whole with men and implements; for the use of which *one-eighth* of the produce is the established consideration. We have applied this in the rough estimate of the expenses of the Regent's farming system.

or the purpose of taking advantage of human misery, may bring riches, but never profit."

According to the only accessible documents, the whole crown-revenue of Kotah from the tax in kind, amounted, under bad management, to twenty-five lakhs of rupees. This is all the Regent admits he collects from (to use his own phrase) his handful (*puchewara*) of soil: of course he does not include his own farming system, but only the amount raised from the cultivator. He confesses that two-thirds of the superficial area of Kotah were waste; but that this is now reversed, there being two-thirds cultivated, and only one-third waste, and this comprises mountain, forest, common, etc.

In S. 1865 (A.D. 1809), as if industry were not already sufficiently shackled, the Regent established a new tax on all corn exported from his dominions. It was termed *lut'ho*, and amounted to a rupee and a half per *mauni*. This tax—not less unjust in origin than vexatious in operation—worse than even the infamous *gabelle*, or the *droit d'aubaine* of France—was another fruit of monopoly. It was at first confined to the grower, though of course it fell indirectly on the consumer; but the *Fagati*, or chief collector of the custom, a man after the Regent's own heart, was so pleased with its efficiency on the very first trial, that he advised his master to push it farther, and it was accordingly levied as well on the farmer as the purchaser. An item of ten lakhs was at once added to the budget; and as if this were insufficient to stop all competition between the Regent-Farmer-General and his subjects, three, four, nay even five *lut'hos*, have been levied from the same grain before it was retailed for consumption. Kotah exhibited the picture of a people, if not absolutely starving, yet living in penury in the midst of plenty. Neither the lands of his chiefs nor those of his ministers were exempt from the operation of this tax, and all were at the mercy of the *Fagati*, from whose arbitrary will there was no appeal. It had reached the very height of oppression about the period of the alliance with the British Government. This collector had become a part of his system; and if the Regent, required a few lakhs of ready money, *Fo hookum*, 'your commands,' was the reply. A list was made out of 'arrears of *lut'ho*,' and friend and foe, minister, banker, trader, and farmer, had a circular. Remonstrance was not only vain but dangerous: even his ancient friend, the Pundit Bellal, had twenty-five thousand rupees to pay in one of these schedules; the *homme d'affaires* of one of his confidential chiefs, five thousand; his own foreign minister a share, and many bankers of the town, four thousand, five thousand, and ten thousand each. The term *lut'ho* was an abuse of language for a forced contribution: in fact, the obnoxious and well-known *dind* of Rajwarra. It alienated the minds of all men, and nearly occasioned the Regent's ruin; for scarcely was their individual sympathy expressed, when the Hara princes conspired to emancipate themselves from his interminable and galling protection.

When the English government came in contact with Rajwarra, it was a primary principle of the universal protective alliance to proclaim that it was for the benefit of the governed as well as the governors, since it availed little to destroy the wolves without, if they were consigned to the lion within. But there are and must be absurd inconsistencies, even in the policy of western legislators, where one set of principles is applied to all. Zalim soon discovered that the fashion of the day was to *purwurush*, 'foster the ryot.' The odious character of the tax was dimi-

nished, and an edict limited its operation to the farmer, the seller, and purchaser; and so anxious was he to conceal this weapon of oppression, that the very name of *lut'ho* was abolished, and *sowae hasil*, or 'extra-dinaries,' substituted. This item is said still to amount to five lakhs of rupees.

Thus did the skill and rigid system of the Regent exact from his *puchewara* of soil, full fifty lakhs of rupees. We must also recollect that nearly five more are to be added on account of the household lands of the members of his own and the prince's family, which is almost sufficient to cover their expenses.

What will the European practical farmer, of enlarged means and experience, think of the man who arranged this complicated system, and who, during forty years, had superintended its details? What opinion will he form of his vigour of mind, who, at the age of fourscore years, although blind and palsied, still superintends and maintains this system? What will he think of the tenacity of memory, which bears graven thereon as on a tablet, an account of all these vast depositories of grain, with their varied contents, many of them he store of years past; and the power to check the slightest errors of the intendant of this vast accumulation; while, at the same time, he regulates the succession of crops throughout this extensive range? Such is the minute topographical knowledge which the Regent possesses of this country, that every field in every farm is familiar to him: and woe to the superintendent *havelder* if he discovers a fallow nook that ought to bear a crop.

Yet vast as this system is, overwhelming as it would seem to most minds, it formed but a part of the political engine conducted and kept in action by his single powers. The details of his administration, internal as well as external, demanded unremitted vigilance. The formation, the maintenance and discipline of an army of twenty thousand men, his fortresses, arsenals, and their complicated minutiae, were amply sufficient for one mind. The daily account from his police, consisting of several hundred emissaries, besides the equally numerous reports from the head of each district, would have distracted an ordinary head, "for the winds could not enter and leave Harouti without being reported." But when, in addition to all this, it is known that the Regent was a practical merchant, a speculator in exchanges, that he encouraged the mechanical arts, fostered foreign industry, pursued even horticulture, and, to use his own words, "considered no trouble thrown away which made the rupee return sixteen and a half annas, with whom can he be compared?"* Literature, philosophy, and *excerptæ* from the grand historical epics, were the amusements of his hours of relaxation; but here we anticipate, for we have not yet finished the review of his economical character. His monopolies, especially that of grain, and not only influenced his own market, but affected all the adjacent countries; and when speculation in opium ran to such a demoralizing excess in consequence of the British Government monopolizing the entire produce of the poppy cultivated throughout Malwa, he took advantage of the *mania*, and by his sales or purchases raised or depressed the market at pleasure. His gardens, scattered throughout the country, still supply the markets of the towns and capital with vegetables, and his forests furnish them with fuel.

So rigid was his system of taxation, that nothing escaped it. There

* There are sixteen *annas* to a rupee.

was a heavy tax on widows who re-married. Even the *gourd* of the mendicant paid a tithe, and the ascetic in his cell had a domiciliary visit to ascertain the gains of mendicity, in order that a portion should go to the exigencies of the state. The *toomba burrar*, or 'gourd-tax,' was abolished after forming for a twelve month part of the fiscal code of Harouti, and then not through any scruples of the Regent, but to satisfy his friends. Akin to this, and even of a lower grade, was the *jahroo-burrar*, or 'broom tax,' which continued for ten years; but the many lampoons it provoked from the satirical *Bhat* operated on the more sensitive feelings of his son, Madhu Sing, who obtained its repeal.

Zalim was no favourite with the bards; and that he had little claim to their consideration may be inferred from the following anecdote. A celebrated rhymers was reciting some laudatory stanzas, which the Regent received rather coldly, observing with a sneer, that "they told nothing but lies, though he should be happy to listen to their effusions when truth was the foundation." The poet replied, that "he found truth a most unmarketable commodity; nevertheless, he had some of that at his service;" and stipulating for forgiveness if they offended, he gave the protector his picture in a string of *improvised* stanzas, so full of *vis* (poison), that the lands of the whole fraternity were resumed, and none of the order have ever since been admitted to his presence.

Though rigid in his observance of the ceremonies of religion, and sharing in the prevailing superstitions of his country, he never allows the accidental circumstance of birth or caste to affect his policy. Offences against the state admit of no idemnity, be the offender a Brahmin or a bard; and if these classes engage in trade, they experience no exemption from imposts.

Such is an outline of the territorial arrangements of the Regent Zalim Sing. When power was assigned to him, he found the state limited to Kailwarra on the east; he has extended it to the verge of the Plateau, and the fortress which guards its ascent, at first rented from the Mahrattas, is now by treaty his own. He took possession of the reins of power with an empty treasury and *thirty-two lakhs* of accumulating debt. He found the means of defence a few dilapidated fortresses, and a brave but unmanageable feudal army. He has, at an immense cost, put the fortresses into the most complete state of defence, and covered their ramparts with many hundred pieces of cannon; and he has raised and maintains, in lieu of about four thousand Hara cavaliers, an army,—regular we may term it,—of twenty thousand men, distributed into battalions, a park of one hundred pieces of cannon, with about one thousand good horse besides the feudal contingents.

But is this prosperity? Is this the greatness which the Raja Goman intended should be entailed upon his successors, his chiefs, and subjects? Was it to entertain twenty thousand mercenary soldiers from the sequestered fields of the illustrious Hara, the indigenous proprietor? Is this government, is it good government according to the ideas of more civilized nations, to extend taxation to its limit, in order to maintain this cumbrous machinery? We may admit that, for a time, such a system may have been requisite, not only for the maintenance of his delegated power, but to preserve the state from predatory spoilation; and now, could we see the noble restored to his forfeited estates, and the ryot to his hereditary rood of land, we should say that Zalim Sing had been an instrument in the hand of Providence for the preservation of the rights of the Haras. But, as it is, whilst the corn which waves upon the fertile

surface of Kotah presents not the symbol of prosperity, neither is his well-paid and well-disciplined army a sure means of defence: moral propriety has been violated; rights are in abeyance, and until they be restored, even the apparent consistency of the social fabric is obtained by means which endanger its security.

CHAPTER IX.

THE foregoing reflections brings us back to political considerations, and these we must separate into two branches, the foreign and domestic. We purposely invert the discussion of these topics, for the sake of convenience.

Zalim's policy was to create, as regarded himself, a kind of balance of power; to overawe one leader by his influence with another, yet by the maintenance of good understanding with all, to prevent individual umbrage, while his own strength was at all times sufficient to make the scale preponderate in his favour.

Placed in the very heart of India, Kotah was for years the centre around which revolved the desultory armies or ambulant governments, ever strangers to repose; and though its wealth could not fail to attract the cupidity of these vagabond powers, yet, by the imposing attitude which he assumed, Zalim Sing maintained during more than half a century, the respect, the fear, and even the esteem of all; and Kotah alone, throughout this lengthened period, so full of catastrophes, never saw an enemy at her gates. Although an epoch of perpetual change and political convulsion,—armies destroyed, states overturned, famine and pestilence often aiding moral causes in desolating the land—yet did the Regent, from the age of twenty-five to eighty-two,* by his sagacity, his energy, his moderation, his prudence, conduct the bark intrusted to his care through all the shoals and dangers which beset her course. It may not excite surprise that he was unwilling to relinquish the helm when the vessel was moored in calm waters; or, when the unskilful owner, forgetting these tempests, and deeming his own science equal to the task, demanded the surrender, that he should hoist the flag of defence.

There was not a court in Rajwarra, not even the predatory governments, which was not in some way influenced by his opinions, and often guided by his Councils. At each he had envoys, and when there was a point to gain, there were irresistible arguments in reserve to secure it. The necessities, the vanities, and weaknesses of man, he could enlist on his side, and he was alternately, by adoption, the father, uncle, or brother, of every person in power during this eventful period, from the prince upon the throne, to the brat of a Pindarri. He frequently observed, that "none knew the shifts he had been put to;" and when entreated not to use expressions of humility, which were alike unsuited to his age and station, and the reverence he compelled, he would reply, "God grant you long life, but it is become a habit." For the last ten years, he not only made his connection with Meer Khan subservient to

* I may once more repeat, this was written in A.D. 1820-21, when Zalim Sing had reached the age of four score and two.

avoiding a collision with Holcar, but converted the Khan into the make-weight of his balance of power: "he thanked God the time was past, when he had to congratulate even the slave of a Toork on a safe *accouchement*, and to pay for this happiness."

Though by nature irascible, impetuous, and proud, he could bend to the extreme of submission. But while he would, by letter or conversation, say to a marauding Pindarri or Pathan, "let me petition to your notice," or "if my clodpole understanding (*bhomia baod'h*) is worth consulting;" or reply to a demand for a contribution, coupled with a threat of inroad, "that the *friendly epistle* had been received; that he lamented the writer's distresses, etc., etc.; with a few thousand more than was demanded, and a present to the messenger, he would excite a feeling which at least obtained a respite; on the other hand, he was always prepared to repel aggression; and if a single action would have decided his quarrel, he would not have hesitated to engage any power in the circle. But he knew even success, in such a case, to be ruin, and the general feature of his external policy was accordingly of a temporizing and very mixed nature. Situated as he was, amidst conflicting elements, he had frequently a double game to play. Thus, in the coalition of 1806-7, against Jodhpur, he had three parties to please, each requesting his aid, which made neutrality almost impossible. He sent envoys to all; and while appearing as the universal mediator, he gave assistance to none.

It would be vain as well as useless to attempt the details of his foreign policy; we shall merely allude to the circumstance which first brought him in contract with the British government, in A.D. 1803-4, and then proceed to his domestic administration.

When the ill-fated expedition under Monson traversed Central India to the attack of Holcar, the regent of Kotah, trusting to the invincibility of the British arms, did not hesitate, upon their appearance within his territory, to co-operate both with supplies and men. But when the British army retreated, and its commander demanded admission within the walls of Kotah, he met a decided and very proper refusal. "You shall not bring anarchy and a disorganized army to mix with my peaceful citizens; but draw up your battalions under my walls; I will furnish provisions, and I will march the whole of my force between you and the enemy, and bear the brunt of his attack." Such were Zalim's own expressions: whether it would have been wise to accede to his proposal is not the point of discussion. Monson continued his disastrous flight through the Boondi and Jeypur dominions, and carried almost alone the news of his disgrace to the illustrious Lake. It was natural he should seek to palliate his error by an attempt to involve others; and amongst those thus calumniated, first and foremost was the regent of Kotah, "the head and front of whose offending,"—non-admission to a panic-struck, beef-eating army within his walls,—was translated into treachery, and a connivance with the enemy; a calumny which long subsisted to the prejudice of the veteran politician. But never was there a greater wrong inflicted, or a more unjust return for services and sacrifices, both in men and money, in a cause which little concerned him; and it nearly operated hurtfully, at a period (1817) when the British government could not have dispensed with his aid. It was never told, it is hardly yet known at this distant period, what devotion he evinced in that memorable *retreat*, as it is misnamed, when the troops of Kotah and the crops of the devoted Lucan were sacrificed; to

ensure the safety of the army until it left the Mokundurra Pass in its rear, If there be any incredulous supporter of the commander in that era of our shame, let him repair to the altar of the Coelah chief, who, like a true Har, "spread his carpet" at the ford of the Amjar, and there awaited the myrmidons of the Mahrattas, and fell protecting the flight of an army which might have passed from one end of India to the other. Well might the veteran allude to our ingratitude in 1804, when in A.D. 1817 he was called upon to co-operate in the destruction of that predatory system, in withstanding which he had passed a life of feverish anxiety. If there was a doubt of the part he acted, if the monuments of the slain will not be admitted as evidence, let us appeal to the opinion of the enemy, whose testimony adds another feature to the portrait of this extraordinary man.

Besides the Coelah chief, and many brave Haras, slain on the retreat of Monson, the Bukshee, or commander of the forces, was made prisoner. As the price of his liberation, and as a punishment for the aid thus given to the British, [the Mahratta leader exacted a bond of ten lakhs of rupees from the Bukshee, threatening on refusal to lay waste with fire and sword the whole line of pursuit. But when the discomfited Bukshee appeared before the Regent, he spurned him from his presence, disavowed his act, and sent him back to Holcar to pay the forfeiture as he might.* Holcar satisfied himself then with threatening vengeance, and when opportunity permitted, he marched into Harouti and encamped near the capital. The walls were manned to receive him; the signal had been prepared which would not have left a single house inhabited in the plains, while the Bhils would simultaneously pour down from the hills on Holcar's supplies or followers. The bond was again presented, and without hesitation disavowed: hostilities appeared inevitable, when the friends of both parties concerted an interview. But Zalim, aware of the perfidy of his foe, declined this, except on his own conditions. These were singular, and will recall to mind another and yet more celebrated meeting. He demanded that they should discuss the terms of peace or war upon the Chumbul, to which Holcar acceded. For the purpose Zalim prepared two boats, each capable of containing about twenty armed men. Having moored his own little bark in the middle of the stream, under the cannon of the city, Holcar, accompanied his cavalcade, embarked in his boat and rowed to meet him. Carpets were spread, and there these extraordinary men, with only one eye† between them, settled the conditions of peace, and the endearing epithets of 'uncle' and 'nephew' were bandied, with abundant mirth on the peculiarity of their situation; while,—for the fact is beyond a doubt,—each boat was plunged, and men were at hand on the first appearance of treachery to have sent them all to the bottom of the river. But Holcar's necessities were urgent, and a gift of three lakhs of rupees averted such a catastrophe, though he never relinquished the threat of exacting the ten lakhs; and when at length madness overtook him, "the bond of Kaka Zalim Sing" was one of the most frequently-repeated ravings of this soldier of fortune, whose whole life was one scene of insanity.

* If my memory betrays me not, this unfortunate commander, unable to bear his shame, took poison.

† It should be remembered that Zalim was quite blind and that Holcar had lost the use of one eye.

It will readily be conceived, that the labours of his administration were quite sufficient to occupy his attention without intermeddling with his neighbours; yet, in order to give a direct interest in the welfare of Kotah, he became a competitor for the farming of the extensive districts which joined his southern frontier, belonging to Sindia and Holcar. From the former he rented the *Punj-Mohals*, and from the latter the four important districts of Dig, Perawa, etc., which, when by right of conquest they became British, were given in sovereignty to the Regent. Not satisfied with this hold of self-interest on the two great predatory powers, he had emissaries in the persons of their confidential ministers, who reported every movement; and to "make assurance doubly sure," he had Mahratta pundits of the first talent in his own administration, through whose connections no political measure of their nation escaped his knowledge. As for Meer Khan, he and the Regent were essential to each other. From Kotah the Khan was provided with military stores and supplies of every kind; and when his legions mutinied (a matter of daily occurrence) and threatened him with the *bastinado*, or fastening to a piece of ordnance under a scorching sun, Kotah afforded a place of refuge during a temporary retreat, or ways and means to allay the tumult by paying the arrears. Zalim allotted the castle of Shirgurb for the Khan's family, so that this leader had no anxiety on their account, while he was pursuing his career of rapine in more distant scenes.

Even the Pindarries were conciliated with all the respect and courtesy paid to better men. Many of their leaders held grants of land in Kotah: so essential, indeed, was a good understanding with this body, that when Sindia, in A. D. 1807, entrapped and imprisoned in the dungeons of Gwalior the celebrated Kurcem, Zalim not only advanced the large sum required for his ransom, but had the temerity to pledge himself for his future good conduct: an act which somewhat tarnished his reputation for sagacity, but eventually operated as a just punishment on Sindia for his avarice.

The scale of munificence on which the Regent exercised the rites of sanctuary (*sirna*) towards the chiefs of other countries claiming his protection, was disproportioned to the means of the state. The exiled nobles of Marwar and Mewar have held estates in Kotah greater than their sequestered patrimonies. These dazzling acts of beneficence were not lost on a community amongst whom hospitality ranks at the head of the virtues. In these regions, where the strangest anomalies and the most striking contradictions present themselves in politics, such conduct begets no astonishment, and rarely provokes a remonstrance from the state whence the suppliant fled. The Regent not only received the refugees, but often reconciled them to their sovereigns. He gloried in the title of 'peace-maker,' and whether his conduct proceeded from motives of benevolence or policy, he was rewarded with the epithet, sufficiently exalted in itself. "They all come to old Zalim with their troubles," he remarked, "as if he could find food for them all from 'his handful of soil.'"

To conclude: this defensive was, in its results, the reverse of his offensive policy. Invariable and brilliant success accompanied the one; defeat, disappointment, and great pecuniary sacrifices, were the constant fruits of the other. Mewar eluded all his arts, and involved Kotah in embarrassments from which she will never recover, while his attempt to take Sheopor, the capital of the Gores, by a *coup de main*, was signally defeated. Had he succeeded in either attempt, and added the resources

of these acquisitions to Kotah, doubtless his views would have been still more enlarged. At an early period of his career, an offer was made to him, by the celebrated Pratap Sing of Jeypur, to undertake the duties of chief minister of that state: it is vain to speculate on what might have been the result to the state or himself, had he been able to wield her resources, at the time so little impaired.

Let us now view the domestic policy of the Regent; for which purpose we must again bring forward the pageant prince of Kotah, the Raja Omed Sing, who was destined never, to be extricated from the trammels of a guardianship which, like most offices in the East, was designed to be hereditary: and at the age of threescore and ten, Omed Sing found himself as much a minor as when his dying father "placed him in the lap" of the Protector Zalim Sing. The line of conduct he pursued towards his sovereign, through half a century's duration, was singularly consistent. The age, the character, the very title of *nanah*, or 'grand-sire,' added weight to his authority, and the disposition of the prince seemed little inclined to throw it off. In short, his temperament appeared exactly suited to the views of the Regent, who, while he consulted his wishes in every step, acted entirely from himself. The Maha-Rao was a prince of excellent understanding, and possessed many of those qualities inherent in a Rajpoot. He was fond of the chase, and was the best horseman and marksman in the country; and the Regent gained such entire ascendancy over him, that it is doubtful whether he was solicitous of change. Besides, there was no appearance of constraint; and his religious occupations, which increased with his age, went far to wean him from a wish to take a more active share in the duties of government. His penetration, in fact, discovered the inutility of such a desire, and he soon ceased to entertain it; while in proportion as he yielded, the attentions of the minister increased. If an envoy came from a foreign state, he was introduced to the Prince, delivered his credentials to him; and from him received a reply, but that reply was his minister's. If a foreign noble claimed protection, he received it from the Prince: he was the dispenser of the favours, though he could neither change their nature or amount. Nay, if the Regent's own sons required an addition to their estates, it could only be at the express desire of the Maha-Rao; and to such a length did the minister carry this deference, that an increase to his personal income required being pressed upon him by the Prince. If horses arrived from foreign countries for sale, the best were set aside for the Maha-Rao and his sons. The archives, the seal, and all the emblems of sovereignty, remained as in times past in the custody of the personal servants of the Prince, at the castle, though none durst use them without consent of the Regent. He banished his only son, Madhu Sing, during three years, to the family estate at Nandta, for disrespect to the heir-apparent, Kishore Sing, when training their horses together; and it was with difficulty that even the entreaty of the Maha-Rao could procure his recall. There are many anecdotes related to evince that habitual deference to every thing attached to his sovereign, which, originating in good feeling, greatly aided his policy. The Regent was one day at prayer, in the family temple in the castle, when the younger sons of the Maha-Rao not knowing he was there, entered to perform their devotions. It was the cold season, and the pavement was damp; he took the quilt which he wore from his shoulders, and spread it for them to stand upon. On their retiring, a servant, deeming the quilt no longer fit to be applied to the Regent's person, was putting it aside; but, guessing his intention, Zalim eagerly snatched it from him, and re-covering himself, observed

it was now of some value, since it was marked with the dust of the feet of his sovereign's children. These are curious anomalies in the mind of a man who had determined on unlimited authority. No usurpation was ever more meek, or yet more absolute; and it might be affirmed that the Prince and the Regent were made for each other and the times in which they lived.

It was to be expected that a man, whose name was long synonymous with wisdom, should shew discernment in the choice of his servants. He had the art of attaching them to his interests of uniting their regard with a submissive respect, and no kindness, no familiarity, ever made them forget the bounds prescribed. But while he generously provided for all their wants and granted them every indulgence, he knew too well the caprice of human nature to make them independent of himself. He would provide for them, for their relations and their dependents; his hand was ever bestowing gratuities on festivals, births, marriages, or deaths; but he never allowed them to accumulate wealth. It is to be remarked that his most confidential servants were either Pathans or Mahratta Pundits: the first he employed in military posts, the other in the more complicated machinery of politics. He rarely employed his own countrymen; and the post of Foujdar, now held by Bishen Sing, a Rajpoot of the Sukrawit clan, is the exception to the rule. Dulleel Khan and Mehrab Khan were his most faithful and devoted servants and friends. The stupendous fortifications of the capital, with which there is nothing in India to compete, save the walls of Agra, were all executed by the former. By him, also, was raised that pride of the Regent, the city called after him, Jhalra-patun;* while all the other forts were put into a state which makes Kotah the most defensible territory in India. Such was the affectionate esteem in which Dulleel was held by the Regent, that he used often to say, "he hoped he should not outlive Dulleel Khan." Mehrab Khan was the commander of the infantry, which he maintained in a state of admirable discipline and efficiency,† they received their *bees roga*, or twenty days' pay, each month, with their arrears at the end of every second year.

CHAPTER X.

WB now enter upon that period of the Regent's history, when the march of events linked him with the policy of Britain. When, in A. D. 1817, the Marquis of Hastings proclaimed war against the Pindarris, who were the very lees of the predatory hordes, which the discomfiture of the greater powers had thrown off, neutrality was not to be endured; and it was announced that all those who were not for us in

* *Jhalra-ra-Patun*, 'the city of the Jhala,' the Regent's tribe.

† Mehrab Khan was the commandant of one division of Zalim's contingent, placed at my disposal, which in eight days took possession of every district of Holcar's adjacent to Harouti, and which afterwards gained so much credit by the brilliant escalade of the 'Soudi' fortress, when co-operating with General Sir John Malcolm. The *Royals (Raj-Paltan)* were led by Syf Alli, a gallant soldier, but who could not resist joining the cause of the Maharao and legitimacy in the civil war of 1821.

this grand enterprize, which involved the welfare of all, would be considered against us. The Rajpoot states, alike interested with ourselves in the establishment of settled government, were invited to an alliance, offensive and defensive, with us, which was to free them for ever from the thralldom of the predatory armies; in return for which, we demanded homage to our power, and a portion of their revenues as the price of protection. The eagle-eye of Zalim saw at once the virtue of compliance and the grace attendant on its being quickly yielded. Accordingly, his envoy was the first to connect Kotah in the bonds of alliance, which soon united all Rajwarra to Britain. Meanwhile, all India was in arms; two hundred thousand men were embodied, and moving on various points to destroy the germ of rapine for ever. As the first scene of action was expected to be in the countries bordering upon Harouti, the presence of an agent with Zalim Sing appeared indispensable. His instructions were to make available the resources of Kotah to the armies moving round him, and to lesson the field of the enemy's manœuvres, by shutting him out of that country. So efficient were these resources, that in five days after the agent reached the Regent's camp,* every pass was a post; and a corps of fifteen hundred men, infantry and cavalry, with four guns, was marched to co-operate with General Sir John Malcolm, who had just crossed the Nerbudda with a weak division of the army of the Dekhan, and was marching northward surrounded by numerous foes and doubtful friends. Throughout that brilliant and eventful period in the history of British India, when every province from the Ganges to the Ocean was agitated by warlike demonstrations, the camp of the Regent was the pivot of operations and the focus of intelligence. The part he acted was decided, manly, and consistent; and if there were moments of vacillation, it was inspired by our own conduct, which created doubts in his mind as to the wisdom of his course. He had seen and felt that the grand principle of politics, expediency, guided all courts and councils, whether Moghul, Mahratta, or British: the disavowal of the alliances formed by Lord Lake, under Marquis Wellesley's administration, proved this to demonstration, and he was too familiar with the history of our power to give more credit than mere politeness required to our boasted renunciation of the rights of anticipated conquest. A smile would play over the features of the orbliss politician when the envoy disclaimed all idea of its being a war of aggrandisement. To all such protestations he would say, "Maharaja, I cannot doubt you believe what you say; but remember what old Zalim tells you; the day is not distant when only one emblem of power (*ehi sicca*) will be recognized throughout India." This was in A.D. 1817-18; and the ten years of life since granted to him must have well illustrated the truth of this remark; for although no absolute conquest or incorporation of Rajpoot territory has taken place, our system of control, and the establishment of our monopoly within these limits (not then dreamed of by ourselves), has already verified in part his prediction. It were indeed idle to suppose that any protestations could have vanquished the arguments present to a mind which had pondered on every page of the history of our power; which had witnessed its development, from the battle of Plassy under Clive, to Lake's, exploits at the

* The author of these annals, then Assistant Resident at Sindia's Court, was deputed by Lord Hastings to the Raj Rana Zalim Sing. He left the Residency at Gwalior on the 12th November, 1817, and reached the Regent's camp at Rowtah, about twenty-five miles S. E. of Kotah, on the 23rd.

astars of Alexander. He had seen throughout, that the fundamental rule which guides the Rajpoot prince, "obtain land," was one both practically and theoretically understood by viceroys from the west, who appeared to act upon the four grand political principles of the Rajpoot, *sham, dan, bed, dind*; or, persuasion, gifts, stratagem, force; by which, according to their great lawgiver, kingdoms are obtained and maintained, and all mundane affairs conducted. When, therefore, in order to attain our ends we expatiated upon the disinterestedness of our views, his co-operation was granted less from a belief in our professions, than upon a dispassionate consideration of the benefits which such alliance would confer upon Kotah, and of its utility in maintaining his family in the position it had so long held in that state. He must have balanced the difficulties he had mastered to maintain that power, against the enemies, internal and external, which had threatened it, and he justly feared both would speedily be sacrificed to the incapacity of his successors. To provide a stay to their feebleness was the motive which induced him to throw himself, heart and hand, into the alliance we sought; and of signal benefit did he prove to the cause he espoused. But if we read aright the workings of a mind, which never betrayed its purpose either to friend or foe, we should find that there was a moment wherein, though he did not swerve from the path he had chalked out, or shew any equivocation in respect to the pledge he had given, the same spirit which had guided him to the eminence he had acquired, suggested what he might have done at a conjuncture when all India, save Rajpootana, was in arms to overthrow the legions of Britain. All had reason to dread her colossal power, and hatred and revenge actuated our numerous allies to emancipate themselves from a yoke, to which, whether they were bound by friendship or by fear, was alike galling. If there was one master-mind that could have combined and wielded their resources for our overthrow, it was that of Zalim Sing alone. Whether the aspirations of his ambition, far too vast of its little field of action, soared to this height, or were checked by the trammels of nearly eighty winters, we can only conjecture. Once, and once only, the dubious oracle came forth. It was in the very crisis of operations, when three English divisions were gradually closing upon the grand Pindarri horde, under Kureem Khan, in the heart of his dominions, and his troops, his stores, were all placed at our disposal, he heard that one of these divisions had insulted his town of Barah: then, the ideas which appeared to occupy him burst forth in the ejaculation, "that if twenty years could be taken from his life, Delhi and Dekhan should be one;" and appeared to point to the hidden thoughts of a man, whose tongue never spoke but in parables.

There is also no doubt that his most confidential friends and ministers who were Mahrattas, were adverse to his leaguings with the English, and for a moment he felt a repugnance to breaking the bond which had so long united him with their policy. He could not but enumerate amongst the arguments for its maintenance, his ability to preserve that independence which fifty years had strengthened, and he was about to be allied, he had no course but unlimited obedience; in short, that this part must now be subordinate. He preferred it, however, for the security it afforded; and as in the course of nature he must soon resign his trust, there was more hope of his power descending to his posterity than if left to discord and faction. But when hostilities advanced against the freebooters, and the more settled governments of the Peshwa, Bhoonsla, Holcar, and Sindia, determined to shake off our yoke, we could urge to him irresistible arguments for a perfect identity of interests. The envoy had

only to hint that the right of conquest would leave the districts he rented from Holcar at our disposal ; and that as we wanted no territory in Central India for ourselves, we should not forget our friends at the conclusion of hostilities. If ever there were doubts, they were dissipated by this suggestion ; and on the grand horde being broken up, it was discovered that the families of its leaders were concealed in his territory. Through his indirect aid we were enabled to secure them, and at once annihilated the strength of the marauders. For all these important services, the sovereignty of the four districts he rented from Holcar was guaranteed to the Regent. The circumstances attending the conveyance of this gift afforded an estimate of Zalim's determination never to relinquish his authority ; for, when the *sunnud* was tendered in his own name, he declined it, desiring the insertion of that of "his master, the Maharao." At the time, it appeared an act of disinterested magnanimity, but subsequent acts allowed us to form a more correct appreciation of his motives. The campaign concluded, and the noble commander and his enlightened coadjutor* left the seat of war impressed with the conviction of the great services, and the highest respect for the talents, of the veteran politician, while the envoy, who had acted with him during the campaign, was declared the medium of his future political relations.

In march A. D. 1818, profound repose reigned from the Sutlej to the Ocean, of which Rajpoot history presented no example. The magic Runes, by which the north-man could "hush the stormy wave," could not be more efficacious than the rod of our power in tranquillising this wide space, which for ages had been the seat of conflict. The *Satya Yuga* the golden age of the Hindu, alone afforded a parallel to the calm which had succeeded eras of tumultuous effervescence.

Thus matters proceeded till November, 1819, when the death of the Maharao Omed Sing engendered new feelings in the claimants to the succession, and placed the Regent in a position from which not even his genius might have extricated him, unaided by the power whose alliance he had so timely obtained. And here it becomes requisite to advert to the terms of this alliance. The treaty† was concluded at Delhi, on the 26th of December, 1817, by the envoys of the Regent, in the name of his lawful sovereign, the Maharao Omed Sing, ratified by the contracting parties, and the deeds were interchanged at the Regent's Court early in January. To this treaty his sovereign's seal and his own were appended ; but no guarantee of the Regent's power was demanded pending the negotiation, nor is he mentioned except in the preamble, and then only as the ministerial agent of the Maharao Omed Sing, in whose behalf alone the treaty was virtually executed. This excited the surprise of the British representative,‡ who, in his official despatch detailing the progress and conclusion of the negotiations, intimated that he not only expected such stipulation, but was prepared for admitting it. There was no inadvertence in this omission ; the Regent saw no occasion for any guarantee, for the plenary exercise of the powers of sovereign during more than half a

* I allude to Mr. Adam, who divided with the noble Marquis the entire merits of that ever memorable period.

† Copy of this is inserted in Appendix No. 6.

‡ C. T. Metcalfe, Esq., then Resident at Delhi, now Sir C. T. Metcalfe, Bart, Member of Council in Bengal.

century had constituted him, *de facto*, prince of Kotah. Moreover, we may suppose, had he felt a desire for such stipulation, that a feeling of pride might have stifled its expression, which by making the choice of ministers dependent on a foreign power would have virtually annulled the independent sovereignty of Kotah. Whatever was the reason of the omission, at a season when his recognition might have had the same formal sanction of all the parties as the other articles of the treaty, it furnished the future opponents of the Regent's power with a strong argument against its maintenance in perpetuity on the death of the Maharao Omed Sing.

It has been already said, that the treaty was concluded at Delhi in December, 1817, and interchanged in January, 1818. In March of the same year, two supplemental articles were agreed to at Delhi, and transmitted direct to the Regent, guaranteeing the administration of affairs to his sons and successors for ever.

Having premised so much, let us give a brief notice of the parties, whose future fate was involved in this policy.

This Maharao Omed Sing had three sons, Kishore Sing, Bishen Sing, and Prithi Sing. The heir-apparent, who bore a name dear to the recollection of the Haras, was then forty years of age. He was mild in his temper and demeanour; but being brought up in habits of seclusion, he was more conversant with the formulas of his religion, and the sacred epics, than with the affairs of mankind. He was no stranger to the annals of his family, and had sufficient pride and feeling to kindle at the recollection of their glory; but the natural bent of his mind, reinforced by education, had well fitted him to follow the path of his father, and to leave himself and his country to be governed as best pleased the *nanah saheb*,* the Regent.

Bishen Sing was about three years younger; equally pacid in disposition, sensible and sedate, and much attached to the Regent.

Prithi Sing was under thirty; a noble specimen of a Hara, eager for action in the only career of a Rajpoot—arms. To him the existing state of things was one of opprobrium and dishonour, and his mind was made up to enfranchise himself and family from the thralldom in which his father had left them, or perish in the attempt. The brothers were attached to each other, and lived in perfect harmony, though suspicions did exist that Bishen Sing's greater docility and forbearance towards the Regent's son and successor, arose from interested, perhaps traitorous, views. Each of them had estates of twenty-five thousand rupees' annual rent, which they managed through their agents.

The Regent had two sons, the elder, Madhu Sing, legitimate; the younger, Gordhun-das, illegitimate; but he was regarded with more affection, and endowed with almost equal authority with the declared successor to the regency. Madhu Sing was about forty-six at the period we speak of. A physiognomist would discover in his aspect no feature indicative of genius, though he might detect amidst traits which denoted indolence, a supercilious tone of character, the effect of indulgence. This was fostered in a great degree by the late Maharao, who supported the Regent's son against his own in all their dissensions, even from their infancy, which had

* This was the parental epithet always applied to the Regent by Omed Sing and his sons, who it will be remembered mingled some of the Jhata blood in their veins. *Nanah-saheb*, 'sir grandsire.'

increased the natural arrogance developed by power being too early entrusted to him ; for when the Regent, as before related, quitted the capital for the camp, Madhu Sing was nominated, to the office of Foujdar, the hereditary post of his father, and left as his *locum teneus* at Kotah. This office, which included the command and pay of all the troops, left unlimited funds at his disposal ; and as the checks which restrained every other officer in the state, were inoperative upon his sons, who dared to inform against the future Regent ? Accordingly, he indulged his taste in a manner which engendered dislike to him ; his gardens, his horses, his boats, were in a style of extravagance calculated to prove the envy of the sons of his sovereign ; while his suite eclipsed that of the prince himself. In short, he little regarded the prudent counsel of his father, who, in their metaphorical language, used to express his fears "that when he was a hundred years old," (*i. e.*, dead,) the fabric which cost a life in rearing would fall to pieces.

Gordhun-das,* the natural son of the Regent, was then about twenty-seven,† quick, lively intelligent and daring. His conduct to his sovereign's family has been precisely the reverse of his brother's, and in consequence he lived on terms of confidential friendship with them, especially with the heir-apparent and prince, Prithi Sing, whose disposition corresponded with his own. His father, who viewed this child of his old age with perhaps more affection than his elder brother, bestowed upon him the important office of *Purdhan*, which comprehends the grain-department of the state. It gave him the command of funds, the amount of which endangered the declared succession‡. The brothers cordially detested each other, and many indignities were cast upon Gordhun-das by Madhu Sing, such as putting him in the guard, which kindled an irreconcilable rancour between them. Almost the only frailty in the character of the Regent was the defective education of his sons : both were left to the indulgence of arrogant pretensions, which ill-accorded with the tenor of his own behaviour through life, or the conduct that was demanded of them. Dearly, bitterly, has the Regent repented this error, which in its consequences has thrown the merits, of an active and difficult career into the shade, and made him regret that his power was not to die with them.

Such was the state of parties and politics at Kotah in November, 1819, when the death of the Maharao developed views that had long been concealed, and that produced the most deplorable results. The Regent was at the *Chaoni*, his standing camp at Gagrown, when this event occurred, and he immediately repaired to the capital, to see that the last offices were properly performed, and to proclaim the an, or oath of allegiance, and the accession of the Maharao Kishore Sing.

The political agent received the intelligence‡ on his march from Marwar to Mewar, and immediately addressed his government on the subject,

* *Anglice*, 'the slave of Gordhun,' one of the names of Krishna, the tutelary divinity of the Regent.

† Let me again remind the reader, that this was written in 1820-21 ; for many reasons, the phraseology and chronology of the original MS. are retained.

‡ The following is a translation of the letter written by the Regent, announcing the decease of his master, dated 1st Suffur. A. H. 1235, or November 21st, 1819:—

"Until Sunday, the eve of the 1st. Suffur, the health of the Maharao

requesting instructions. Meanwhile, after a few days' halt at Oodipur, he repaired to Kotah to observe the state of parties, whose animosities and expectations were forebodings of a change which menaced the guaranteed order of things. On his arrival, he found the aged Regent, still a stranger to the luxury of a house, encamped a mile beyond the city, with his devoted bands around him; while his son, the heir to his power, continued to his palace in the town. The prince and brothers, as heretofore, resided at the palace in the castle, where they held their *coteries* of which Gordhun-das and Prithi Sing were the principals, moulding the new Maharao to their will, and from which the second brother, Bishen Sing, was excluded. Although the late prince had hardly ceased to breathe, before the animosities so long existing between the sons of the Regent burst forth, and threatened "war within the gates;" and although nothing short of the recovery of rights so long in abeyance was determined upon by the prince; yet,—and it will hardly be believed,—these schemes escaped the vigilance of the Regent.

The death of his friend and sovereign, added to care and infirmity, brought on a fit of illness, the result of which was expected to crown the hopes of the parties who were interested in the event; and when, to their surprise and regret, he recovered, the plans of his prince and natural son were matured, and as notorious as the sun at noon to every person of note but the Regent himself. He was not, indeed, the first aged ruler, however, renowned for wisdom, who had been kept in ignorance of the cabals of his family. It required a prophet to announce to David the usurpation of Adonijah;* and the same cause, which kept David ignorant that his son had supplanted him, concealed from the penetrating eye of Zalim Sing the plot which had for its object that his power should perish with him, and that his son Gordhun should supersede the heir to his hereditary staff of office. Strange as it must appear, the British Agent acted the part of Nathan on this occasion, and had to break the intelligence to the man who had swayed for sixty years, with despotic authority, the destinies of Kotah, that his sons were arming against each other, and that his prince was determined that his wand (*Churri*) of power should (to speak in their metaphorical style) be consumed in the same pyre with himself whenever the "decree of Bhagwan" went forth.

It was then that the supplemental articles, guaranteeing Madhu Sing in the succession to the regency, proved a stumbling-block in the path of our meditation between parties, the one called on to renounce that dear-bought power the other determined to regain what time and accident had wrested from him. Had the emergency occurred while the predatory

Omed Sing was perfectly good. About an hour after sunset he went to worship *Sri-Byjnath-ji*. Having made six prostrations, and while performing the seventh, he fainted and remained totally insensible. In this state he was removed to his bed chamber, when every medical aid was given, but unavailingly; at two in the morning he departed for heaven.

"Such affliction is not reserved even for a foe; but what refuge is there against the decree? You are our friend, and the honour and welfare of those whom the Maharao has left behind are now in your hands. The Maharao Kishore Sing, eldest son of the Maharao deceased, has been placed upon the throne. This is written for the information of friendship."

* "Nathan spake unto Bathsheba, 'hast thou not heard that Adonijah, the son of Hagitha, does reign, and David our Lord knoweth it not.

system was predominant, not a whisper would have been raised; the point in all probability would never have been mooted: it would have been considered as a matter of course, where .

"Amurath to Amurath succeeds."

that the Maharao Kishore should continue the same puppet in the hands of Madhu Sing that his father had been in Zalim's. This would have excited no surprise, nor would such a proceeding have afforded speculation for one hour. Nay, the usurper might have advanced to the ulterior step; and, like the *Frank maire du palais* have demanded of the pontiff of Nathdwarra as did Pepin of Pope Zacharius, "whether he who had the power, should not also have the title of king;* and the same plenary indulgence would have awaited the first Jhala Raja of Kotah as was granted to the first of the Carolingian kings! It, therefore, became a matter of astonishment, especially to the unreflecting, whence arose the general sympathy amounting to enthusiasm, towards this hitherto disregarded family, not only from chief and peasant, within the bounds of Harouti, and the foreign mercenary army raised and maintained by the Regent, but from the neighbouring princes and nobles, who had hitherto looked upon the usurpation in silence.

A short explanation will solve what was then enigmatical, even to those most interested in forming a just opinion. The practice of the moral virtues amongst any portion of civilized society may be uncertain, but there is one invariable estimate or standard of them in theory. The policy of 1817 changed the moral with the political aspect of Rajasthan. If, previous thereto, no voice was raised against usurpation and crime, it was because all hope that their condition could be ameliorated was extinct. But this was to them a *nya samvat*, a 'new era,' a day of universal regeneration. Was the sovereign not to look for the restoration of that power which had been guaranteed by treaty,—nor the chiefs to claim the restitution of their estates,—nor the peasant to hope for the lands added to the crown domain;—and were not all foreign potentates interested in calling for an example of retributive justice for ministerial usurpation, however mildly exercised towards the prince? With more rational than political argument, they appealed to our high notions of public justice to accomplish these objects. Unhappy position, in which circumstances,—nay, paradoxical as it may appear, political gratitude and justice,—dictated a contrary course, and marshalled British battalions in line with the retainers of usurpation to combat the lawful sovereign of the country! The case was one of the most difficult that ever beset our policy in the East, which must always to a certain extent be adapted to the condition of those with whom we come in contact; and perhaps, on this occasion, no caution or foresight could have averted the effects of this alliance.

There is not a shadow of doubt that the supplemental articles of the treaty of Kotah, which pledge our faith to two parties in a manner which rendered its maintenance towards both an impossibility, produced consequences that shook the confidence of the people of Rajwarra in our political rectitude. They established two pageants instead of one, whose co-existence would have been miraculous: still, as a measure ought not to be judged entirely by its results, we shall endeavour to assign the true motive and character of the act.

If these articles were not dictated by good policy; if they cannot be

* Such was the question propounded, and answered as Pepin expected, regarding the deposal of Chluderic, the last of the Merovingian race.

defended on the plea of expediency; if the omission in the original treaty of December could not be supplied in March, without questioning the want of foresight of the farmer; he might justify them on the ground that they were a concession to feelings of gratitude for important services, rendered at a moment when the fate of our power in India was involved to an extent unprecedented since its origin. To effect a treaty with the Nestor of Rajwarra was to ensure alliance with the rest of the estates, which object was the very essence of Lord Hastings' policy. Thus, on general views, as well as for particular reasons (for the resources of Kotah were absolutely indispensable), the co-operation of the Regent was a measure vitally important. Still it may be urged that as the Regent himself, from whatever motive, had allowed the time to go by when necessity might have compelled us to incorporate such an article in the original treaty, was there no other mode of reimbursing these services besides a guarantee which was an apple of discord? The war was at an end; and we might with justice have urged that 'the state of Kotah,' with which we had treated, had, in the destruction of all the powers of anarchy and sharing in its spoils, fully reaped the reward of her services. Such an argument would doubtless have been diplomatically just; but we were still revelling in the excitement of unparalleled success, to which Zalim had been no mean contributor, and the future evil was overlooked in the feverish joy of the hour. But if cold expediency may not deem this a sufficient justification, we may find other reasons. When the author of the policy of 1817 had maturely adjusted his plans for the union of all the settled governments in a league against the predatory system, it became necessary to adopt a broad principle with respect to those with whom we had to treat. At such a moment he could not institute a patient investigation into the moral discipline of each state, or demand of those who wielded the power by what tenure they held their authority. It became, therefore, a matter of necessity to recognize those who were the rulers *de facto*, a principle which was publicly promulgated and universally acted upon. Whether we should have been justified in March, when all our wishes had been consummated, in declining a proposal which we would most gladly have submitted to in December, is a question which we shall leave diplomatists to settle,* and proceed to relate the result of the measure.

The counsellors of the new Maharao soon expounded to him the terms of the treaty, and urged him to demand its fulfilment according to its literal interpretation. The politic deference, which the Regent had invariably shewn to the late prince, was turned skilfully into an offensive weapon against him. They triumphantly appealed to the tenth article of the treaty, "the Maharao, his heirs and successors, shall remain absolute rulers of their country;" and demanded how we could reconcile our subsequent determination to guarantee Madhu Sing and his heirs in the enjoyment of power, which made him *de facto* the prince, and

* The overture for these supplementary articles, in all probability, originated not with the Regent, but with the son. Had the author (who was then the medium of the political relations with Kotah) been consulted regarding their tendency, he was as well aware then as now what he ought to have advised. Whether his feelings, alike excited by the grand work in which he bore no mean part, would have also clouded his judgment, it were useless to discuss. It is sufficient, in all the spirit of candour, to suggest such reasons as may have led to a measure, the consequences of which have been so deeply lamented.

"reduced the *gadi* of Kotah to a simple heap cotton?"—with the fact before our eyes, that the seals of all the contracting parties were to the original treaty, but that of the supplemental articles the late Maharao died in absolute ignorance.

All friendly intercourse between the prince and the Regent, and consequently with Madhu Sing, was soon at an end, and every effort was used whereby the political enfranchisement of the former could be accomplished. The eloquence of angels must have failed to check such hopes, still more to give a contrary interpretation to the simple language of the treaty, to which, with a judicious pertinacity, they confined themselves. It would be useless to detail the various occurrences pending the reference to our Government. The prince would not credit, or affected not to credit, its determination, and founded abundant and not easily-refutable arguments upon its honour and justice. When told that its instructions were, "that no pretensions of the titular Raja can be entertained by us in opposition to our positive engagement with the Regent; that he alone was considered as the head of the Kotah state, and the titular Raja no more deemed the ruler of Kotah, than the Raja of Satarra the leader of the Mahrattas, or the Great Mogul the emperor of Hindustan," the Maharao shut his ears against the representation of the Agent, and professed to regard the person who could compare his case to others so little parallel to it, as his enemy. While his brother, Priithi Sing, and Gordhun-das formed part of the council of Kishore Sing, it was impossible to expect that he would be brought to resign himself to his destiny; and he was speedily given to understand that the removal of both from his council was indispensable.

But as it was impossible to effect this without escalading the castle, in which operation the prince, in all human probability, might have perished, it was deemed advisable to blockade it and starve them into surrender. When reduced to extremity, the Maharao took the determination of trusting his cause to the country, and placing himself at the head band of five hundred horse, chiefly Haras, with the tutelary deity at his saddle-bow, with drums beating and colours flying, he broke through the blockade. Fortunately, no instructions had been given for resistance, and his cavalcade passed on to the southward unmolested. As soon as the movement was reported, the Agent hastened to the Regent's camp, which he found in confusion; and demanded of the veteran what steps he had taken, or meant to take, to prevent the infection spreading. His conduct, at such a crisis, was most embarrassing. Beset by scruples, real or affected, the Agent could only obtain ill-timed if not spurious declarations of loyalty; "that he would cling to his sovereign's skirts, and *chakri kar* (serve him); that he would rather retire to Nathdwarra, than *blacken his face* by any treason towards his master." Rejoiced at the mere hint of a sentiment which afforded the last presage of the only mode of cutting the Gordian knot of our policy, the Agent eagerly replied, "there was no earthly bar to his determination, which he had only to signify;" but abhorring duplicity and cant at such a moment, when action of the most decisive kind was required, and apprehensive of the consequences of five hundred unquiet spirits being thrown loose on a society so lately disorganised, he hastily bid the veteran adieu, and galloped to overtake the prince's cavalcade. He found it bivouacked at the *Rungbari*, a country-seat six miles south of the capital. His followers and their horses, intermingled, were scattered in groups outside garden-wall; and the prince, his chiefs, and advisers, were in the palace, deliberating on their future operations. There was no time for ceremony;

and he reached the assembly before he could be announced. The rules of etiquette and courtesy were not lost even amidst impending strife; though the greeting was short, a warm expostulation with the prince and the chiefs was delivered with rapidity; and the latter were warned that their position placed them in direct enmity to the British government, and that, without being enabled to benefit their sovereign, they involved themselves in destruction. The courtesy which these brave men had a right to, was changed into bitter reproof, as the Agent turned to Gordhun-das, whom he styled a traitor to his father, and from whom his prince could expect no good, guided as he was solely by interested motives, and warned him that punishment of no common kind awaited him. His hand was on his sword in an instant; but the action being met by a smile of contempt, and his insolent replies passing unheeded, the Agent, turning to the prince, implored him to reflect before the door would be closed to accommodation; pledging himself, at the same time, to every thing that reason and his position could demand, except the surrender of the power of the Regent, which our public faith compelled us to maintain; and that the prince's dignity, comforts, and happiness, should be sedulously consulted. While he was wavering, the Agent called aloud, "the prince's horse!" and taking his arm, Kishore Sing suffered himself to be led to it, observing as he mounted, "I rely implicitly on your friendship." His brother, Piithwi Sing, spoke; the chiefs maintained silence; and the impetuosity of Gordhun and one or two of the *coterie* was unheeded. The Agent rode side by side with the prince, surrounded by his bands, in perfect silence, and in this way they re-entered the castle, nor did the Agent quit him till he replaced him on his *gadi*, when he reiterated his expressions of desire for his welfare, but urged the necessity of his adapting his conduct to the imperious circumstances of his position; and intimated that both his brother and Gordhun-das must be removed from his person, the latter altogether from Harouti. This was in the middle of May; and in June, after the public deportation of Gordhun-das as a state-criminal to Delhi, and ample provision being made for the prince and every member of his family, a public reconciliation took place between him and the Regent.

The meeting partook of the nature of a festival, and produced a spontaneous rejoicing, the populace, with the loudest acclamations, crowding every avenue to the palace by which the Regent and his son were to pass. The venerable Zalim appeared like their patriarch; the princes as disobedient children suing forgiveness. They advanced bending to embrace his knees, whilst he, vainly attempting to restrain this reverential salutation to his age and to habit, endeavoured by the same lowly action to shew his respect to his sovereign. Expressions, in keeping with such forms of affection and respect, from the Maharao, of honour and fidelity, from the 'guardian of his father' and himself, were exchanged with all the fervour of apparent sincerity. Anomalous condition of human affairs! strange perversity, which prevented this momentary illusion from becoming a permanent reality!

This much-desired reconciliation was followed on the 8th of Sawun, or 17th August, A. D. 1820, by the solemnities of a public installation of the Maharao on the *gadi* of his ancestors: a pageantry which smoothed all asperities for the time, and, in giving scope to the munificence of the Regent, afforded to the mass, who judge only by the surface of things, a theme for approbation. We leave for another place the details of this spectacle; merely observing that the representative of the British government was the first (following the priest) to make the *tika*, or unction of

sovereignty* on the forehead of the prince; and having tied on the jewels, consisting of aigrette, necklace, and bracelets, he girded on, amidst salutes of ordnance, the sword of investiture. The Maharao, with an appropriate speech, presented one hundred and one gold mohurs, as the *nussur* or fine of relief, professing his homage to the British government. At the same time, a *khelat*, or dress of honour, was presented, in the name of the Governor-General of India, to the Regent, for which he made a suitable acknowledgment, and a *nussur* of twenty-five gold mohurs.

Madhu Sing then fulfilled the functions of hereditary Foujdar, making the *tika*, girding on the sword, and presenting the gift of accession, which was returned by the Maharao presenting to Madhu Sing the *khelat* of ultimate succession to the regency: the grand difficulty to overcome, and which originated all these differences. The Agent remained an entire month after the ceremony, to strengthen the good feeling thus begun; to adapt the Maharao's mind to the position in which an imperious destiny had placed him; and also to impress on the successor to the regency the dangerous responsibility of the trust which a solemn treaty had guaranteed, if by his supineness, want of feeling, or misconduct, it were violated. On the 4th September, previous to leaving Kotah, the Agent was present at another meeting of all the parties, when there was as much appearance of cordiality manifested as could be expected in so difficult a predicament. The old Regent, the Maharao, and Madhu Sing, joined hands in reciprocal forgiveness of the past, each uttering a solemn asseveration that he would cultivate harmony for the future.

It was on this occasion that the Regent performed two deliberate acts, which appear suitable accompaniments to the close of his political life, both as respects his prince and his subjects. He had prepared a covenant of surety for his old and faithful servants after his death, demanding the Maharao's, his son Madhu-Sing's, and the Agent's signatures thereto, stipulating that "if his successor did not choose to employ their services, they should be free agents, be called to no account for the past, but be permitted to reside wherever they pleased." The Maharao and Madhu Sing having signed the deed, the British agent, at the desire of the Regent, placed his signature as a guarantee for its execution. In this act, we not only have proof that to the last the Regent maintained the supremacy of his master, but evidence of the fears he entertained respecting the conduct of his successor.

The other act was a brilliant victory over the most inveterate habits of his age and country,—the revocation of *dind*, or forced contributions, throughout the dominion of Kotah. This spontaneous abolition of a practice so deeply rooted in Rajasthan, is another proof of the keen penetration of the Regent, and of his desire to conciliate the opinions of the protecting power, as to the duties of princes towards their subjects; duties regarding which, as he said, "theoretically we are not ignorant;" and on which he has often forcibly descanted before his son whilst laying down rules of conduct when he should be no more. At such moments, he entered fully and with energy into his own conduct; condemning it; pointing out its inevitable results, and the benefits he had observed to attend an opposite course of action. "My word, son, was not worth a copper," he

* * Anointing" appears to have been, in all ages, the mode of installation. The unguent on this occasion is of sandal-wood and *utr* of roses made into a paste, or very thick ointment, of which a little is placed upon the forehead with the middle finger of the right hand.

would say; "but now nobody would refuse any thing to old 'Zalim.'" It was, therefore, as much from a conviction of the benefit to himself and the state which would attend the renunciation of this tax, as with a view of courting golden opinion, that he commanded a stone to be raised in the chief town of every district of his country, on which was inscribed the edict of perpetual abolition of *dind* with the denunciation of eternal vengeance on whoever should revoke it. The effigies of the sun, the moon, the cow, and the hog, animals revered or execrated by all classes, were carved in relief, to attest the imprecation.

Such was the pacific termination of a contest for authority, which threatened to deluge Kotah with blood. Whether we had a right to hope that such high and natural pretensions could rest satisfied with the measures of conciliation and concession that were pursued, the sequel will disclose to those who judge only by results.

CHAPTER XI.

THE sole measure of severity which arose out of these commotions was exercised on the natural son of the Regent, who was banished in the face of open day from the scene of his turbulent intrigue. Gordhun-das, or, as his father styled him, "Gordhun-ji" was the 'child of love' and of his old age, and to his mother the Regent, it is said, felt the most ardent attachment. The perpetual banishment of this firebrand was essential to tranquillity; yet, notwithstanding his misdeeds, political and filial, it was feared that the sentiments of the Jewish monarch, rather than the sternness of the Roman father, would have influenced the Rajpoot regent, whose bearing, when the sentence of condemnation was enforced, was to be regarded as the test of a suspicion that the Maharao had been goaded to his course through this channel by ulterior views which he dared not openly promulgate. But Zalim's fiat was worthy of a Roman, and sufficed to annihilate suspicion—"Let the air of Harouti never more be tainted by his presence." Delhi and Allahabad were the cities fixed upon, from which he was to select his future residence, and unfortunately the first was chosen. Here he resided with his family upon a pension sufficiently liberal, and had a range abundantly excursive for exercise, attended by some horsemen furnished by the British local authority.

About the close of 1821, permission was imprudently granted to the exile to visit Malwa, to fulfil a marriage-contract with an illegitimate daughter of the chieftain of Jabboa. Scarcely had he set his foot in that town, when symptoms of impatience, in lieu of perfect tranquillity, began to be visible at Kotah, and a correspondence both there and at Boondi was hardly detected, before a spirit of revolt was reported to have infected the tried veterans of the Regent. Syef Alli, the commander of the 'royals' (*Raj Pultun*), an officer of thirty years' standing, distinguished for his zeal, fidelity, and gallantry, was named as having been gained over to the cause of his nominal sovereign. This was looked upon as a slander; but too wise entirely to disregard it, the Regent interposed a force between the disaffected battalion and the castle, which brought the matter to issue. The Maharao immediately proceeded by water, and conveyed Syef Alli and a part of his battalion to the place; which was no sooner reported, than the blind Regent put himself into

his litter, and headed a force with which he attacked the remainder, while two twenty-four pounders, mounted on a cavalier, which commanded not only every portion of the city, but the country on both sides the Chumbul, played upon the castle. In the midst of this firing (probably unexpected), the Maharao, his brother Prithi Sing, and their adherents, took to boat, crossed the river, and retired to Boondi, while the remainder of the mutinous 'royals' laid down their arms. By this energetic conduct, the new attempt upon his power was dissolved as soon as formed, and the *gadi* of the Haras was abandoned. Bishen Sing escaped from his brothers in the midst of the fray, and joined the Regent whose views regarding him, in this crisis, however, indirectly manifested, could not be mistaken; but our system of making and unmaking kings in these distant regions, though it may have enlarged our power, had not added to our reputation; and the Agent had the most rooted repugnance to sanction the system in the new range of our alliances, however it might have tended to allay the discord which prevailed, or to free the paramount power from the embarrasment in which its diplomatic relations had placed it, and from whence there was no escape without incurring the too just reproach of violating the conditions we had imposed. Common decency forbade our urging the only plea we could in forming the treaty, namely, our considering the prince as a mere phantom; and if we had been bold enough to do so, the reply would have been the same! "why did you treat with a phantom?" while he would have persisted in the literal interpretation of the bond.

There was but one way to deal with the perplexity—to fulfil the spirit of the treaty, by which public peace would be ensured. Instructions were sent to the prince of Boondi, that there was no restraint upon his performing the rites of hospitality and kindred to the fugitive princes, but that he would be personally responsible if he permitted them to congregate troops for the purpose of hostility against the Regent; while, at the same time, the commander of the British troops at Neemuch was desired to interpose a light corps on the line of Jabboa and Boondi, and to capture Gordhan-das, dead or alive, if he attempted to join the Maharao. He, however, contrived, through the intricacies of the plateau, to elude the well-arranged plan; but finding that the prince of Boondi had the same determination, he made direct for Marwar, where being also denied an asylum, he had no alternative but to return to Delhi, and to a more strict *surveillance*. This, however, may have been concerted; for soon after, the Maharao broke ground from Boondi, giving out a pilgrimage to Brindabun; and it was hoped that the tranquillity and repose he would find amidst the fanes of his tutelary deity, Brijnath-ji, might tempt a mind prone to religious seclusion, to pass his days there. While he remained at Boondi, public opinion was not at all manifested; the distance was trifling to Kotah, and being with the head of his race, the act was deemed only one of those hasty ebullitions so common in those countries, and which would be followed by reconciliation. But as soon as the prince moved northward, expectation being excited that his cause would meet attention elsewhere, he had letters of sympathy and condolence from every chief of the country, and the customary attentions to sovereignty were paid by those through whose states he passed, with the sole exception of that most contiguous to our provinces, Bhurtpur. The prince of this celebrated place sent a deputation to the frontier, excusing himself on account of his age and blindness; but the Hara prince, knowing what was due from a Jat zemindar, however favoured by the accessions of fortune, repelled with disdain both his gifts and his mission. For the haughty, though not

unbecoming maintenance of precedent, the Maharao was warned off the bounds of Bhurtpur. Having remained some time among the "groves of Vrija," there was reason to believe that the canticles of Jaydeva had rendered an earthly crown a mere bauble in the eye of the abdicated Hara, and that the mystical effusions of Kaniya and Radha had eradicated all remembrance of the rhapsodies of Chund, and the glories of the Chohan : he was accordingly left at discretion to wander where he listed. As it was predicted, he soon felt the difference between his past and present mode of life, surrounded by a needy crew in a strange land ; and towards the middle of April he had reached Muttra, on his return from Brindabun to Kotah. But his evil genius, in the shape of Gordhun-das had destined this should not be ; and notwithstanding the rigorous *surveillance*, or, in fact, imprisonment, which had been enjoined, this person found an opportunity to carry on cabals with natives of high rank and office.

Intrigues multiplied, and false hopes were inspired through these impure channels, which were converted by his corrupt emissaries into fountain-heads of political control, superseding the only authorized medium of communication between the misguided prince and the paramount power. Accordingly, having collected additional troops about him, he commenced his march to Harouti, giving out to the chiefs through whose dominions he passed, that he was returning by the consent of the paramount power for the resumption of all his sovereign rights, so long in abeyance. Men with badges in his train, belonging to the persons alluded to, and an agent from the native treasurer of Delhi, who supplied the prince with funds, gave a colour of truth which deceived the country and produced ardent expressions of desire for his success. As he proceeded, this force increased, and he reached the Chumbul, towards the close of the moonsoon 1821, with about three thousand men. Having crossed the river, he issued his summons in a language neither to be misunderstood nor disobeyed by a Rajpoot ; he conjured them by their alliances to join his cause, "that of seeking justice according to the treaty:" and the call was obeyed by every Hara of the country. His conduct afforded the most powerful illustration of the Rajpoot's theory of fidelity, for even those closely connected by ties of blood and by every species of benefit, withdrew from the Regent, to whom they owed every thing, in order to join their hereditary and lawful prince, whom some had never seen, and of whom they knew nothing. Negotiation, and expostulation the most solemn and earnest on the personal dangers he was incurring, were carried on, and even public tranquillity was hazarded, rather than have recourse to the last argument, which was the less necessary, as universal peace reigned around us, and the means of quelling revolt were at hand. An entire month was thus consumed : but the ultimatum*

* Letter of Maharao Kishore Sing, accompanying counter articles, presented to Capt. Tod, dated Asoj bud Panchmee, or 16th September, "Camp Meanoh."

(After compliments.)

Chund Khan has often expressed a desire to know what were my expectations. These had been already sent to you by my vakeels, Mirza Mohummud Alee Beg, and Lalla Salik Ram. I again send you the Schedule of articles. According to their purport you will act. Do me justice as the representative of the British Government, and let the master be master, and the servant a servant : this is the case every where else, and is not hidden from you.

left no means of putting a stop to increasing disorders but that appeal which from various considerations had been so long delayed.

The tired troops of the Regent could not be depended on ; he confessed it ; and in this confession, what an evidence is afforded of the nature of his rule, and of the homage to immutable justice in all parts of the world ! Every corps, foreign or indigenous, was ready to range on the side of legitimate authority against the hand which had fed and cherished them. So completely did this feeling pervade every part of the political fabric, that the Regent himself said, in his forcible manner, on his escape from the danger, "even the clothes on his back smelt of treason to him." It was hoped that "the wisdom which called aloud (even) in the streets" would not be disregarded by the veteran ; that disgust at such marks of perfidy would make him sprung from him the odium of usurpation, and thus free the paramount power from a situation the most painful and embarrassing. Abundant opportunities were afforded, and hints were given that he alone could cut the knot, which otherwise must be severed by the sword. But all was fruitless : "he stood upon his bond," and the execution of the treaty. The Maharao, his nominal sovereign, took the same ground, and even sent

Articles, the fulfilment of which was demanded by Moharao Kishore Sing, and accompanying his letter of 16th September.

1. According to the treaty executed at Delhi, in the time of Maharao Omed Sing, I will abide.

2. I have every confidence in Nana-ji Zalim Sing ; in like manner as he served Maharao Omed Sing, so he will serve me. I agree to his administration of affairs ; but between Madhu Sing, and myself suspicions and doubts exist : we can never agree ; therefore I will give him a jageer ; there let him remain. His son Bappa Lall, shall remain with me, and in the same way as other ministers conduct state business before their princes, so shall he before me. I, the master, he, the servant ; and if as the servant he acts, it will abide from generation to generation.

3. To the English Government, and other principalities, whatever letters are addressed shall be with my concurrence and advice.

4. Surety for his life, and also for mine, must be guaranteed by the English Government.

5. I shall allot a jageer for Prithwi Sing (the Maharao's brother), at which he will reside. The establishment to reside with him and my brother Bishen Sing shall be of my nomination. Besides, to my kinsmen, and clansmen, according to their rank, I shall give jageers, and they shall, according to ancient usage, be in attendance upon me.

6. My personal or *khas* guards, to the amount of three thousand, with Bappa Lall (the Regent's grandson) shall remain in attendance.

7. The amount of the collections of the country shall all be deposited in the *Kishen Bindar* (general treasury), and thence expenditure made.

8. The killedars (commandants) of all the forts shall be appointed by me, and the army shall be under my orders. He (the Regent) may desire the officers of Government to execute his commands, but it shall be with my advice and sanction.

These are Articles I desire ; they are according to the rules for government (*rajrest*)—Mithi Asod Panchmee, S, 878 (1822).

a copy of the treaty on the Agent, tauntingly asking whether it was to be recognized or not? All this embarrassment would have been avoided, had the supplemental articles been embodied in the original treaty; then the literal interpretation and its spirit would not have been at variance, nor have afforded a pretext to reproach the paramount power with a breach of faith and justice: charges which cannot, in fact, be supported, inasmuch as the same contracting parties, who executed the original document, amended it by this supplemental deed. The dispute then resolves itself into a question of expediency, already touched on, *vis.*, whether we might not have provided better for the future, and sought out other modes of reward for services we had acknowledged, that the maintenance of two pageants of sovereignty, both acknowledged, the one *de facto*, the other *de jure*. It was fortunate, however, that the magnitude of the titular prince's pretensions placed him completely in opposition to the other contracting parties, inasmuch as he would not abide by either the spirit or the letter of the treaty or its supplement, in the most modified senses. His demand for "a personal guard of three thousand of his kinsmen, that he might allot estates at pleasure to his chiefs, appoint the governor, fortresses, and be head of the army," was a virtual repudiation of every principle of the alliance; while the succession to the administrative powers of the state, secured to the issue of the Regent, was made to depend on his pleasure: rather a frail tenure whether in Europe or Rajpootana.

Every thing that could be done to withdraw the infatuated prince from the knot of evil advisers and fiery spirits who daily flocked to his standard, carrying with them their own and their ancestors' wrongs, being ineffectual and hopeless, the troops which had been called upon to maintain the treaty moved forward in combination with the army of the Regent. As the force reached the Caly Sind, which alone divided the rivals for power, torrents of rain, which during several days swelled it to an impassable flood, afforded more time to try all that friendship or prudence could urge to save the Maharao from the impending ruin. But all was vain; he saw the storm, and invited its approach with mingled resolution and despair, proclaiming the most submissive obedience to the paramount power and avowing a conviction of the good intentions and friendship of its representative; but to every remonstrance he replied, "what was life without honour: what a sovereign without authority? Death, or the full sovereignty of his ancestors!"

The conduct of the Regent was not less perplexing than that of the prince; for while he affected still to talk of fealty, "to preserve his white beard from stain," he placed before him the ample shield of the treaty, although he expected that his power should be maintained without any active measures on his own part for its defence; a degree of irresponsibility not for a moment to be tolerated. It was in vain he hinted at the spirit, more than doubtful of his army; that in the moment of conflict they might turn their guns against us; even this he was told we would hazard: and, it was added, if he desired, at whatever cost, to preserve the power guaranteed to his family, he must act offensively as well as defensively; for it would shortly be too late to talk of reconciling fealty with the preservation of his power. The wily Regent desired to have his work done for him; to have all the benefit which the alliance compelled us to afford, with none of the obloquy it entailed. The Agent had some hope, even at the twelfth hour, that rather than incur the opprobrium of the world, and the penalty denounced against the violation of *swam-dharma*, in committing to the chance of battle the lives of all those to

whom he was protector, he would draw back and compromise his power; but the betrayal of his half-formed designs in hypocritical cant adapted only for the multitude, soon dispelled the illusion; and though there was a strong internal struggle, the love of dominion overcame every scruple.

The combination of the troops was discussed in his presence and that of his officers; and in order that unity of action might be insured, a British officer was, at his request, attached to his force.*

At daybreak on the 1st of October, the troops moved down to the attack. The Regent's army consisted of eight battalions of infantry, with thirty-two pieces of cannon and fourteen strong *paegas*, or squadrons of horse. Of these, five battalions, with fourteen pieces and ten squadrons, composed the advance; while the rest formed a reserve with the Regent in person, five hundred yards in the rear. The British troops, consisting of two weak battalions and six squadrons of cavalry, with a light battery of horse-artillery, formed on the right of the Regent's force as it approximated to the Maharao's position. The ground over which the troops moved was an extensive plain, gradually shelving to a small shallow stream, whence it again rose rather abruptly. The Maharao's camp was placed upon a rising ground, a short distance beyond the stream: he left his tents standing, and had disposed his force on the margin of the rivulet. The "Royals," who had deserted their old master, with their leader, Syef Alli, were posted on the left; the Maharao with the *elite*, a band of full five hundred Hara cavaliers, upon the right, and the interval was filled by a tumultuous rabble. The combined force was permitted to choose its position, within two hundred yards of the foe, without the slightest demonstration of resistance or retreat. The Agent took advantage of the pause to request the British commander halt the whole line, in order that he might make a last attempt to withdraw the infatuated prince and his devoted followers from the perils that confronted them. He advanced midway between the lines, and offered the same conditions and an amnesty to all; to conduct and replace the prince on the *gadi* of his ancestors with honour. Yet, notwithstanding ruin stared him in the face, he receded from none of his demands; he insisted on the *sine qua non*, and would only re-enter Kotah surrounded by three thousand of his Hara kinsmen. During the quarter of an hour allowed him to deliberate ere the sword should be drawn, movements in position on both sides took place; the Maharao's chosen band, condensing all their force on the right, opposed the Regent's advance, while the British troops formed so in *echelon* as to enfilade their dense masses.

The time having expired, and not an iota of the pretensions being abated, the signal, as agreed upon, was given, and the action commenced by a discharge of cannon and fire-arms from the Regent's whole line, immediately followed by the horse-artillery on the right. With all the gallantry that has ever distinguished the Haras, they acted as at Futtiabad and Dholpur, and charged the Regent's line, when several were killed at the very muzzle of the guns, and but for the advance of three squadrons of British cavalry, would have turned his left flank, and probably penetrated to the reserve, where the Regent was

* Lieutenant M'Millan, of the 5th Regt., Native Infantry, volunteered for this duty, and performed it as might have been expected from an officer of his gallantry and conduct.

In person.* Defeated in this design, they had no resource but a precipitate retreat from the unequal conflict, and the Maharao, surrounded by a *gole* of about four hundred horse, all Haras, his kinsmen, retired across the stream, and halted on the rising ground about half a mile distant, while his auxiliary foot broke and dispersed in all directions. The British troops rapidly crossed the stream, and while the infantry made a movement to cut off retreat from the south, two squadrons were commanded to charge the Maharao. Determined not to act offensively, even in this emergency he adhered to his resolution, and his band awaited in a dense mass and immoveable attitude the troops advancing with rapidity against them, disdaining to fly and yet too proud to yield. A British officer headed each troop; they and those they led had been accustomed to see the foe fly from the shock; but they were Pindarris, not Rajpoots. The band stood like a wall of adamant; our squadrons rebounded from the shock, leaving two brave youths† dead on the spot, and their gallant commander‡ was saved by a miracle, being stunned by a blow which drove in his casque, his reins cut, and the arm raised to give the *coup de grace*, when a pistol-shot from his orderly levelled his assailant. The whole was the work of an instant. True to the determination he expressed, the Maharao, satisfied with repelling the charge, slowly moved off; nor was it till the horse-artillery again closed, and poured round and grape into the dense body, that they quickened their retreat; while, as three fresh squadrons had formed for the charge, they reached the *mukti* fields, amongst the dense crops of which they were lost.

Prithi Sing, younger brother of the prince, impelled by that heroic spirit which is the birthright of a Hara, and aware that Harouti could no longer be a home for him while living, determined at least to find a grave in her soil. He returned, with about five and twenty followers, to certain destruction, and was found in a field of Indian corn as the line advanced, alive, but grievously wounded. He was placed in a litter, and escorted by some of Skinner's horse, was conveyed to the camp. Here he was sedulously attended; but medical skill was of no avail, and he died the next day. His demeanour was dignified and manly; he laid the blame upon destiny, expressed no wish for life, and said, looking to the tree near the tent, that "his ghost would be satisfied in contemplating therefrom the fields of his forefathers." His swords and ring had been taken from him by a trooper, but his dagger, pearl necklace, and other valuables, he gave in charge to the Agent, to whom he bequeathed the care of his son, the sole heir to the empty honours of the sovereignty of Kotah.

It was not from any auxiliary soldier that the prince received his death-wound; it was inflicted by a lance, propelled with unerring force from behind, penetrating the lungs, the point appearing through the chest. He said it was a revengeful blow from some determined hand, as he felt the steeled point twisted in the wound to ensure its being mortal. Although the squadrons of the Regent joined in the pursuit, yet not a man of them dared to come to close quarters with their enemy;

* The Author, who placed himself on the extreme left of the Regent's line, to be a check upon the dubious conduct of his troops, particularly noted for this intended movement, which was frustrated only by Major Kennedy's advance.

† Lieutenants Clarke and Read, of the Fourth Regt., Light Cavalry.

‡ Major, now Lt. Col. J. Ridge, C.B.

it was therefore supposed that some treacherous arm had mingled with his men, and inflicted the blow which relieved the Regent from the chief enemy to his son and successor.

The Maharao and his band were indebted for safety to the forest of corn, so thick, lofty, and luxuriant, that even his elephant was lost sight of. This shelter extended to the rivulet, only five miles in advance, which forms the boundary of Harouti; but it was deemed sufficient to drive him out of the Kotah territory, where alone his presence could be dangerous. The infantry and foreign levies, who had no moral courage to sustain them, fled for their lives, and many were cut to pieces by detached troops of our cavalry.

The calm undaunted valour of the Maharao and his kin could not fail to extort applause from those gallant mind which can admire the bravery of a foe, though few of those who had that day to confront them were aware of the moral courage which sustained their opponents, and which converted their *vis inertiae* into an almost impassable barrier.

But although the gallant conduct of the prince and his kin was in keeping with the valour so often recorded in these annals, and now, alas! almost the sole inheritance of the Haras, there was one specimen of devotion which we dare not pass over, comparable with whatever is recorded of the fabled traits of heroism of Greece or Rome. The physiognomy of the country has been already described; the plans, along which the combined force advanced, gradually shelved to the brink of a rivulet whose opposite bank rose perpendicularly, forming as it were the buttress to a table-land of gentle acclivity. The Regent's battalions were advancing in columns along this precipitous bank, when their attention was arrested by several shots fired from an isolated hillock rising out of the plain across the stream. Without any order, but as by a simultaneous impulse, the whole line halted, to gaze at two audacious individuals, who appeared determined to make their mound a fortress. A minute or two passed in mute surprise, when the word was given to move on; but scarcely was it uttered, ere several wounded from the head of the column were passing to the rear, and shots began to be exchanged very briskly, at least twenty in return for one. But the long matchlocks of the two heroes told every time in our lengthened line, while they seemed to have "a charmed life," and the shot fell like hail around them innocuous, one containing to load behind the mound, while the other fired with deadly aim. At length two twelve-pounders were unlimbered; and as the shot whistled round their ears, both rose on the very pinnacle of the mound, and made a profound *salaam* for this compliment to their valour; which done, they continued to load and fire, whilst entire platoons blazed upon them. Although more men had suffered, an irresistible impulse was felt to save these gallant men; orders were given to cease firing, and the force was directed to move on, unless any two individuals chose to attack them manfully hand to hand. The words were scarcely uttered when two young Rohillas drew their swords, sprung down the bank, and soon cleared the space between them and the foe. All was deep anxiety as they mounted to the assault; but whether their physical frame was less vigorous, or their energies were exhausted by their wounds or by their peculiar situation, these brave defenders fell on the mound, whence they disputed the march of ten battalions of infantry and twenty pieces of cannon.* They were Haras! But Zalim was the cloud

* Lieut. (now Captain) M'Millan and the Author were the only officers, I believe, who witnessed this singular scene.

which interposed between them and their fortunes; and to remove it they courted the destruction which at length overtook them.

The entire devotion which the vassalage of Harouti manifested for the cause of the Maharao, exemplified, as before observed, the nature and extent of *swandherma* or fealty, which has been described as the essential quality of the Rajpoot character; while, at the same time, it illustrates the severity of the Regent's yoke. Even the chief who negotiated the treaty could not resist the defection (one of his sons was badly wounded), although he enjoyed estates under the Regent which his hereditary rank did not sanction, besides being connected with him by marriage.

The Maharao gained the Parbütty, which, it is said, he swam over. He had scarcely reached the shore when his horse dropped dead from a grape-shot wound. With about three hundred horse he retired upon Baroda. We had no vengeance to execute, we could not, therefore, consider the brave men, who abandoned their homes and their families from a principle of honour, in the light of the old enemies of our power, to be pursued and exterminated. They had, it is true, confronted us in the field; yet only defensively; in a course at least morally just and seemingly sanctioned by authorities which they could not distrust.

The pretensions so long opposed to the treaty were thus signally and efficiently subdued. The chief instigators of the revolt were for ever removed, one by death, the other by exile; and the punishment which overtook the deserters from the regular forces of the Regent would check its repetition. Little prepared for the reverse of that day, the chiefs had made no provision against it, and at our word every door in Rajwarra would have been closed against them. But it was not deemed a case for confiscation, or one which should involve in proscription a whole community, impelled to the commission of crime by a variety of circumstances which they could neither resist nor control, and to which the most crafty views had contributed.* The Maharao's camp being left standing, all his correspondence and records fell into our hands, and developed such complicated intrigues, such consummate knavery, that he, and the brave men who suffered from espousing his pretensions, were regarded as entitled to every commiseration.† As soon, therefore, as the futility of their pretensions was disclosed, by the veil being thus rudely torn from their eyes, they manifested a determination to submit. The Regent was instructed to grant a complete amnesty, and to announce to the chiefs that they might repair to their homes without a question being put to them. In a few weeks all

* In a letter, addressed by some of the principal chiefs to the Regent, through the Agent, they did not hesitate to say they had been guided in the course they adopted of obeying the summons of the Maharao, *by instructions of his confidential minister.*

† The native treasurer at Delhi, who conducted these intrigues, after a strict investigation was dismissed from his office; and the same fate was awarded to the chief *moonshi* of the Persian secretary's office at the seat of government. Regular treaties and bonds were found in the camp of the Maharao, which afforded abundant condemnatory evidence against these confidential officers, who mainly produced the catastrophe we have to record, and rendered nugatory the most strenuous efforts to save the misguided prince and his brave brethren.

was tranquillity and peace; the chiefs and vassals returned to their families, who blessed the power which tempered punishment with clemency.*

* The Author, who had to perform the painful duty related in this detailed transaction, was alternately aided and embarrassed by his knowledge of the past history of the Haras, and the mutual relations of all its discordant elements. Perhaps, entire ignorance would have been better—a bare knowledge of the treaty, and the expediency of a rigid adherence thereto, unbiassed by sympathy, or notions of abstract justice, which has too little in common with diplomacy. But without overlooking the colder dictates of duty, he determined that the ægis of Britian should not be a shield of oppression, and that the remains of Hara independence, which either policy or fear had compelled the Regent to respect, should not thereby be destroyed; and he assumed the responsibility, a few days after the action, of proclaiming a general amnesty to the chiefs, and an invitation to each to return to his dwelling. He told the Regent that any proceeding which might render this clemency nugatory, would not fail to dissatisfy the Government. All instantly availed themselves of the permission; and in every point of view, morally and physically, the result was most satisfactory, and it acted as a panacea for the wounds our public faith compelled us to inflict. Even in the midst of their compulsory infliction, he had many sources of gratulation: and of these he will give an anecdote illustrative of Rajpoot character. In 1807, when the Author, then commencing his career, was wandering alone through their country surveying their geography, and collecting scraps of their statistics, he left Sindia battering Rathgurrh, and with a slender guard proceeded through the wilds of Chanderi, and thence direct westwards, to trace the course of all the rivers lying between the Betwa and the Chumbul. In passing through Harouti, leaving his tent standing at Barah, he had advanced with the perambulator as far as the Caly Sind, a distance of seventeen miles; and, leaving his people to follow at leisure, was returning home unattended at a brisk carter, when, as he passed through the town of Banolia, a party rushed out and made him captive, saying that he must visit the chief. Although much fatigued, it would have been folly to refuse. He obeyed, and was conveyed to a square, in the centre of which was an elevated *chadootra* or platform, shaded by the sacred tree. Here, sitting on carpets, was the chief with his little court. The Author was received most courteously. The first act was to disembarass him of his boots; but this, heated as he was, they could not effect: refreshments were then put before him and a Brahmin brought water, with a ewer and a basin, for his ablutions. Although he was then but an indifferent linguist, and their *patons* scarcely intelligible to him, he passed a very happy hour, in which conversation never flagged. The square was soon filled, and many a pair of fine black eyes smiled courteously upon the stranger—for the females, to his surprise, looked abroad without any fear of censure; though he was ignorant of their sphere in life. The Author's horse was lame, which the chief had noticed; and on rising to go, he found one ready caparisoned for him, which, however, he would not accept. On reaching his tent the Author sent several little articles as tokens of regard. Fourteen years after this, the day following the action at Mangrore, he received a letter by a messenger from the mother of the chief of Bamolia, who sent her blessing, and invoked him, by past friendship and recollections, to protect

The Maharao continued his course to Nathdwarra in Mewar, proving that the sentiment of religious abstraction alone can take the place of ambition. The individuals who, for their own base purposes, had by misrepresentation and guile guided him to ruin, now deserted him; the film fell from his eyes, and he saw, though too late, the only position in which he could exist. In a very short time, every pretension inimical to the spirit and letter of the treaty, original and supplemental, was relinquished; when, with the Regent's concurrence, a note was transmitted to him, containing the basis on which his return to Kotah was practicable. A transcript with his acceptance being received, a formal deed was drawn up, executed by the Agent and attested by the Regent, not only defining the precise position of both parties, but establishing a barrier between the titular and executive authorities, which must for ever prevent all collision of interests: nothing was left to chance or cavil. The grand object was to provide for the safety, comfort, and dignity of the prince, and this was done on a scale of profuse liberality; far beyond what his father, or, indeed, any prince of Kotah had enjoyed, and incommensurate with the revenue of the state, of which it is about the twentieth portion. The amount equals the household expenditure of the Rana of Oodipur, the avowed head of the whole Rajpoot race, but which can be better afforded from the flourishing revenues of Kotah than the slowly improving finances of Mewar.

The preliminaries being satisfactorily adjusted, it became important to inspire this misguided prince with a confidence that his welfare would be as anxiously watched as the stipulations of the treaty whose infringement had cost him so much misery. He had too much reason to plead personal alarm as one of the causes of his past conduct, and which tended greatly to neutralize all the endeavours to serve him. Even on the very day that he was to leave Nathdwarra, on his return, when after great efforts his mind had been emancipated from distrust, a final and diabolical attempt was made to thwart the measures for his restoration. A mutilated wretch was made to personate his brother Bishen Sing, and to give out that he had been maimed by command of the Regent's son, and the impostor had the audacity to come within a couple of miles of the Maharao; a slight resemblance to Bishen Sing aided the deceit, which, though promptly exposed, had made the impression for which it was contrived, and it required some skill to remove it. The Rana of Oodipur no sooner heard of this last effort to defeat all the good intentions in which he co-operated towards the Maharao, to whose sister he was married, than he had the impostor seized and brought to the city, where his story had caused a powerful sensation. His indiscreet indignation for ever destroyed the clue by which the plot might have been unravelled; for he was led immediately to execution, and all that transpired was, that he was a native of the Jeypur state, and had been mutilated for some crime. Could the question have been solved, it might have afforded the means of a different termination of these unhappy quarrels, to which they formed a characteristic sequel: intrigue and mistrust combined to inveigle

her son, whose honour had made him join the standard of his sovereign. The Author had the satisfaction of replying that her son would be with her nearly as soon as the bearer of the letter. The Bamolia chief, it will be recollected, was the descendant of the chief of Athoon, one of the great opponents of the Regent at the opening of his career.

Kishore Sing into attempts which placed him far beyond the reach of reason, and the most zealous exertions to extricate him.

This last scene being over, the Maharao left his retreat at the fane of Kaniya, and marched across the plateau to his paternal domains. On the last day of the year, the Regent, accompanied by the Agent, advanced to reconduct the prince to the capital. The universal demonstration of satisfaction at his return was the most convincing testimony that any other course would have been erroneous. On that day, he once more took possession of the *gadi* which he had twice abandoned, with a resignation free from all asperity, or even embarrassment. Feelings arising out of a mind accustomed to religious meditation, aided while they softened the bitter monitor, adversity, and together they afforded the best security that any deviation from the new order of things would never proceed from him.

Besides the schedule of the personal expenditure, over which he was supreme, much of the state expenses was to be managed under the eye of the sovereign : such as the charities, and gifts on festivals and military ceremonies. The royal insignia used on all great occasions was to remain as heretofore at his residence in the castle, as was the band at the old guard-room over the chief portal of entrance. He was to preside at all the military or other annual festivals, attended by the whole retinue of the state ; and the gifts on such occasion were to be distributed in his name. All the places, in and about the city, were at his sole disposal, and funds were set apart for their repairs : the gardens, *rumnas*, or game-preserver, and his personal guards, were also to be entertained and paid by himself. To maintain this arrangement inviolate, an officer of the paramount power was henceforth to reside at Kotah. A handsome stipend was settled on the minor son of the deceased Prithi Sing ; while, in order to prevent any umbrage to the Maharao, his brother Bishen Sing, whose trimming policy had been offensive to the Maharao, was removed to the family estate at Antah, twenty miles east of the capital, on which occasion an increase was spontaneously made to his jagheer.

The Agent remained an entire month after this, to strengthen the good understanding now introduced. He even effected a reconciliation between the Prince and Madhu Sing, when the former, with great tact and candour, took upon himself the blame of all these disturbances : each gave his hand in token of future amity, and the Prince spontaneously embraced the man (the Regent's son) to whom he attributed all his misery. But the Maharao's comforts and dignity are now independent of control, and watched over by a guardian who will demand a rigid exaction of every stipulation in his favour. The patriarchal Zalim was, or affected to be, overjoyed at this result, which had threatened to involve them all in the abyss of misery. Bitter was his self-condemnation at the moral blindness of his conduct, which had not foreseen and guarded against the storm ; and severe, as well as merited, was the castigation he inflicted on his successor. "It is for your sins, yon, that I am punished," was the conclusion of every such exhortation.

It will be deemed a singular fatality, that this last conspicuous act in the political life of the Regent should have been on the spot which exactly sixty years before witnessed the opening scene of his career : for the field of Butwarro* adjoined that of Mangrole. What visions

* The battle of Butwarro was fought in S. 1817, or A. D. 1761. (the action at Mangrole, Oct. 1, A. D. 1821.)

must have chased each other on this last memorable day, when he recalled the remembrance of the former! when the same sword, which redeemed the independence of Kotah from tributary degradation to Amber, was now drawn against the grandson of that sovereign who rewarded his services with the first office of the state! Had some prophetic *Bardai* withdrawn the mantle of *Bhavani*, and disclosed through the vista of ihreescore years the Regent in the foreground, in all the panoply of ingenuous youth "spreading his carpet" at Butwarro, to review the charge of the Cuchwaha chivalry, and in the distant perspective that same being palsied, blind, and decrepit, leading a mingled host, in character and costume altogether strange, against the grand-children of his prince, and the descendants of those Haras who nobly seconded him to gain this reputation, what effect would such a prospect have produced on one whom the mere hooting of an owl on the house-top had "scared from his propriety?"

Soon after the satisfactory conclusion of these painful scenes, the Regent returned to the *Chhaoni*, his fixed camp, and projected a tour of the state, to allay the disorders which had crept in, and to regulate afresh the action of the state-machine, the construction of which had occupied a long life, but which could not fail to be deranged by the complicated views which had arisen amongst those whose business was to work it. Often, amidst these conflicts, did he exclaim, with his great prototype both in prosperity and sorrow, "my kinsfolk have failed, and my familiar friends have forgotten me." But Zalim had not the same resources in his griefs that Job had; nor could he with him exclaim, "if my land cry against me, if I have eaten the fruits thereof without money, or caused the owners thereof to lose their lives, let thistles grow instead of wheat, and cockles instead of barley."* His yet vigorous mind, however, soon restored every thing to its wonted prosperity; and in a few weeks, not a trace was left of the commotion which for a while had totally unhinged society, and threatened to deluge the land with proscription and blood. The prince was resealed on the throne with far greater comforts about him and more certainty of stability than previous to the treaty; the nobles took possession of their estates with not a blade of grass removed, and the *gruh-khotie*, the home-farms of the Regent, lost none of their productiveness: commerce was unscathed, and public opinion, which had dared loudly to question the moral justice of these proceedings, was conciliated by their conclusion. The Regent survived these events five years: his attenuated frame was worn out by a spirit, vigorous to the last pulsation of life, and too strong for the feeble cage which imprisoned it.

If history attempt to sum up, or institute a scrutiny into, the character of this extraordinary man, by what standard must we judge him? The action of his life, which have furnished matter for the sketch we have attempted, may satisfy curiosity; but the materials for a finished portrait he never supplied: the latent springs of those actions remained invisible save to the eye of Omniscience. No human being ever shook the confidence of the *Machiavelli* of Rajasthan, who, from the first dawn of his political existence to its close, when "fourscore years and upwards," could always say "my secret is my own." This single trait, throughout a troubled career of more than ordinary length, would alone stamp his character with originality. No effervescence of felicity, of success, of

sympathy, which occasionally bursts from the most rugged nature, no sudden transition of passion,—joy, grief, hope, even revenge,—could tempt him to betray his purpose. That it was often fathomed, that his "vaulting ambition has overleapt itself," and made him lose his object, is no more than may be said of all who have indulged in "that sin by which angels fell;" yet he never failed through a blind confidence in the instruments of his designs. Though originally sanguine in expectation and fiery in temperament, he subdued these natural defects, and could await with composure the due ripening of his plans: even in the heyday of youth he had attained this mastery over himself. To this early discipline of his mind he owed the many escapes from plots against his life, and the difficulties which were perpetually besetting it increased his natural resources. There was no artifice, no absolutely degrading which he would not condescend to employ: his natural simplicity made humility, when necessary, a plausible disguise: while his scrupulous attention to all religious observances caused his mere affirmation to be respected. The sobriety of his demeanour gave weight to his opinions and influenced the judgment; while his invariable urbanity gained the good will of his inferiors, and his superiors were won by the delicacy of his flattery, in the application of which he was an adept. To crown the whole, there was a mysterious brevity, an oracular sententiousness, in his conversation, which always left something to the imagination of his auditor, who gave him credit for what he did not, as well as what he did, utter. None could better appreciate, or studied more to obtain, the meed of good opinion; and throughout his lengthened life, until the occurrences just described, he threw over his acts of despotism and vengeance a veil of such consummate art, as to make them lose more than half their deformity. With him it must have been an axiom, that mankind judge superficially; and in accordance therewith, his first study was to preserve appearances, and never to offend prejudice if avoidable. When he sequestered the estates of the Hara feudality, he covered the fields, by them neglected, with crops of corn, and thereby drew a contrast favourable to himself between the effects of sloth and activity. When he usurped the functions of royalty, he threw a bright halo around the orb of its glory, overloading the *gadi* with the trappings of grandeur, aware that

"the world is e'er deceived by ornament;"

nor did the princes of Kotah ever appear with such magnificence as when he possessed all the attributes of royalty but the name. Every act evinced his deep skill in the knowledge of the human mind and of the elements by which he was surrounded; he could circumvent the crafty Mahrattas, calm or quell the arrogant Rajpoot and extort the applause even of the Briton, who is little prone to allow merit in an Asiatic. He was a depository of the prejudices and the pride of his countrymen, both in religious and social life; yet enigmatical as it must appear, he frequently violated them, though the infraction was so gradual as to be imperceptible except to the few who watched the slow progress of his plans. To such he appeared a compound of the most contradictory elements: lavish and parsimonious, oppressing and protecting; with one hand bestowing diamond sigrettes, with the other taking the tythe of the anchorite's wallet; one day sequestering estates and driving into exile the ancient chiefs of the land; the next receiving with open arms some expatriated noble, and supporting him in dignity and affluence, till the receding tide of human affairs rendered such support no longer requisite.

We have already mentioned his antipathy to the professors of "the

luneful art;" and he was as inveterate as Diocletian to the alchemist, regarding the trade of both as alike useless to society: neither were, therefore, tolerated in Kotah. But the enemies of the Regent assert that it was from no dislike of their merit, but from his having been the dupe of the one, and the object of the other's satire (*vis*). His persecution of witches (*dhakun*) was in strict conformity with the injunction in the Pentateuch: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" (Exod. Chap. xxii, Ver. 18). But his ordeal was worse than even death itself: handling balls of hot iron was deemed too slight for such sinners; for it was well-known they had substances which enabled them to do this with impunity. Throwing them into a pond of water was another trial: if they sunk, they were innocent, if they unhappily rose to the surface the league with the powers of darkness was apparent. A gram-bag of cayenne pepper tied over the head, if it failed to suffocate, afforded another proof of guilt; though the most humane method, of rubbing the eyes with a well-dried capsicum, was perhaps the most common, and certainly if they could furnish this demonstration of their innocence, by withholding tears, they might justly be deemed witches. These *dhakuns*, like the vampires of the German *bardais*, are supposed to operate upon the *viscera* of their victims, which they destroy by slow degrees with charms and incantations, and hence they are called in Sindé (where, as Abulfazil says, they abound) *Figger-khar*, or 'liver-devourers.' One look of a *dhakun* suffices to destroy; but there are few who court the title, at least in Kotah, though old age and eccentricity are sufficient, in conjunction with superstition or bad luck, to fix the stigma upon individuals.

Aware of the danger of relaxing, "to have done," even when eighty-five winters had passed over his head, was never in his thoughts. He knew that a Rajpoot's throne should be the back of his steed; and when blindness overtook him, and he could no longer lead the chase on horseback, he was carried in his litter to his grand haunts, which consisted sometimes of several thousand armed men. Besides dissipating the *ennui* of his vassals, he obtained many other objects by an amusement so analogous to his character; the unmasked joyousness of the sport, he heard the unreserved opinions of his companions, and gained their affection by thus administering to their favorite pastime of the Rajpoot, whose life is otherwise monotonous. When in the forest, he would sit down, surrounded by thousands, to regale on game of the day. Camels followed his train, laden with flower, sugar, spices, and huge cauldrons for the use of his sylvan *cuisine*; and amidst the hilarity of the moment, he would go through the varied routine of government, attend to foreign and commercial policy, the details of his farms or his army, the reports of his police; nay, in the very heat of the operations, shot flying in all directions, the ancient Regent, might be discovered, like our immortal Alfred or St. Louis of the Franks, administering justice under the shade of some spreading peepul tree; while the day so passed would be closed with religious rites, and the recital of a mythological epic: he found time for all, never appeared hurried, nor could he be taken by surprise. When he could no longer see to sign his own name, he had an autograph facsimile engraved, which was placed in the special care of a confidential officer, to apply when commanded. Even this loss of one sense was with him compensated by another, for long after, he was stone-blind, it would have been vain to attempt to impose upon him in the choice of shawls or clothes of any kind, whose fabrics and prices he could determine by the touch; and it is even asserted that he could in like manner distinguish colours.

If, as has been truly remarked, "that man deserves well of his country who makes a blade of grass grow where none grew before," what merit is due to him who made the choicest of nature's products flourish where grass *could not* grow; who covered the bare rock around his capital with soil, and cultivated the exotics of Arabia, Ceylon, and the western Archipelago; who translated from the Indian Apennines (the mountains of Malabar) the cocoanut and palmyra; and thus refuted the assertion that these trees could not flourish remote from the influence of a marine atmosphere? In his gardens were to be found the apples and quinces of Cabul, pomegranates from the famed stock of *Kagla ca bagh* in the desert, oranges of every kind, scions of Agra and Sylhet, *amba* of Mazagon, and the *chumpa-kela* or golden plantain, of the Dekhan, besides the indigenous productions of Rajpootana. Some of the wells for irrigating these gardens cost in blasting the rock thirty thousand rupees each; he hinted to his friends that they could not do better than follow his example, and a hint always sufficed. He would have obtained a prize from any horticultural society for his improvement of the wild *ber* (*jufube*), which by grafting he increased to the size of a small apple. In chemical science he had gained notoriety; his *utlys* of essential oils of roses, jessamine, *ketki*, and *keura*, were far superior to any that could be purchased. There was no occasion to repair to the valley of Cashmere to witness the fabrication of its shawls; for the looms and the wool of that fairy region were transferred to Kotah, and the Cashmerian weaver plied the shuttle under Zalim's one eye. But, as in the case of his lead-mines, he found that this branch of industry did not return even sixteen annas and a half for the rupee,* the minimum profit at which he fixed his remuneration; so that after satisfying his curiosity, he abandoned the manufacture. His forges for swords and fire-arms had a high reputation, and his matchlocks rival those of Boondi, both in excellence and elaborate workmanship.

His corps of gladiators, if we may thus designate the *Jaetis*, obtained for him equal credit and disgrace. The funds set apart for this recreation amounted at one time to fifty thousand rupees per annum; but his wrestlers surpassed in skill and strength those of every other court in Rajwarra, and the most renowned champions of other states were made "to view the heavens,"† if they came to Kotah. But, in his younger days, Zalim was not satisfied with the use of mere natural weapons, for occasionally he made his *jaetis* fight with the *bagnuk*,‡ or tiger-claw, when they tore off the flesh from each other. The chivalrous Omed Sing of Boondi put a stop to this barbarity. Returning from one of his pilgrimages from Dwarica, he passed through Kotah while Zalim and his court were assembled in the *Akhara* (arena) where two of these stall-fed prize-fighters were about to contend. The presence of this brave Hara checked the bloody exhibition, and he boldly censured the Regent for squandering on such a worthless crew resources which ought to cherish his Rajpoots. His might have been lost upon the Protector, had not the royal

* There are sixteen annas to the rupee or half-crown.

† "*Asman deklaonta*," is the phrase of the '*Fancy*' in these regions, for victory; when the vanquished is thrown upon his back and kept in that attitude.

‡ See an account of this instrument by Colonel Briggs, *Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. II.

pilgrim, in the fervour of his indignation, thrown down the gauntlet to the entire assembly of *Faetis*. Putting his shield on the ground, he placed therein, one by one, the entire panoply of armour which he habitually wore in his peregrinations, namely, his matchlock and its ponderous accompaniments, swords, daggers, staff, and battle-axe, and challenged any individual to raise it from the ground with a single arm. All tried and failed; when Sriji, though full sixty years of age, held it out at arm's length during several seconds. The Haras were delighted at the feat of their patriarchal chief; while the crest-fallen *Faetis* hung their heads, and from that day lost ground in the favour of the Regent. But these were the follies of his earlier days, not of the later period of his life; he was then like an aged oak, which, though shattered and decayed, had survived the tempest and the desolation which had raged around it.

To conclude: had he imitated Diocletian, and surrendered the purple, he would have afforded another instance of the anomalies of the human understanding; that he did not do so, for the sake of his own fame and that of the controlling power, as well as for the welfare of his prince, must be deeply lamented; the more especially as his *churri* (rod) has descended to feeble hands. He had enjoyed the essentials of sovereignty during threescore years, a period equal in duration to that of Darius the Mede; and had overcome difficulties which would have appalled no ordinary minds. He had vanquished all his enemies, external and internal, and all his views as regarded Harouti were accomplished.

Amongst the motives which might have urged the surrender of his power, stronger perhaps than his desire of reparation with heaven and his prince, was the fear of his successor's inefficiency: but this consideration unhappily was counterbalanced by the precocious talents of his grandson, whom he affectionately loved, and in whom he thought he saw himself renewed. Pride also, that chief ingredient in his character, checked such surrender; he feared the world would suppose he had relinquished what he could no longer retain; and ruin would have been preferred to the idea that he had been "driven from his stool." Able and artful ministers flattered the feeling so deeply rooted, and to crown the whole, he was supported by obligations of public faith contracted by a power without a rival. Still, old age, declining health, the desire of repose and of religious retirement, prompted wishes which often escaped his lips; but counter-acting feelings intruded, and the struggle between the good and the evil principle lasted until the moment had passed when abdication would have been honourable. Had he, however, obeyed the impulse, his retreat would have more resembled that of the fifth Charles than of the Roman king. In the shades of Nathdwarra he would have enjoyed that repose, which Diocletian could not find at Salona; and imbued with a better philosophy and more knowledge of the human heart, he would have practised what was taught, that "there ought to be no intermediate change between the command of men and the service of God."

APPENDIX.

Written according to custom in the margin with the Raja's own hand.

No. I.

Letter from Raja Jey Sing of Amber to Rana Singram Sing of Mewar, regarding Edur.

SRI RAMJI,*

SRI SEETA RAMJI,

WHEN I was in the presence at Oodipoor, you commanded† that Mewar was my home, and that Edur was the portico of Mewar, and to watch the occasion for obtaining it. From that time I have been on the look-out. Your agent, Myaram, has again written regarding it, and Dilput Rae read the letter to me *verbatim*, on which I talked over the matter with Maharaja Abhe Sing, who acquiescing in all your views, has made a *nuzzur* of the pergunna to you, and his writing to this effect accompanies this letter.

The Maharaja Abhe Sing petitions that you will so manage that the occupant Anund Sing does not escape alive; as, without his death, your possession will be unstable:‡ this is in your hands. It is my wish, also, that you would go in person, or if you deem this in expedient, command the Dhabhae Nuggo, placing a respectable force under his orders, and having blocked up all the passes, you may then slay him. Above all things let him not escape—let this be guarded against.

Asar badi 7th (22nd of the first month of the monsoon), S. 1784 (A.D. 1728).

ENVELOPE.

The Pergunna of Edur is in Maharaja Abhe Sing's jagheer, who makes a *nuzzur* of it to the *Husoor*; should it be granted to any other, take care the *Munsudbar* never gains possession.

8th. S., 1784.

* Ram and Seeta, whom the prince invokes, are the great parents of the Cuchwaha race, of which Raja Jey Sing is the head. I have omitted the usual string of introductory compliments.

† These terms completely illustrate the superior character in which the Ranas of Mewar were held by the two princes next in dignity to him in Rajpootana a century ago.

‡ This deep anxiety is abundantly explained by looking at the genealogical slip of the Rahtores, at page 456, where it will be seen that Anund Sing, whom the parricidal Abhye Sing is so anxious to be rid of, is his own brother, innocent of any participation in that crime, and although adopted into Edur, were *hairs-presumptive* to Marwar!

Let my *moogyra* (respects) be known: when in the *Dewan's* presence he ordered, that Edur was the portico, and Chuppon the vestibule to Mewar, and that it was necessary to obtain it. I have kept this in mind, and by the Sri *Dewan's* fortune it is accomplished!

No. II.

TREATY between the Honourable English East-India company and Maha Raja Man Sing Buhadoor, Raja of Joudpoor, represented by the Koowur Regent Joograj Maharaj Koowur Chutter Sing Buhadoor, concluded by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe on the part of the Honourable Company, in virtue of powers granted by his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, K. G., Governor General, and by Byas Bishen Ram and Byas Ubhee Ram on the part of Maharaja Maun Sing Buhadoor, in virtue of full powers granted by the Maharaja and Joograj Maharaj Koowur aforesaid.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interest between the Honourable English East India Company and Maharaja Maun Sing and his heirs and successors; and the friends and enemies of one party shall be friends and enemies of both.

Second Article.—The British Government engages to protect the principality and territory of Joudpoor.

Third Article.—Maharaja Maun Sing and his heirs and successors will act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and acknowledge its supremacy; and will not have any connection with other chiefs and states.

Fourth Article.—The Maharaj and his heirs and successors will not enter into negotiation with any chief or state without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government. But his usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue.

Fifth Article.—The Maharaja and his heirs and successors will not commit aggressions on any one. If by accident disputes arise with any one, they shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government.

Sixth Article.—The tribute heretofore paid to Sindia by the state of Joudpoor, of which a separate schedule is affixed, shall be paid in perpetuity to the British Government; and the engagement of the state of Joudpoor with Sindia respecting tribute shall cease.

Seventh Article.—As the Maharaja declares that besides the tribute paid to Sindia by the state of Joudpoor, tribute has not been paid to any other state, and engages to pay the aforesaid tribute to the British Government; if either Sindia or any one else lay claim to tribute, the British Government engages to reply to such claim.

Eighth Article.—The state of Joudpur shall furnish fifteen hundred horse for the service of the British Government whenever required; and when necessary, the whole of the Joudpoor forces shall join the British Army, excepting such a portion as may be requisite for the internal administration of the country.

Ninth Article.—The Maharaja and his heirs and successors shall remain absolute rulers of their country, and the jurisdiction of the British Government shall not be introduced into that principality.

Tenth Article.—This treaty of ten articles having been concluded at Diblee, and signed and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and Byas Bishen Ram and Byas Ubhee Ram; the ratifications of the same by his Excellency the Governor General and by Raj Rajesur Maharaja Maun Sing Buhadoor and Joograj Maharaj Koowur Chutter Sing Buhadoor, shall be exchanged within six weeks from this date.

Done at Diblee this sixth day of January, A.D. 1815.

(Signed)

(L. S.)

C. T. METCALFE, Resident.
 BYAS BISHEN RAM.
 (L. S.) BYAS UBHEE RAM.

No. III.

Treaty with the Raja of Jessulmer.

TREATY between the Honourable English East-India Company and Maha Rawul Moolraj Buhadoor, Raja of Jessulmer, concluded on the part of the Honourable Company by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, in virtue of full powers granted by his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, K. G. Governor General &c., and on the part of the Maha Raja Dehraj Maha Rawul Moolraj Buhadoor by Missr Motee Ram and Thakoor Dowlet Sing, according to full powers conferred by Maha Rawul.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the Honourable English Company and Maha Rawul Moolraj Buhadoor, the Raja of Jessulmer, and his heirs and successors.

Second Article.—The posterity of Maha Rawul Moolraj shall succeed to the principality of Jessulmer.

Third Article.—In the event of any *serious* invasion directed towards the overthrow of the principality of Jessulmer, or other danger of *great* magnitude occurring to that principality, the British Government will exert its power for the protection of the principality provided that the cause of the quarrel be not ascribable to the Raja of Jessulmer.

Fourth Article.—The Maha Rawul and his heirs and successor will always act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and with submission to its supremacy.

Fifth Article.—This treaty of five articles having been settled, signed, and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and Missr Motee Ram and Thakoor Dowlet Sing, the ratifications of the same by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General and Maha Raja Dihraj Maha Rawul, Moolraj Buhadoor, shall be exchanged in six weeks from the present date.

Done at Dihlee this twelfth day of December, A.D. 1818.

(L. S.) C. T. METCALFE, (*Signed*) MISR MOTEE RAM

(L. S.) THAKOOR DOWLET SING,

(*Signed*) C. T. M.

No. IV.

TREATY between the Honourable English East-India Company and Maharaja Siwae Juggut Sing Buhadoor, Raja of Jaipoor, concluded by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, on the part of the Honourable Company, in virtue of full powers granted by his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, K. G., Governor-General, etc., and by Thakoor Rawul Byree Saul Nattawut, on the part of Rajindur Sree Maharaj Dhiraj Siwae Juggut Sing Buhadoor, according to full powers given by the Raja.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the Honourable Company and Maharaja Juggut Sing, and his heirs and successors, and the friends and enemies of one party shall be the friends and enemies of both parties.

Second Article.—The British Government engages to protect the territory of Jaipore, and to expel the enemies of that principality.

Third Article.—Maharaja Siwae Juggut Sing, and his heirs and successors, will act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and acknowledge its supremacy; and will not have any connection with other chiefs and states.

Fourth Article.—The Maharaja, and his heirs and successors, will not enter into negotiation with any chief or state, without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government; but the usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue.

Fifth Article.—The Maharaja and his heirs and successors will not commit aggressions on any one. If it happen that any dispute arise with any one, it shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government.

Sixth Article.—Tribute shall be paid in perpetuity by the principality of Jaipoor to the British Government, through the treasury of Dehlee, according to the following detail:

First year from the date of this treaty in consideration of the devastation which has prevailed for years in the Jaipoor country, tribute excused:

Second year	...	...	Four lakhs of Dihlee rupees.
Third year	...	...	Five lakhs.
Fourth year	...	...	Six lakhs.
Fifth year	...	...	Seven lakhs.
Sixth year	...	...	Eight lakhs.

Afterwards eight lakhs of Dihlee rupees annually, until the revenues of the principality exceed forty lakhs.

And when the Rajah's revenue exceed forty lakhs, five-sixteenths of the excess shall be paid in addition to the eight lakhs above mentioned.

Seventh Article.—The principality of Jaipoor shall furnish troops according to its means, at the requisitions of the British Government.

Eighth Article.—The Maharaja and his heirs and successors shall remain absolute rulers of their country, and their dependents, according to long-established usage; and the British Civil and Criminal jurisdiction shall not be introduced into that principality.

Ninth Article.—Provided that the Maharaja evince a faithful attachment to the British Government, his prosperity and advantage shall be favourably considered and attended to.

Tenth Article.—These treaty of ten Articles have been concluded, and signed and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, and Thakoor Rawul Byree Saul Nattawut, the ratifications of the same, by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, and Raj Rajendur Sree Maharaj Dhiraj Siwae Juggut Sing Buhadoor, shall be mutually exchanged within one month from the present date.

Done at Dihlee this second day of April, A. D. 1818.

Signed (L. S.) C. T. METCALFE.
Resident.

(L. S) THAKOOR RAWUL BYREE SAUL NATTAWUT.

—
No. V.

No. V. being a large paper is omitted.

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No. VI.

TREATY between the honourable the English East-India Company on the one part, and Maha Rao Oned Sing Buhadoor, the Raja of

Kota, and his heirs and successors, through Raj Rana Zalim Sing Buhadoor, the administrator of the affairs of that principality on the other, concluded on the part of the Honourable English East-India Company by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, in virtue of full powers granted to him by his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, K. G., and on the part of Maha Rao Omed Sing Buhadoor by Maharaja Sheodan Sing, Sah Jeewan Ram and Lala Hoolchund, in virtue of full powers granted by the Maha Rao aforesaid, and his administrator, the above-mentioned Raj Rana.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the British Government on the one hand, and Maha Rao Omed Sing, Buhadoor, and his heirs and successors, on the other.

Second Article.—The friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties shall be the same to both.

Third Article.—The British Government engages to take under its protection the principality and territory of Kota.

Fourth Article.—The Maha Rao, and his heirs and successors, will always act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and acknowledge its supremacy, and will not henceforth have any connection with the chiefs and states with which the state of Kota has been heretofore connected.

Fifth Article.—The Maha Rao, and his heirs and successors, will not enter into any negotiation with any chief or state without the sanction of the British Government. But his customary amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue.

Sixth Article.—The Maha Rao and his heirs and successors, will not commit aggressions on any one; and if any dispute accidentally arise with any one, proceeding either from acts of the Maha Rao, or acts of the other party, the adjustment of such disputes shall be submitted to the arbitration of the British Government.

Seventh Article.—The tribute heretofore paid by the principality of Kota to the Marhatta chiefs, for instance, the Peshwa, Sindia, Holkar, and Powar, shall be paid at Dihlee to the British Government for ever, according to the separate Schedule annexed.

Eighth Article.—No other power shall have any claim to tribute from the principality of Kota; and if any one advance such a claim, the British Government engages to reply to it.

Ninth Article.—The troops of the principality of Kota, according to its means, shall be furnished at the requisition of the British Government.

Tenth Article.—The Maha Rao, and his heirs and successors, shall remain absolute rulers of their country, and the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the British Government shall not be introduced into that principality.

Eleventh Article.—This treaty of eleven Articles having been concluded at Dihlee, and signed and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe on the one part, and Maha Raja Sheodan Sing, Sah Jeewan Ram, and Lala Hoolchund on the other, the ratifications of the same by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, and Mah Rao Omed Sing and his administrator Raj Rana Zalim Sing, shall be exchanged within a month from this date.

Done at Dihlee the 26th day of December, A. D. 1817.

(Signed) C. T. METCALFE,
Resident.

No. VII.

TREATIES between the Honourable English East-India Company and the Maha Row Raja Bishen Sing Bahadoor, Raja of Boondee, concluded by Captain James Tod on the part of the Honourable Company, in virtue of full powers from his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, K. G., Governor General, &c. &c., and by Bohora Tolaram on the part of the Raja, in virtue of full powers from the said Raja.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual frindship, alliance, and unity of interests between the British Government on the one hand, and the Raja of Boondi and his heirs and successors on the other.

Second Article.—The British Government takes under its protection the dominions of the Raja of Boondee.

Third Article.—The Raja of Boondee acknowledges the supremacy of, and will co-operate with, the British Government for ever. He will not enter into negotiations with any one without the consent of the British Government. If by chance any dispute arise with any one, it shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government. The Raja is absolute ruler of his dominions, and the British jurisdiction shall not be introduced therein.

Fourth Article.—The British Government spontaneously remits to the Raja and his descendants the tribute which the Raja used to pay to Maharaja Holkar, and which has been ceded by the Maharaja Holkar to the British Government; the British Government also relinquishes in favour of the state of Boondee the lands heretofore held by Maharaja Holkar, within the limits of that state, according to the annexed schedule (No. 1).

Fifth Article.—The Raja of Boondee hereby engages to pay to the British Government the tribute and revenue heretofore paid to Maharaja Sindia, according to the schedule (No. 2).

Sixth Article.—The Raja of Boondee shall furnish troops at the requisition of the British Government according to his means.

Seventh Article.—The present treaty of seven articles having been settled at Boondee, and signed and sealed by Captain James Tod and Bohora Tolaram, the ratification of the same by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General and the Maha Row Raja, of Boondee, shall be exchanged within one month from the present date.

Done at Boondee, this tenth day of February, A. D. 1818; corresponding to the fourth of Rubbee-ool-Sanee 1233, and fifth day of Maug Soodce of the Sumbat or Era of Bikramajcet, 1874.

FINISH.

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